

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY
VARIOUS CONTRIBUTORS

Under the direction of
EDWARD EYRE

IN SEVEN VOLUMES
VOLUME I
PREHISTORIC MAN AND
EARLIEST KNOWN SOCIETIES
REISSUE

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PREFACE

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THE constant accumulation of historical material has led to an age of monograph history, in which it is becoming increasingly difficult to see the wood for the trees. The chief purpose of this work is to exhibit, with the necessary fullness but without detailed narrative, the rise of Europe and the distinctive character of European civilization. History as an organized study is a comparative newcomer to the Universities. The Chairs at Oxford and Cambridge date only from the eighteenth century. It has, consequently, happened that the work of historians has been done in an age of exuberant nationalism, and in every country local patriotism has dominated the approaches to history. It has not been merely a question of national or religious bias in the accounts of particular events. Such bias, while it is never likely to be altogether absent, can be reduced to a very small thing when there is a genuine desire to establish the truth. The real injury to an appreciation of what the past has been comes from a deeper vitiation, the assumption of the inevitability of what in fact took place, and the habit of judging past events according to the way they seem to have hastened or delayed the coming of the modern world of sovereign, territorial, democratic States. The unity of Europe has been less vividly apprehended than the divergences of its parts. It is the story of the Europe which still exists as something unique and as the chief watershed of human activity that these volumes seek to tell, the elements that went to its making, the long period, from Augustus and the beginnings of Christian Europe down to the seventeenth century, in which the sense of unity was keenly alive in the consciousness of European Society, and the recent centuries in which an exclusive nationalism has taken the front of the stage, while an increasing preoccupation with economic ends has estranged men from their past, are all delineated in the seven volumes of the work.

In the first volume scholars describe the components from which Europe was formed and the great work of Greece. The

second shows how these were united in the framework of Imperial Rome in which also the Catholic Church had its beginning. The third volume stresses the unity of medieval Europe and the development therein of a unique type of civilization under ecclesiastical and Latin influences. With the fourth volume the disruptive results of organized nationalism and the loss of religious unity lead to the Europe of modern times, a continent whose name is but a geographical expression to too many of its inhabitants. In the next two volumes, five and six, the economic development and the growth of the machinery of the modern State, and the growing power of finance, are treated with more fullness than are the political events or the record of struggles between States. The chief consequence of the growth in the wealth and power of maritime Europe, Spain, France, Holland, England, was to extend the area of European culture through two other continents, America and Australia, and to penetrate and influence the immediately contiguous continents of Asia and Africa. This vast expansion of Europe overseas is treated in the seventh and final volume.

As befits such a work the selection of the different authors has been world wide, their responsibility begins and ends with their own sections, and there has been no attempt to impose upon the work any unity of outlook beyond that common to all scholars.

The carrying out of this work, extending over a period of more than ten years, would not have been possible but for the collaboration and advice I was fortunate enough to count on and which I desire to acknowledge with grateful thanks.

EDWARD EYRE.

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NOTE

I^N some articles a certain number of proper names have been left in the forms used by the writers, e.g. on page 336 Tapsaque *for* Thapsacus, on page 390 Alyatte *for* Alyattes, on page 437 Lagides *for* Lagidae, and on page 439 Antigone *for* Antigonus.

The following corrections should be made:

page 33, last line: Reid Moir *for* Red-Moir

page 331, note 1: Cyprus *for* Cyrus

page 427, line 9: ten *for* six

PRIMITIVE MAN
A BRIEF CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE SUB-
JECT AND A SYSTEMATIC STATEMENT BASED ON
DEMONSTRATED FACTS

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PART I

CHAPTER I

THE INJURY DONE TO THE STUDY OF PRIMITIVE MAN BY EVOLUTIONARY PRECONCEPTIONS

THEORIES of the development from lower to higher forms did not begin with Darwin. To take a notable example, a far-reaching theory of inward evolution and development in all nature formed a leading feature of Hegel's idealist system of philosophy, which so largely influenced the learned world in the last years of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth. But the systems of philosophers make no wide appeal to men in general so long as they are regarded as mere matters of speculative study. They become popular only when they are focussed on concrete facts and arouse the interest of everyday mankind by a claim to present a new explanation of the problems of life.

Thus it was that the very terms 'evolution' and 'development' became 'familiar in men's mouths as household words' only after the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. He was not the first to advance such theories. In the years before his book appeared, Herbert Spencer was busy with an ambitious attempt to build up a system of philosophy that would clear up and co-ordinate all existing knowledge. But the average man is inclined to leave philosophy to the professors and their classes, so that Spencer, the philosopher, wide as for a time his influence was on English thought, did not make the same general appeal to the great public as the naturalist Darwin, who put forward a theory, which he illustrated by a vast array of detailed and interesting facts from the worlds of plant and animal life, in support of what seemed at first sight a master key to all their complexities. All known forms of life had long been catalogued and classified into what were regarded as unchanging forms of genera and species. Darwin was the herald of a scientific revolution. He argued that the barriers between the species were not to be taken as impassable, but that all the forms of life might be merged into the stream of one great process of evolution.

The theory began to exert a positive spell over the popular mind, when man himself, who had hitherto appeared to hold an independent place above all the rest of creation, was represented merely as one of the many links in the long chain of this genealogical series of beings. It is true that it was not the careful thinker, Darwin, who first took this step, but the philosopher, Spencer, whose theorizing was more ready to fill the numerous gaps that remained in any supposed line of development,¹ and the biologist Huxley, who claimed to find the required links in the genealogical record of fossilized forms of life.²

The theory of development has, no doubt, done valuable service in the reconstruction of the history of primitive man. But we can no longer close our eyes to the serious injury done to the study of primitive man by excessive devotion to theories of an undeviating progressive development along one single definite line. This has affected both the form and method of investigation and the results claimed as having been secured by it.

The assertion of man's descent from earlier and lower forms of life exerted more than one unscientific influence on research, and resulted in the adoption of an ill-directed method of procedure. There was full knowledge only of the man of the present time, and this was to be the starting-point. Thence a bridge was to be thrown across the darkness of an unknown period of time to another point which only theory asserted to be known to us, namely, to the next highest form of life below man, and it was assumed that this was also well known to us and that from it man must be descended.

Among the earlier enthusiasts for evolution, such as Huxley, Wiedersheim, and Haeckel, there was hardly a doubt that this must be sought among the anthropoid apes. And now began the search for the 'missing links' that were to bridge the existing gap. These were to be apes which by their capacities and actions were above the ordinary level of the anthropoids, and groups of

¹ In his article 'The Development Hypothesis' in the *Leader* of the 20th May 1852.

² In his work *Evidence as to Man's place in Nature* (London, 1863), based on lectures delivered in 1860.

men who fell below the ordinary standard of mankind. This was the time when among zoologists there were reports of apes that were able to speak, sing, count, and reckon, and among the ethnologists the discovery of the 'Wild Men' without language, family life, religion, or good manners. The last vestige of these still survives in Lévy-Bruhl's belief in 'primitive men still in the stage when there is neither reason nor the formed idea'. It was the time when anthropologists were in search of men with exaggerated brute jaws, hairy skins, tails and the like; and pre-history was so obliging as to make the most of the Neanderthal man with his receding brute-like forehead, ugly projecting eyebrow ridges, and massive jaws.

But this enthusiasm for the monkeys did not last very long. For it was soon observed that there were a number of characteristics in man that were not to be found in the anthropoid and catarrhine monkeys, and which man could not have acquired later, because they are alike foreign to this line of development. On the other hand, it was evident that the anthropoids and catarrhines showed characteristics of which there is not a trace in man to suggest that he had ever possessed them—such as the peculiar dental formation, the callosity of the skin on which the animal sits, and the cheek pouches and double placenta of the catarrhines. So the anthropoids were set aside as mere collateral relations of mankind by such authorities as G. Schwalbe, Kohlbrugge, Hubrecht, Snell, Haacke, Klaatsch, Ranke, Kollmann, and others. Then other ancestors were suggested—among them South American apes, lemurids, insect-eaters, cheirotheria, and other forms of life, some of them entirely imaginary. Some of these suggestions went as far back as remote forms supposed to be the ancestors of all the mammalia, or even to forms proposed as the possible ancestors of all vertebrates among the oldest fossils of the Palaeozoic period. But the plain fact stands that amongst these thousands of forms not one could be definitely shown to be the ancestor of man.

The situation may now be summed up by noting that while popular writers are still ready to present anthropoid forms as the immediate ancestors of man, among experts there is extreme

perplexity as to how to find some form of surviving or recently extinct animal life that can be certainly selected as the ancestor of the human race. In short, the diversity of opinions on the subject can hardly be exaggerated. The theories are almost as numerous as the authorities for them; indeed they are more numerous, for several of these authorities have more than once changed their opinions.

From a truly scientific point of view the situation is, however, not that we have to build a bridge from one fixed point (present-day man) to another fixed point (the next highest form of animal life). It is a very different problem, under conditions more like these: on our bank of the river we have firm ground, and can fix the place for our bridge-head pier; but the river is of varying breadth, and indeed in some places so wide that one cannot be quite sure whether it is a river or the sea, and we have to construct our bridge from its fixed starting-point to some other point on the (supposed) farther bank which is absolutely unknown to us. Of course the result of our utter uncertainty as to where the bridge is to reach the hoped-for bridge-head on the farther side is that we are in complete ignorance about the whole plan of our bridge and its dimensions and structure.

This gives us a very fair presentment of the utterly hopeless position in which the problem of the beginnings of the human race has been left by conjectural theories of progressive evolution on one single line. It is easy to see what an injurious influence our ignorance as to any connecting links on the farther side has had upon the interpretation of the facts adduced as evidence for 'missing links'. For the same facts are often interpreted with contradictory meanings by different investigators. Thus, for instance, the heavily protruding eyebrow arches of the Neanderthaloids are explained by some as characteristic of an ascending development from apes to men, and by others as evidence of deterioration, or symptoms of old age. This latter view is based on the fact that they are less marked or quite absent in the skulls of women and children of the Neanderthal type. Contrary to Boule's statements on the subject, this fact has now been proved by the recent finding of the skulls of young

folk of this Neanderthal type near the Devil's Tower at Gibraltar. There is further confirmation of this in the remains found at Galley Hill, which are older than the Neanderthal period, and nevertheless show neither the heavy eyebrows nor the receding forehead, and also by those found at Ehringsdorf near Weimar, also earlier than the Neanderthal period, which show both these characteristics only in a much less marked degree.

CHAPTER II

THE RIGHT WAY TO A KNOWLEDGE OF PRIMITIVE MAN

ANY unprejudiced consideration of the methods we have thus outlined must lead to the conclusion that they cannot be correct, and that on such lines we can reach only a confused mass of mutually contradictory suppositions and theories, but no scientific certainty.

It must be clear that the purpose of our investigation being to obtain some knowledge of the earliest forms of mankind our first task will be to begin with those races as to whose historical age there is no doubt, and then, penetrating farther into the past, determine exactly, and on objective evidence, the age of every type we meet with, and by comparing these types with each other establish the actual historical succession of their appearance.

It must be further kept in mind that, from the very nature of the case, it follows that in any really exact research the farther we penetrate into the past, the more caution and reserve must be shown at every step, on account of the ever-increasing scarcity of objective evidence. Yet actually many authors seem to think that the fewer the decisive facts the more fully are they justified in putting forward the most daring theories.

Thirdly, it should be more and more clearly realized (though unfortunately this has not so far been generally the case) that for the solution of this fundamental problem, of the objective determination of the age of the various types of mankind, only two of the sciences that deal with man are available—prehistory and historical ethnology; physical ethnology, at least in the way in which this is now nearly everywhere studied, is not enough.

I. THE LIMITED ASSISTANCE OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

That special branch of anthropology which deals only with the bodily aspect of man is not in a position to deduce from it with any scientific exactitude the age and chronological

succession of the various types. As yet it remains only a science of classification. It can systematically arrange together the various forms of the skull, the limbs, the whole body in different groups, races and mixed races. Many anthropologists are accustomed to assign to these, merely on the ground of their characteristic structure, the order of their successive appearance in the world. They attempt this on the basis of a supposed progressive evolution, generally along one single line of development, and on the assumption that what is simpler in structure and of an inferior type may for such reasons alone be regarded as the older. By a series of estimates fixing the more or less simple inferior character of each type they assign it a place in the chronological series. The rule that undifferentiated forms are earlier, and that those that are differentiated are later, may be accepted, though it can be only of practical use in the broadest way.

But any sound method must be formed on other lines. For really scientific research in anthropology can only fix the age of the *now existing* human types with the help of ethnology, which by its historical methods may show us the sequence of peoples and races. For *prehistoric* types of mankind prehistory must come to our assistance, and supply us with the means of fixing their relative order of succession by research based on the known sequence of the geological formations in which their vestiges are found. As regards the remains of prehistoric man this principle is generally accepted, for no serious investigator will venture to give a definite opinion as to the age of any newly discovered bone if its geological environment is not certain.

However, it is essential to have the aid of ethnology in dealing with *existing* human types. Anything that anthropology alone, without the help of its two sister sciences, may venture to tell us about the chronological age of any given human type, or as to man in general, must be regarded by serious investigators as mere speculation, perhaps speculation of an interesting and more or less brilliant character, but without any claim to decisive weight in this most important question. We may thus dismiss

as irrelevant all merely anthropological theories as to the descent and development of man.

Besides this, anthropology at the utmost can tell us only what concerns the merely material aspect of man, his body and its functions. A few decades ago, at a time when sheer materialism was in fashion, we were told that this was in fact the really essential and distinctive aspect of man—thought, feeling, and will being only functions of his physical being. But such talk is now meaningless, for the independent nature and function of the spiritual element in man has since then been clearly demonstrated even by modern investigators using up-to-date methods and experiments.¹ The decisive significance of ethnology and prehistory is therefore all the more established, precisely because they make this spiritual aspect of man an object of their researches.

2. THE COMBINED HELP OF ETHNOLOGY AND PREHISTORY

It is the existence of this active spiritual element in man that reveals to us something that separates him by a wide abyss from every other form of animal life, no matter how high its grade may be. He stands apart as a being *sui generis et totaliter aliud*—of a special nature of his own, utterly different from all else. His capacity for forming general ideas, his reason and knowledge of cause and effect, his speech, his invention and use of tools, the real progress he has achieved all combine to prove him to be a hitherto unknown feature in the created world, a being that, unlike all the living creatures that preceded him, can seek to gain and actually attain a grasp and control of nature and natural forces over an ever wider and wider field.

¹ The position that is now taken by leading anthropologists on this question is well shown by the words with which the American anthropologist C. F. de Garis concludes his review of a book written under the influence of the older materialist theory (F. Tilney, *The Brain from the Ape to Man*): 'It sets out with the sturdy faith, which some of us share for lack of an alternative, that human biology is a co-ordinate branch of mechanistic science. But what conclusion can we draw? It is with the greatest reluctance that we draw any, but if we must, then let it be this: the case of human biology has not been reduced to a mechanistic science by anything we have ever read, certainly not by this massive treatise on the brain from ape to man.' (*American Anthropologist*, vol. xxxi, No. 3, 1929, p. 537.)

This intellectual character and capacity of man gives him from the very outset an essential pre-eminence that even the longest possible list of resemblances between the skeletons of men and apes, such as Keith and Macnamara try to demonstrate, can never diminish or outweigh. This is all the more evident because even these correspondences in material structure are neither so qualitatively nor quantitatively important as to suggest any material basis for a mental equality.

Thus, for instance, we find that while the highest cranial capacity in the apes amounts, at the utmost, to about 600 cubic centimetres, in men it is at the lowest 950 and rises to 1,700 and more. So far then as the indication supplied by cranial capacity goes, the difference of 350 cubic centimetres between the anthropoids and men is not half as great as the difference of 750 or more between men and men, all of whom exhibit a full intellectual capacity.

That this full development of mind is present even in the very earliest of men, in all its essential features, and in a surprising number even of non-essentials, is a fact that modern ethnology and prehistory can demonstrate with scientific certainty. All the earlier attempts to discover within the human race itself 'inferior' transitional types and links with the lower animals may be dismissed as hopeless failures.

At the same time researches into the mental life of the higher animals have been carried out with greater exactitude, and it has been completely and conclusively shown that the chasm which divides them from the primitive man is much wider and deeper than many at an earlier date were inclined to believe.

Both of these sciences devoted to the study of mankind—ethnology and prehistory—show us the spiritual element in man, reveal something of his history, and enable us to trace the actual historical succession of the various races of men. But if we compare their resources and methods for the solution of such problems we find that these sciences do not actually hold the same position.

Prehistory can give us only fragmentary and limited informa-

tion regarding the spiritual aspect of man, and this the less completely the earlier are the forms of human life with which it deals. But ethnology can put before us the mental development of the earliest types with vivid fullness and detail.

On the other hand, prehistory is able to determine with absolute certainty the relative historical succession of the remains of early man and his works for thousands of years by fixing, often with microscopic exactitude, the succession of the strata in which these human vestiges are discovered. But at first sight ethnology seems to possess no such reliable methods, since the primitive races, which are the most important objects of its researches, seem to present a limited historical background, often of only a few centuries.

This seeming difference was overcome as far back as the first half of the eighteenth century, when P. Lafitau, the founder of scientific ethnology, in his work *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, published in Paris in 1724, laid down and developed the fundamental principle that existing uncivilized races show us the stagnant remains of earlier stages of civilization, through which the ancestors of the more advanced race passed thousands of years ago, leaving us vestiges of these earlier stages to be found among the discoveries of prehistory.

Later on ethnology came under the influence of evolutionist theories, which dominated it during the greater part of the nineteenth century. But at the beginning of the present century, in all countries, ethnology came under the new influence of an historical movement, which supplied it with the means of rising above mere conjectures and theories, and defining with scientific accuracy the succession of human and cultural types. The result is that ethnology has won an equal rank with prehistory, and besides this has been able to supply a wealth of evidence as to these earlier stages of civilization, securing for us in that sphere a more extensive and better grounded knowledge of realities.

But the difficulties of the task, which increase as we reach the earlier stages of our inquiry, make it an absolute necessity to call in the aid of both these sciences, ethnology as well as pre-

history, with all their resources, in order to have full certainty as to the order of racial succession, and to obtain more complete information on matters of detail.

It is fortunate that in our own time a movement has developed among the workers in both sciences for methodical co-operation in this direction, and the result has already been a fundamental agreement on many important points. We shall now give a brief account of this movement in both sciences, turning first to ethnology.

CHAPTER III

THE HELP OF ETHNOLOGY

I. EVOLUTIONISM SUPERSEDED BY THE HISTORICAL MOVEMENT

WE have seen how in the very beginning of ethnological research Lafitau put forward his theory that the still existing uncivilized races could give us the earliest image of the life of primitive man. But it was the fate of ethnology that the widespread application of this principle in the nineteenth century was unduly influenced by the dominant evolutionist and materialistic theories of the time.

The coincidence of the appearance in the same year, 1859, of Darwin's *Origin of Species* and Adolf Bastian's *Man in History* is noteworthy in this connexion. For the evolutionist idea was to trace the beginnings of human history in all its aspects, not from what was undeveloped but from what was most degraded. The more base, coarse, repulsive, and irrational a custom or idea was, the more primitive it was declared to be. The result was that attempts to fix the relative age and sequence of the various races were based only on utterly unreliable and imaginary estimates of time. As the long-drawn evolutionary schemes that were elaborated on this basis generally showed considerable gaps in the evidence for this or that individual race, an idea of Bastian's (correct enough in itself) was continually misapplied. The evidence that was not to be found in the case of one race was arbitrarily supplied from others, in which, thanks to what was often a superficial theory, similar influences were supposed to have been at work, this being done on the assumption that the course of human development had everywhere followed one essentially uniform line. This method, which was really no method whatever, was in general use among the earlier workers in ethnology, sociology, and comparative religion up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Amongst those who adopted it we may cite such names as Lubbock, Herbert Spencer, Tylor, Andrew Lang, J. H. Frazer, F. B. Jevons, E. S. Hartland, J. Lippert, Gerland, Morgan, McLennan, Post, J. Kohler

Adolf Bastian, O. Peschel, H. Schurtz, Letourneau, Putnam, Powell, A. Réville, J. Deniker, Goblet D'Alviella, S. Reinach, E. Durkheim, H. Hubert, M. Mauss, and L. Lévy-Bruhl. Most of the theories they put forward rest on this unstable basis and stand in need of some support of quite a different kind, if indeed, as is the case with many of them, they are not utterly untenable.

From 1887 onwards, opposition to all such methods developed in Germany. The pioneer of the movement was Frederic Ratzel, who insisted on the necessity of research into the question of the actual migration of the arts and customs of early civilization from race to race and from land to land (the 'migration theory'). Frobenius, in 1898 and the following years, further developed this investigation, by showing that not only single features of civilized life, but whole organized systems of culture, had thus migrated, spreading from earlier centres and exercising a mutual influence on each other.¹ This theory was more fully elaborated by B. Ankermann and F. Graebner (1905, &c.), especially by the latter, who published in 1911 his invaluable work *Methode der Ethnologie* (Heidelberg). Their views were supported in Germany by W. Foy, W. Schmidt, W. Koppers, W. Krickeberg, W. Trimborn, K. Leser, P. Schebesta, E. Vatter, A. Gahs, and others².

In North America the direction of ethnological studies was soon altered by the work of F. Boas, R. B. Dixon, G. C. Wheeler, C. Wissler, A. L. Kroeber, H. R. Swanton, R. H. Lowie, A. A. Goldenweiser, E. Sapir, and others, who mostly approached the German school very closely.

It was in England that the evolutionist school held the field longest and most tenaciously. But N. W. Thomas and still more W. H. Rivers in his Presidential Address to the Section for Anthropology, British Association, on 'The Ethnological Analysis of Culture' (1911), and his *History of Melanesian Society*, broke with the dominant tradition. So did Elliot Smith and P. Perry, who lessened the value of their contribution to the historical movement by an exaggerated Pan-Egyptianism.

¹ For these and other authors and publications here mentioned, see B. Ankermann, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, p. 5, note 2.

² For further details as to these authors and what follows, see W. Schmidt, *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (London, 1930: Methuen & Co., Ltd.), pp. 222 ff.

In France A. de Quatrefages had been one of the first to adopt the historical method, though not very thoroughly. In certain limited spheres work in this direction was done by M. Delafosse (West Africa) and P. P. Rivet (South America), and H. Pinard de la Boullaye made a wide use of the historical method. In the northern lands—Sweden, Denmark, and Finland—it found distinguished supporters in E. Nordenskiöld, S. Linne, G. Montell, A. Métranx, W. Thalbitzer, K. Rasmussen, K. Birket-Smith, K. Krohn, and others.

Special service in the application of the historical method to ethnology has been done by the two American investigators, E. Sapir in his *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture; A Study in Methods* (Ottawa, 1916), and R. H. Lowie in his *Primitive Religion*. But above all credit is due to Graebner's *Methode der Ethnologie* (Heidelberg, 1911) and H. Pinard de la Boullaye's *Étude comparée des religions* (Paris, 1922, and second edition, 1929).

2. AN ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD

These new historical tendencies in ethnological research have already given us results that are directly contrary to the theories put forward by the evolutionists. The most important point is that they give us an absolutely different picture of the earliest times of the human race. The fact that these results have radically and completely changed the whole position of this important question makes it necessary for us to explain the procedure and the methods by which such results have been reached. This can, of course, be here traced only on broad and general lines. A fuller explanation of this subject will be found in W. Schmidt's *The Origin and Growth of Religion. Facts and Theories* (London, 1930: Methuen & Co., Ltd., pp. 230 ff.), and a complete account of it in the works of the authors already mentioned, especially F. Graebner and Pinard de la Boullaye.

The first step must be to verify the correctness and authenticity of the available facts by a critical examination of the evidence for them. Having thus by sound critical methods ascertained their real significance, the next problem will be to accept a

systematic arrangement of these data in their relations of time and space—successive sequence and local connexion—with a view to determining the causes and conditions of their origin and the influences affecting their further development.

(a) *The criteria of historical connexion.* At the very outset of our task we have to determine what have been the historical connexions between characteristic elements that we find in the culture of various races and groups of men, with special reference to their distribution and relative positions on the earth's surface, and their possible points of contact with each other.

In the comparison between any two such races or groups tests or criteria have to be used to make sure that the resemblances between them are not merely accidental coincidences but indicate an historical connexion. What is known as the *criterion of form* implies the need of examining the question whether an observed characteristic resemblance may be due to such causes as the same kind of material being available for tools and weapons, or to the nature and purpose of the object in question. The *criterion of form* must therefore be supplemented by the very important *criterion of quantity*, that is, the test of not *one* but *several* different kinds of such resemblances being present in the cases under examination.

Moreover, in such cases the possibility of a former continuous contact must be proved, and the *criterion of continuity* must be called to our assistance. For the original diffusion of any characteristic element of civilization cannot have proceeded by leaps and bounds leaving intervening inhabited regions unaffected by it. There must have been continuity at one time or another if transmission of such features is to be asserted, and *actio in distans* is here impossible.

The case for the possibility of such former contacts is strengthened if we still find, in the intervening area between peoples now separated in space, remnants of races showing the same or similar characteristics, though now surrounded by those that belong to a different stage of civilization; for these must be vestiges and surviving traces of what were once existing connexions. The force of the argument is still further increased if

we can invoke the *criterion of the degree of relationship*. This means that if we find that the resemblances between these detached groups and the races of the now separated main areas become closer and more numerous the nearer we come to their borders, this gives us a proof that the resemblances have not arisen accidentally and independently, but owe their origin and persistence to a common historical connexion with the main areas.

By these methods it becomes possible to determine in a thoroughly objective way, without subjective conjectures or mere theorizing, what cultural elements and systems owe their resemblances to former historical contacts during the migrations of the races concerned, and we are in this way able to determine with certainty historical connexions in the medium of space.

But this historical method enables us also to show these connexions in a chronological series, and this is of special importance in the case of barbarous tribes which possess no written chronological record. It is just in these cases that evolutionism makes its worst mistake by estimating the age of a characteristic or a group of characteristics according to a conjectural idea of what is more or less crudely primitive. But the historical method fixes its sequence of dates by objective evidence.

Thus, for example, if two civilizations of diverse character come into contact, either the borderlands of the two will overlap and mixed forms will result, or else they will only be in touch at their extreme margins and minor contact-phenomena will be produced. It is plain that such mixed forms and contact forms must be, always and everywhere, later than the parent forms. This is the first objective ethnological time-rule, and we can draw from it further evidence as to chronological sequence. Thus mixed forms and contact forms still recognizable as such are obviously earlier than those in which the components have been fused into a new unity, for this naturally requires a lapse of longer time.

(b) *Spheres and stages of civilization*. When we have studied on these lines some extensive region, as for instance a continent, determined what are its various spheres of civilization, and distinguished the districts of mixed and contact forms of culture

from the areas in which it is of a uniform and unmixed character, it is often to be found that a number of these latter spheres show relations with one another, and this in two ways:

Either it is easy to see that there is a close organic relation between the various cultural elements in each separate area, and at the same time a similarity with those of other areas, including generally linguistic connexions. In this case we have cultural spheres of recent organization—as for instance the Polynesian culture sphere in the Pacific Ocean. Or we have a number of characteristic elements which do not appear to be closely related to each other, but nevertheless are always found more or less together in various areas. Here we have *cultural spheres of an earlier date*. The existing apparent lack of coherence between these elements, in the several areas, indicates a long continued admixture from other spheres, yet continual recurrence of coincidence shows their earlier historical kinship.

That these individual areas all belong historically to one sphere of cultural development is evident from the large number of special characteristics that are common to them. The criterion of quantity is valuable here, but the criterion of form has also its legitimate application. For a persevering investigation shows that this similarity of characteristic forms is to be found in every department of cultural life—material, economic, social, ethical, and religious—so that wherever we find a local area of this cultural sphere, these various characteristic elements of culture are everywhere to be seen in combination.

So we have secured a notable step forward, for we are now able to establish an historical connexion, not only between individual elements and features of culture, but also between whole spheres of culture, that not only dominate extended territorial regions, but also reveal to us the long lapse of time they must have required for the development of the organized unity of a cultural sphere out of their various separate elements. But just as single elements and groups come into contact with different elements and groups, and thus produce mixed forms and border forms, the same thing will of course happen on the contact of whole spheres of civilization; and just as we are able

to establish a sequence of time between individual elements and groups, on the principle that the mixed and contact forms must always be more recent than the normally combined forms characteristic of the two culture areas in which they are found, so the same principle, of course, applies to mixed and contact forms arising out of the intercourse between whole spheres of culture. A region of mixed and contact forms with its characteristic developments is always more recent than the adjacent spheres of culture and their unmixed forms. It is thus that our chronological scale holds good over widely extended regions.

But here we secure two further and valuable rules for fixing our scale of time. A sphere of culture may not only come in contact with another at some given point, but it may break through into its territory and divide it into two disconnected parts. It is obvious that at the point of penetration the invading sphere of culture is the more recent. Again, one sphere may be so overlaid by another that nothing is left of the former but scattered rudimentary remnants here and there in the area thus overrun. It must be the earlier in the region where it has thus been overlaid, and there certainly must have been a time when the existing fragments were part of a living organized unity.

There is a widely accepted theory, which is not contradicted by any sound results of science, such as those of ethnology and prehistory, but rather gains more and more confirmation from them, to the effect that the human race had its origin in Asia, and thence gradually spread into other continents. This being accepted, we have one more objective basis for our chronology. Those regions where savage races are to be found to-day—Africa, Oceania, and America—are not joined to Asia by any broad stretch of land which would permit of the migrant peoples pouring into them on a wide untrammelled front. On the contrary they are joined with Asia by narrow causeways or by strings of islands, so that the main movement of migration must have been along these, especially in the earliest periods, when oversea navigation was hardly yet developed but only coast navigation by very imperfect and fragile vehicles, as rafts, dug-out canoes, &c.

As to these three regions we may come to the conclusion that it is the earliest of the migrant races that have penetrated to their remote parts, or have been forced to retire into them by succeeding waves of immigration; and that the more recent peoples in these regions will be found established nearer to the points of entrance. Further, we may note that the remnants of the older races will hold out more easily in out-of-the-way districts, in mountainous country difficult of access, or in the areas of primeval forests and deserts and similar inhospitable localities, or in remote islands.

With the help of these criteria it will be possible for us to determine on matter-of-fact lines, and with scientific precision and accuracy, without need of recourse to mere theories and suppositions, what is the successive order and relative age of the different spheres of civilization in various parts of the world. The object of this comparative study must be, first to determine the extent over which these different cultures have spread, and then by a further comparison of them to discover which represents the earliest stage of civilization in general, and in what order and succession the others are connected with it. We may then be able to determine in what region each of them had its beginning. Of course we are as yet far from a final solution of most of these important problems.

Two helpful rules may be noted here: (1) a stage or sphere of civilization that appears to be the earliest in every region of the world in which we find it must be considered to represent what is absolutely the earliest known form of culture for the human race; and (2) a cultural sphere that divides another or is superimposed upon it did not originate in the area where this penetration or superimposition is now to be found.

(c) *Origin and development of cultural elements.* Now that we have learned how to form reliable conclusions as to the various spheres of culture, their boundaries, superimpositions, and confusions, and their relative and absolute chronological order, we can proceed with some confidence to deal with the solution of important questions connected with the development of the individual cultural elements. What is to be our answer to the

question of the development of the family, the state, religion, domestic life, and implements? What was their beginning and the course of their subsequent progress?

At the very outset it is obvious that the chronological criteria we have already dealt with must be of the utmost importance for solving the problem of development; for they show us, at least in broad outline, the general course it must have followed and the order of its successive phases. But the historical method can be of still further service to us. In the first place it can show us what points may be left out of account in our investigation of the intrinsic development of a region, a tendency, an object, because they are the result of an external influence. It is obvious that it is important to take into account the migration of civilizations and their constituent elements, for it is as the result of these movements that there are external contacts and fusions which do not arise *from within* and from the *essential* character of elements of culture that we are examining.

But if we wish to bring out clearly the self-determined course of this characteristic essential development it is not only forms owing their origin to such (secondary) external fusion that must be left out of account in our comparisons. For we cannot safely assert for any isolated element in a sphere of culture a connexion with the essential development of similar elements in another sphere. A sphere of culture can only acquire its many special characteristics if it has ample time to hold its own and develop these elements in separate independence from other spheres without in any way borrowing from others or being influenced by them. Thus the round, conical-roofed hut, characteristic of the patriarchal-totemistic stage of civilization, cannot be brought into any genealogical connexion with the right-angled and gable-roofed houses of the matriarchal-agrarian stage. The two stages had independent origins, and for a long time a separate development. It was not till a much later period that migrations brought them into contact.

Therefore as long as we are concerned with the problems of this development of cultural elements by their own *essential inward* character and force, we can only take account of such

as are found in the same sphere of culture. All the rest are for our purpose *disparata et incomparabilia*—different matters to be left out of our reckoning. It is easy to see what a multitude of airy parallelisms and schemes of descent are thus put completely aside. Moreover, the characteristic forms of another sphere of culture can be taken into account only where the two spheres themselves are essentially related, either by one being derived from the other, or both being descendants of an earlier third sphere of culture.

The problem of arranging the various elements of any given sphere of culture in accordance with their relative age, and then determining the course of development of each of them, can only be solved by applying the objective criteria, with which we are now familiar. Some further explanation and details as to these might be added, but these may be omitted here, so as not to make our discussion of this matter too prolix. But we must briefly touch upon the final and decisive question of the *origin of individual forms of civilization*.

This is the question on which there is such a radical divergence between the historical school and the *evolutionist-psychological school*. These latter are continually discussing questions of origin, and persist in explaining the origin of a cultural form, a tool, a custom, a social arrangement, in the light of the circumstances in which they are now found and the conditions of the present day. The historical school, on the contrary, defers all these questions to the very last, and this is the only permissible method. All the investigations carried out with the help of the criteria we have already discussed must precede any sound attempt to solve the problem of the origin of any given cultural element. For, first of all, we must ascertain the stage of civilization to which it belongs, and then the successive phases of its development through the whole sphere of culture to which it belongs, in order to make certain what is its earliest form. This earliest form is the most important, dating as it does nearest to the actual origin, and therefore holding the leading place in the evidence for our inquiry. Later forms, the further they are removed from this beginning, can obviously tell us little or

nothing of their origin, for in the subsequent course of development they have acquired new features and lost some of their earlier characteristics. We can now formulate two important general rules:

1. The origin of any cultural element can only be explained by the ideas and circumstances of the sphere of culture to which it belongs, and not from any general consideration of probabilities—and still less from the ideas and circumstances of some other sphere of culture.

2. In any sphere of culture the earliest forms of its element are those that are of importance for clearing up the question of origin, as it is those that best mirror for us the physical and psychical conditions that first gave rise to them.

3. SPHERES OF CULTURE AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

As a result of researches conducted by these methods the various forms of civilization that are found spread all over the world in special juxtaposition may be grouped together in great 'spheres of culture'. It is likewise now possible to determine the relations of these civilizations and spheres of culture in temporal succession and to set forth their historical sequence on broad lines based on actual facts. The names given to these spheres of culture are generally derived from the economic and social relations that are characteristic of them.

They have been divided into three grades—a Primitive grade and Primary and Secondary grades. To the Primitive grade belong all those races of men still among the so-called 'food-gatherers'. The 'food-gatherers' do not yet do any work to increase the productivity of nature, but only seek and collect what nature spontaneously offers them, the men obtaining flesh food by the chase, and the women vegetable food by collecting it from the plants. To the Primary grade belong those spheres of culture in which we find the beginnings of productive work. Here the plant-collecting of the women makes a step forward to some cultivation of plants and the use of the primitive hoe or pick. This is the stage of exogamous matriarchal civilization; in another stage, that of large patriarchal families, the men's

hunting leads to the keeping and rearing of cattle, and in yet another, the exogamous patrilineal system, there is a development of Totemism, a kind of animal worship. In the Secondary grade new forms of civilization arise out of a fusion of Primary cultures with one another or with those of the Primitive spheres.

In the Primitive grade we can distinguish three spheres of culture: (1) The central or exogamous-monogamous sphere—which includes the Pygmy and Pygmoid peoples of Africa and Asia, living generally in the middle zone of the earth, south of the Equator. (2) The northern or arctic sphere of culture, which includes the Samoyedes, Koryaks, Ainus, and primitive Esquimaux, and, now widely detached from these, the Interior Salish tribes, the north-central Californian tribes, and the Algonquins. (3) The southern or antarctic sphere, which includes the south-eastern Australians and Tasmanians, the Bushmen, and the Fuegians. The so-called Boomerang civilization in south-east Australia, on the Upper Nile, and in South Africa is probably not an original form of culture, but a fusion of a Primary culture—the matriarchal-agrarian—with one of the Primitive cultures.

In the Primary grade we also find, in the same way, three spheres of culture. The large patriarchal family group is that of cattle-keeping nomads (shepherds and herdsmen) who later became conquering and ruling races. It includes the Altai peoples (Turks, Mongols, &c.), the Indo-Europeans, and the Hamito-Semites. The exogamous patrilineal type of the higher kind of Totemistic hunters, the founders of arts, crafts, and trade, and thus of urban civilization, has not a very compact area to-day, for it is found here and there over north and central Australia, New Guinea, parts of Melanesia and the Indian Archipelago, India, and wide territories in Africa and North and South America. Similarly the exogamous matriarchal culture of the small farmers, the founders of village life, no longer forms a compact sphere. It is found in east and west Australia, central Melanesia, parts of the Indian Archipelago, Indo-China and India, western and central East Africa, and parts of North and South America.

It is not so easy to give briefly the distribution of the Secondary spheres of culture. We must be content to note that the free matriarchal and patriarchal spheres of culture in some instances reach back to the earliest historical periods of western Asia and Europe.

It is very important to keep in mind the fact that the Primary cultures did not come into existence one after another in uninterrupted succession, in such a way that all peoples passed through all these stages of civilization. For some of the Primitive culture races developed into the higher grade of Totemistic hunters, others into tribes of herdsmen and shepherds, and others again into the lower grade of tillers of the soil, and each and all of these special kinds of Primary culture may have developed for hundreds or thousands of years independently in their particular way of life. It was only later that any one form of culture would adopt elements from one or both of the others by contact and fusion, which would of course vary with the relative degree of vigour in the races thus mutually influencing each other. This would be true also of the Secondary cultures.

A similar independent persistence of its three spheres of culture prevailed in the Primitive grade, but it is probable that the third developed in Oceania, Asia, and Africa later than the other two, and the second later than the first. All three would seem to indicate the existence of a still older culture, the really original type, though actual remains of it have not so far been anywhere discovered.

The following table gives a scheme of the number, names, and successive order of the known spheres of culture:

I. *Primitive Grade.* (The food-gatherers.)¹

1. Central Primitive culture; exogamous monogamistic.
2. Southern Primitive culture; exogamous with sex-totems.
3. Arctic Primitive culture; exogamous with equal rights.
4. Boomerang culture; mixture of primitive and a matriarchal type.

¹ Man provides flesh food by hunting, woman plant food by collecting.

II. *Primary Grade.*

Exogamous patrilineal (Totemism, higher hunting, urban civilization).	Exogamous matrilineal (lower agricultural, village civilization).
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Patriarchal household type (cattle-keeping nomads, ruling races).

III. *Secondary Grade.*

Free patrilineal systems (Polynesia, the Sudan, India, Western Asia, S. Europe, &c.).	Free matrilineal systems (S. China, Indo-China, Melanesia, NE. South America, &c.).
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IV. *Tertiary Grade.*

Earliest higher civilizations of Asia, Europe, and America.

CHAPTER IV

THE HELP OF PREHISTORY

I. THE PREHISTORIC STAGES AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

WE have now to examine the question how far prehistory in its own field can solve the problem of classifying the various stages of civilization and placing them in their relative historical sequence. First of all we must observe that for a long time the field of its investigations was almost entirely limited to the west of Europe and the adjacent districts of its southern and central countries, and the greater part of its discoveries, with the names given to the successive stages of civilization, still dates from this pioneer period of research. We may well be surprised at the large number of daring theories as to the beginnings of the human race formed in the last few decades of years, which have been based on so limited a field of observation, on only a small part of the whole surface of the earth. For this western region is really only an outlying peninsula of the huge continental mass of Asia-Europe. It cannot, therefore, have been the original cradle-land of mankind. But nowadays we need not trouble ourselves with these theories, for their inadequacy is clear to every competent critic.

Nevertheless, during this earlier period of research prehistory has been able to distinguish and place in their order of historic sequence a number of stages of civilization, and these results have held good for this limited area, and, with some modifications, have been confirmed by discoveries in gradually extended areas in eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. I give here a brief list of these stages with their usually accepted nomenclature and characteristics. It is taken from M. C. Burkitt's admirable text-book, *Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1921, pp. 37 ff.), with its introductory note:

Palaeolithic Man only chipped his implements, was a hunter knowing nothing of agriculture or domestic animals and never made real pottery. Neolithic Man, on the other hand, belonged to a totally different race, that swept into western Europe, having a knowledge of agriculture, domestic animals, and pottery—and he often polished

TABLE OF PALAEO-LITHIC CIVILIZATIONS

UPPER PALAEO- LITHIC.	<i>Azilian.</i> ¹	
	Upper	{ Maglemose in Scandinavia (?) migrations westward due to
	Lower	{ Neolithic pressure from the east.
	<i>Magdalenian.</i>	
	Upper.	M. 6 (b) } Double-row harpoons.
		M. 6 (a) }
	Middle.	M. 5 Single-row harpoons.
	Lower.	M. 4 Primitive harpoons.
		M. 3 } No harpoons, but lance-points.
		M. 2 }
LOWER PALAEO- LITHIC.		M. 1 }
	<i>Solutrean.</i>	
	Upper.	Shouldered points.
	Middle.	'Laurel leaves', no shouldered points.
	Proto-Solutrean trimming in places on the implement, and no 'laurel leaves'.	
	<i>Aurignacian.</i>	
	Upper.	Gravette points with shouldered points at the end of the period.
	Middle.	Beaked graters and keeled scrapers, split base-bone points.
	Lower.	Châtelperron points.
	Transition.	Audi points.
	<i>Mousterian.</i> ²	
	Upper.	No <i>coups-de-poing</i> , Mousterian points, side-scrapers; utilized bones throughout Mousterian times.
	Middle.	Mousterian trimming, few <i>coups-de-poing</i> .
	Lower.	Mousterian trimming, many <i>coups-de-poing</i> , and Levallois flakes.
	<i>Acheulean.</i>	
	Upper.	Levallois flakes, fine <i>coups-de-poing</i> .
	Lower.	Oval <i>coups-de-poing</i> sometimes with twisted edge.
	<i>Chellean.</i>	
	Upper.	Long pointed <i>coups-de-poing</i> , flaked all over but with an uneven serrated edge.
	Lower.	Pointed <i>coups-de-poing</i> of medium length, uneven serrated edge, often some crust left on butt-end.
	First appearance of almond-shaped <i>coups-de-poing</i> . A few awls and scrapers.	
	<i>Pre-Chellean.</i>	
	Very rough <i>coups-de-poing</i> often with crust on butt-end sometimes like rough hand-picks.	

¹ Azilian, classed as Transitional period by some writers.² Classed as Middle Palaeolithic by some writers.

his stone implements. In certain parts of the world he learnt at an early date to smelt copper, and harden it with tin, and as this discovery spread, Man passed insensibly into the Bronze Age. The various subdivisions of the Palaeolithic age are named after certain places in France, where the particular culture is very distinctive, and as will be seen each of these is further divided into smaller subdivisions shown by slight changes in the industries found in various superimposed layers at those places where the particular subdivision is well represented.

Azilian is named from the cave of Mas d'Azil (Ariège).

Magdalenian, from La Madeleine near Les Eyzies (Dordogne).

Solutrean, from Solutre near Mâcon in eastern France (Saône et Loire).

Aurignacian, from Aurignac, a small rock shelter now quarried away (Haute Garonne).

Mousterian, from Moustier, a rock shelter about 6 or 7 miles from Les Eyzies.

Acheulean, from the quarries of St. Acheul, a suburb of Amiens.

Chellean, from the quarries of Chelles-sur-Marne (Seine et Marne).

Pre-Chellean are deposits which stratigraphically are earlier than the Chellean.

This may be supplemented from the masterly work of H. Obermaier, 'Das Paläolithikum und Epipaläolithikum Spaniens' (*Anthropos*, xiv-xv, 1919-20, pp. 143-79), in which there is added not only a Pre-Chellean period at the beginning of the Palaeolithic, but also a *Capsian*—which belongs to the interval between North Africa and western Europe (France)—and an *Epipalaeolithic* (Endo-Capsian, Tardenoisian, and Azilian), after which there follows a *Protoneolithic* (Campignian and Asturian). I add here a chronological table from this essay showing the relation of the prehistoric stages to the various ice ages, about whose number and duration there is still lively controversy:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| I. FIRST ICE AGE (Günz) | } No certain traces of Man. |
| 1. <i>First Intermediate Period</i> | |
| II. SECOND ICE AGE (Mindel) | } . . . Pre-Chellean (<i>Homo Heidelbergensis</i>). |
| 2. <i>Second Intermediate Period</i> | |

- III. THIRD ICE AGE (Riss) . . . Cold Early Chellean?
3. *Third Intermediate Period:*
- (a) Initial Phase . . . Warm Early Chellean.
- (b) Middle Phase (Warm Forest) . Late Chellean, Lower Acheulean.
- (c) Final Phase (Cool Steppes) . Upper Acheulean, Lower Mousterian
(*Homo Neandertalensis*).
- IV. FOURTH ICE AGE (Wurm) . . Upper Mousterian, Lower Aurignacian
(*Homo Sapiens*, var. *fossilis*).
4. *Post-glacial Period:*
- (a) Oscillation of Achen (cold) . Upper Aurignacian, Solutrean.
- (b) Advance of Bühl (cold) . Magdalenian.
- (c) Ancylos Period . . . Epipalaeolithic.
- (d) Littorina Period (most favourable climate) . . . Protoncolithic.
- V. GEOLOGICAL PRESENT . . . Neolithic, up to the Historical Present.

2. THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF PREHISTORIC STAGES

During the last twenty years we have advanced so far as to make it clear that these various stages of culture did not everywhere follow each other in the same order and uninterrupted succession. Here and there one or another is missing, or one is found in full development, while another is found only in some defective state—rudimentary or in decline.

This is why the theory of evolution on a single line of uniform progress, which had long dominated the study of prehistoric times, was seriously discredited, and the historical method prevailed and came into its own. It was realized that there could be no longer question of self-contained developments completing their progress through ages of independent isolation, but that there had been migrations of various cultures, which arose in one or other part of the world, and in the course of centuries or of thousands of years had moved some into one, some into another region of the earth and gained possession of it. In these movements they often came into contact with other cultures already in possession, and usually of an older type. These they either dislodged, and kept contact with them only on their margins, or they dominated and combined with them.

This view was more and more strongly championed by Pigorini, Obermaier, Breuil, Rellinsi, R. R. Schmidt, J. Bayer, Burkitt, Red-Moir, and others. It could not fail to gain greater

authority as the progress of prehistoric studies extended first to the rest of Europe and then (though at first only here and there) to Egypt, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, then to Siberia, Turkestan, Mongolia, China and Japan, India and Indo-China, and finally to the south and other parts of Africa. Here the researches of Heine-Geldern, Lebzelter, G. Childe, and above all O. Menghin have opened up entirely new fields of investigation. It was Menghin who, as the result of a comprehensive study of all the prehistoric discoveries in every part of the world and the results of ethnological research into the history of civilization, drew up a complete and detailed parallel scheme showing the conclusions reached by both of these sciences. To both of them it was the source of important new indications and suggestions, and, as far as is humanly possible, it lays down those broad and secure foundation lines that befit the study of the earlier ages of mankind.

Before I reproduce this parallel scheme, I must refer to an important fact that bears upon two series of results. It was not one of Menghin's deductions, but was first recognized with due insistence as to its importance by H. Obermaier.

3. THE PARALLEL BETWEEN ETHNOLOGICAL AND PREHISTORIC CULTURES

As we have seen, especially in the earlier prehistoric periods, the ways in which stone is adapted for use as a tool gives us the most important characteristic indications of the various stages of progress. This is shown by the general use of such terms as *palaeolithic* and *neolithic*. But it is clear that man must have begun to make his first tools, not with stone, which as yet it would be difficult to shape, but with wood, which could much more easily be shaped to his requirements, this being done with the help of naturally sharp-edged bits of stone or shells. This period, in which the shaping of stone was still an unknown art, may be called the *alithic* or *prelithic* age.¹

¹ 'There may have been, there probably were, implements made of wood and other perishable material; of these, of course, we have no trace.' M. C. Burkitt, *Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 62.

It is further obvious that this oldest and most truly Primitive period cannot have left us any tangible remains of its arts to prove its existence, for all its wooden implements must have long ago mouldered away. As to the later stone ages, prehistory, thanks to the durable material of their tools, can fix their date and order of sequence with certainty, but it cannot do this justly for the earliest period.

But ethnology gives us a very different position. For it can show us an existing stage of civilization that as yet is ignorant of working in stone, but is quite content with implements made of wood and shells. This is the case with the whole of the Pygmy races, which belong to the central Primitive stage of culture, and in other respects appear to be older than the Arctic and Antarctic types of culture.¹

Thus ethnology gives us a type of culture for which prehistory can supply no parallel, because it is older than all those to which it has access. But though prehistory can give us no positive proofs of the existence of an early type of culture like that of the Pygmies, this is no argument against its existence, but only shows the limitations of prehistory. Heine-Geldern, however, has given us at least an indirect prehistoric proof as regards the Semang Pygmies, for he has shown that in their country though primitive refuse heaps were found, like those of the so-called 'kitchen middens' which in Denmark and other countries contain some rude palaeolithic implements, nowhere was even the most primitive stone implement discovered in them.²

We may now, with the numerous parallels in points of detail between prehistoric cultures and ethnological spheres of culture, establish a twofold parallelism in the classification of these two series of results: (1) the ethnological division into Primitive and Primary cultures is in fairly complete agreement with the prehistorical division into the earlier and later palaeolithic period; and (2) the ethnological division into Primitive and Primary cultures on the one hand and Secondary and Tertiary

¹ Cf. W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, vol. iii, pp. 7 ff. (Münster, 1930).

² Cf. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f.

cultures on the other, corresponds with the prehistoric division into the palaeolithic and the neolithic periods.

On the basis of these established general principles we can now set forth a parallel scheme of the classification and succession of the stages of culture revealed to us by ethnology and prehistory.¹

¹ Meanwhile has appeared O. Menghin's great work *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (Vienna, 1931), which expounds, in a thorough manner and in brilliant syntheses, the complete parallel existing between the prehistoric layers and the ethnological culture-sphere. We regret that it is not possible to enter here into the details of this new scheme, cf. its account by W. Koppers in *Anthropos*, xxvii, 1931, pp. 223 ff.

PART II

A SYSTEMATIC STATEMENT OF OUR ACTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF PRIMITIVE MAN

IT may perhaps seem to some of our readers that our introduction has been too long and too detailed. But in dealing with a question that has been the subject of so many different theories, and is of such immense importance that we must insist on certainties in handling it, we have to look for a solid foundation for any solution of its problems, and carefully examine the methods by which any statement can be securely based on this foundation.

Having learned what are the broad foundations presented to us by two exact sciences—prehistory and ethnology—and the sound methods by which they have reached their conclusions, we are now able to take a further step and set forth the result of their investigations. Our object must now be to obtain such knowledge of those primitive forms of humanity as we can secure on a basis of scientific certainty, without any mere imaginary suppositions. For our present purpose all that is of essential importance is to show what historical ethnology and prehistory have brought to light regarding mankind in the earliest and most primitive stage of civilization. This will not reveal to us the very beginnings of mankind, for to these no human science has yet penetrated, but it will give us a knowledge of those actually known races that stand nearest to such origin.

If it is asked whether there were earlier human forms before these and what they were like, no human science can make any reply. But it is also true that there are no facts known to science that point to the conclusion that there ever were men on a lower level than those whose life-conditions we now proceed to describe.

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

I. FINDING AND PREPARING FOOD

EVEN in the most material aspects of the life of these primitive men we can see early tokens of their real humanity. It is true that they simply take as it comes all that nature offers them, for they have not yet learned to engage in the cultivation of plants and the keeping of cattle, so as to assure and improve their means of livelihood. But we must not think of these primitive men as living in desolate barren regions, like the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, or in gloomy primeval forests like the African Negrillos and other tribes that have been forced back into such districts by stronger peoples. We must regard them as living in regions provided with a rich and varied animal and vegetable life, like, for instance, the natives of north central California, or the Andaman Islanders, or the aborigines of south-east Australia. Food sufficient for each day is available and is provided by the men hunting and fishing and the women collecting vegetables. Nature is so generously rich that, for instance, in north central California the natives may well have imagined it a Paradise, where fruit fell from the trees into their hands and the wild animals gave themselves up at their call, as in fact their myths narrate. As nature day by day supplies all that they need in abundant variety, there is generally nothing laid by for the future. This is not the case wherever, as in California and among the Algonquins, and, of course, in the Arctic culture generally, there is a strongly marked difference between summer and winter. Under such conditions nuts, acorns, and various berries, and staple food of dried meat, are collected for winter use.

2. THE USE OF FIRE

A sharply defined boundary line dividing man from beasts is the art of making fire and the use of it for cooking food. Amongst these primitive races there are many legends of the discovery of

fire. Thus the Andaman Islanders tell how when the first fire was seen on earth numbers of creatures fled from it in terror, and these became the beasts, while those who obtained a mastery of it were men. The Maidu of north central California tell how, by the command of their Supreme Being, men at first might only venture to make a fire in their huts—not in the forest. When they lit a fire in the woods this was the first sin, and henceforth the beasts became wild with fear, and the times of their Paradise came to an end.

All the primitive races know and make use of the art of fire-making, with the exception only of the two Pygmy races of the Andamans and the Bakango on the Ituri River in Africa, who always carry about smouldering sticks from their last fire. The methods of fire-making in use are: the fire-plough (the rubbing up and down of a piece of hard wood in a groove of soft timber), which may well be the oldest device of its kind; the fire-whisk, twirling a hard stick between the palms of both hands, with one end of it in a hole in softer wood; the fire-saw, pulling a liana, or some similar plant backwards and forwards, saw fashion, in a notch in timber; and the striking of sparks from flint. As pottery was not yet available, and only in some few races bamboo baskets were in use, there is generally no boiling, but only roasting of meat. But an exceedingly palatable method of preparing a meal came into use very early, in the form of the earth oven, the food being wrapped in leaves and laid on stones heated in a fire, and the whole of it covered up closely with earth for some time.

3. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

We can recognize another token of the true human nature in the fact that these primitive men use clothing; and this too is what makes it possible for man to adapt himself to various climates and become master of all the world. At this earliest stage we find that for clothing use is only made of what nature self provides, the hide and fur of animals, the bark of trees and bundles of leaves. As the very earliest men certainly lived not in cold regions but in the hotter zones, there was naturally very

little need of clothing for covering and warmth. It is thus all the more remarkable that, if we except the men among the Andaman Islanders, the Akka-Negrillos and the Tasmanians, we find all the adults wearing clothes. With the women this is invariably the custom, and in fact not only the married women, who are of course regarded as the property of their husbands, cover themselves in the presence of other men, but it is also the custom for the marriageable girls. In this instance the desire for self-adornment cannot have been the motive for clothing, as these primitive people, and especially the Pygmies, hardly wear any kind of mere ornament. So here we have already an evident manifestation of another human characteristic—the feeling of shame—of which these people, in bathing and elsewhere, often give better proof than is shown by much later races of an outwardly higher stage of civilization.

The dwelling-places of these primitive men are improvised and temporary shelters. For in their quest of food, when the supplies of any locality are exhausted, they have to move promptly and rapidly somewhere else, so that many tribes do not live for more than eight days at a time in the same place. Bushes with their uppermost ends tied together, flat wind-screens made of leaves plaited together and supported by a stick, semi-circular wind-screens and, later, completely circular shelters, beehive-shaped, and in the Arctic regions conical tents made of poles leaning against each other and covered with skins or bark—such are the forms of their dwellings. The cave—the ready-made dwelling-place that nature offers—is by them seldom used, for it is too much of a fixed abode for their way of life. There is therefore no justification for speaking of prehistoric men generally as ‘cave-men’. The ethnologically oldest races had no cave-dwellings, since these are fixed abodes, and their lives were spent as nomad hunters. Among the later primitive men houses and tents are far more common than cave-dwellings, which are physically possible only in comparatively few places. The term ‘cave-men’ should therefore disappear from literature.

Connected with this is the fact that we have so few prehistoric

nains and skeletons of this earliest stage, for around these hastily constructed temporary dwellings everything lay in the open air and was soon disintegrated by the weather, not being protected by a cave roof or covered with alluvium from higher ground. There was a further reason for this (as we have already noted), a reason arising from the material of which the tools of these men were made—not stone, but timber, bamboo, and so like.

4. TOOLS AND WEAPONS

There is another distinctly human characteristic of these men—the fact that they used real *tools*. Thus they show that they have some ideas of cause and effect, and from these develop practical relations of means to an end.

No mere beast has ever passed this boundary line. We hear of apes in the front of a pack of these animals taking up sticks, stones, and fruit and using them to fling or strike a blow. But such things are only picked up and handled to give effect to the momentary impulse: they are never appropriated for any calmly premeditated purpose, never adapted and improved for further use.

Long before the first men came to learn the difficult art of working stone, and contrived for themselves permanent tools of that material, there is no doubt that they had already learned to use tools of wood, bamboo, bones, shells, and other material and to work into shape. Naturally such tools have not reached us from these prehistoric times. But such things were very common in use or are still used among the earlier types of primitive peoples. The Pygmies of Asia and Africa use only such things. This has been lately ascertained by R. Brown as to the African Pygmies. Later primitive races use stone implements, for instance the south-east Australians, the Tasmanians, the natives of Tierra del Fuego, and the Bushmen, their tools being those of the earliest period of blade civilization, that of flint, or like those of the primitive northern civilization, the oldest period of bone implements. At a still earlier stage we find among Australian, Nilotic, and Pre-Dravidian races tools

like those of the beginnings of the oldest or Chellean period, such as the *coup-de-poing*, the rough flint wedge grasped in the fist without a handle.

As regards the number of such tools, it is not considerable, but still there are enough of them for securing food, clothing, and shelter, and thus providing the material requirements of the struggle for a livelihood. They are mostly of very simple form, but we find amongst them one of the chief implements of man for hunting to procure flesh meat—the bow and arrow. Among the Pygmies, many of the Asiatic races and of the primitive tribes of North and South America, it is the only weapon. The natives of the Andaman Islands had already invented the bow with a half-reflex or double curve to increase its striking force. With the same object in view these as well as the Semang Pygmies shape their bow staves out of the still growing tree, add a stiffener to the curve, and string them against it. The Semangs feather the arrow with the idea that the whistling sound of its flight will make the beast pause as it hears it and be thus more surely reached by the deadly shaft. The arrows of some of the Arctic races have other special devices of this kind. Many of the Pygmy tribes have found poison for their arrows that has a very rapid effect. Besides its use in hunting, the arrow is used in fishing on the principle of the harpoon.

Other weapons of later primitive races are rounded or flat clubs and spears roughly pointed or toothed on one side. But no kind of protective equipment is found amongst them, neither shields nor any kind of armour, which is a sign that their weapons were meant for use against beasts rather than men. The handled axe is unknown to these primitive peoples.

The equipment of the women is even more simple—nothing more than a digging-stick for grubbing up roots and such like vegetable foods out of the ground. They had not yet invented pottery. That seems to have come first into use when their importance in the tribe was at its highest, in the matriarchal and agrarian period. The only receptacles they used were made of bark, twigs, and bamboos. But they already knew how to plait baskets, mostly those of the round spiral type. In central

California this art of basket-making had already reached a remarkable and beautiful development.

For traffic on the water only the raft (especially that made of bundles of rushes) and the bark canoe were in use. But often every kind of water-borne craft was unknown.

5. THE WORKING OF THE HOUSEHOLD

There was as yet no specialization in the making and use of these tools and weapons, no assignment of this or that work to individuals or groups of men in the tribe. But each contrived himself what he required, and personally provided for all the needs of his life. There is a sense in which he thus stands forth as a full and self-reliant manhood to a greater extent than in later ages of civilization. He went single-handed into the conflict with wild nature, and in the strife won for himself life, freedom, happiness. For all the work he had to accomplish was done in the open, in the natural surroundings. The men in their hunting had all the excitement and pleasures of active sport. There is therefore no justification for assuming that primitive man lived in continual terror of wild beasts, nor in teaching that he did. The gathering of vegetable food by the women was carried out amid pleasant abundance of budding and ripening plant life. The amount of work thus to be done was not very great and really much less than that of a modern eight hours' labour.

Thus it left them leisure for rest, games, and dances, for singing each other, and even for such creations of the mind as myths and legends. In this last form of activity some of them, as some of the Negrillos of Central Africa, the north central Australians, the primitive Algonquins, and the south-east Australians give tokens of creative gifts remarkable enough to show that some of the masterpieces of the world's literature have had their first beginnings in this way.

It must be added that all this work was easier to perform because it was closely linked with the life of the family, in which it was for whose sake it was accomplished. For as the individual is the basis of social life among these people, it must also be the basis of economic life. Hence already we may see the earliest

and most natural division of labour. The man—the stronger, more active, and freer from home duties—hunts down the beasts that give a supply of flesh meat, while the woman—weaker and tied to her narrower circle of the children and the ‘home’—collects vegetable food (and small animals). Thus already there comes an economic equality of the two partners, which further guarantees the basis of their social equality. As the man and wife and their growing children work to provide food specially for their own family circle, so it is there that the food is consumed. Man, wife, and children eat at the same ‘table’ and take their share of the same meal.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL RELATIONS

I. EVOLUTIONIST THEORIES

IN dealing with their economic condition we have already learned something of the social life of the earliest men known to us. What we have seen of them is utterly different from that lawless 'promiscuity' of primitive generations and races, which according to Bachofen and Morgan degraded the early historical development of mankind almost to the level of the brute creation.

Thanks to the exact historical researches of the ethnologists and sociologists on various lines of investigation—researches such as those of Westermarck, Swanton, Lowie, Goldenweiser, Boas, Kroeber, Rivers, Malinowski, B. Z. Seligman, Graebner, Foy, Wundt, and Schmidt, it is now ascertained with complete certainty that such theories, to which investigators like Tylor, Peschel, and Ratzel have never given their full assent, are the product of mere imagination. As Rivers has put it, there is not a 'shred of evidence' to support them. On the contrary we find in existence a genuinely human family, usually the individual monogamous family, of a lasting, pure, and sincere type, such as later and externally more civilized peoples no longer have the persistence to maintain.

2. THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Marriage by capture, in which the man takes possession of the woman by main force, is unknown among these primitive races. So also is marriage by purchase, in which he takes her as a mere chattel. On the contrary the prevalent custom is that of marriage with courtship and free consent. The young man courts the girl's favour by means of little presents, and in this he often uses his sister or other relatives as a go-between. Also if he brings his suit before the father or the parents of the girl, she is almost invariably asked for her consent. This is what we find among the Pygmies of central Africa, the Semang, the natives of the Andamans, the Veddahs, and the Karaya of South

America. Among the Kurnai of South Australia children are often betrothed to each other by the parents. But if a girl does not like her betrothed, and is attracted by another young man, they arrange to run away together. The girl's relatives set off in pursuit. If the pair escape capture until they have a child, the affair is settled, but if they are soon captured, the girl is given a severe beating, and the man must engage in single combat with her relatives, and, armed only with a stick and shield, turn aside the spears and boomerangs which they hurl at him. If he succeeds in this, the pair are unmolested. Among the Kurnai the greater number of marriages are carried through thus, and similar customs prevail among neighbouring tribes.

3. MAN AND WIFE IN MARRIAGE

With freedom at the outset in the contract of marriage monogamy is closely connected. We find it almost the general custom among the Pygmies and Pygmoids, as among the Andaman natives, some of the Veddah tribes, the Todas in the Celebes, and most of the Negritos, Negrillos, and Bushmen. It is general among the Gez tribes of eastern Brazil and the races of the Gran Chaco, where only the chiefs are polygamous. In south-east Australia polygamy is rare among the Kulin and Yuin, and strict monogamy is the custom among the Wotjabaluk, a tribe of the Kulin race.

An attempt has been made to underestimate the significance of these facts by arguing that this monogamy is a monogamy resulting from poverty. These people, it is said, are too poor to buy more than one wife. But in the first place, among these tribes it is unusual for the wife to be obtained by purchase, and secondly there is here no recourse to capture or violence in order to obtain several wives. How thoroughly the idea of monogamy forms part of the inmost consciousness of these tribes is shown by the fact that some of them reject indignantly the question whether they have a plurality of wives. And there is evidence that this custom of monogamy reaches far back to the earliest times in the fact that their primitive legends of the origin of mankind tell only of one ancestral pair—one man and one

woman. This is the case with the Andaman natives, the Semang, the Batwa, the Kurnai, the Kulin, the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi, the north central Californians, the Algonquins, the Ainu, and the Koryaks.

Where marriage is the outcome of mutual attraction and free consent it is easy to understand the permanent character of the primitive family. We have evidence of this in the fact that adultery is infrequent and severe punishments are decreed against it, often the death penalty, and this in the case not only of the woman, but the man also, and sometimes the man only. Divorce is also considerably rarer than among more recent races, and amongst many tribes of this primitive grade it is absolutely forbidden if there are children of the marriage. Of the southern Andamanese E. H. Man says: 'Nuptial fidelity until death is amongst them not the exception but the rule.' Evidence of the same kind is available as to the other Asiatic Pygmies, the Veddahs, the natives of Tierra del Fuego, and the Karaya of Brazil. In this respect conditions appear to be less favourable among the Pygmies of central Africa and the Bushman tribes; but in their case our researches are still incomplete. Of the Australians in general Malinowski's opinion is: 'In most cases marriage lasts for life, or at least for a long time.' Among the south-eastern Australians there are still better conditions.

The equal rights of man and woman, manifested in their freedom of choice in their courtship and by their monogamy, is also evidenced in their equality and good relations in their married life. The regular division of work is based on the special capacity and strength of each and implies no excessive burden for the woman. Besides this, in the event of the woman being absent or unable to work, the man takes charge of the 'household' work and the care of the children. Both share the same food, and indeed at this stage we very often find the same meal-time for husband, wife, and children. This is so with the Andamanese, Semang, Negritos, and Karaya. Besides this, the elder women hold an honourable position, and are even called into council on the public affairs of the tribe. The wife of the chief regulates

the young women, as her husband looks after the young men. This, for instance, is the custom of the Andamanese and the Kurnai.

4. PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

It is evident that in this natural harmony of the primitive family the children hold a good position. In many cases it is their existence that makes the marriage indissoluble. Even if in some of these tribes comparatively free relations between young men and women before marriage are the custom, in case of what sometimes results the young man who is responsible is obliged to marry the girl, so that there may be no absolutely illegitimate children, and no child must come into the world without the protection of marriage. In other primitive tribes any such intercourse before marriage is completely debarred, as, for instance, among the Negrillos of French Congo, the south-eastern Australians, the Koryaks, &c.

The love of the parents—father as well as mother—for the children is almost everywhere very great and shows itself in affectionate care and caresses. But there is also no lack of training in the general rules of mutual respect, thoughtfulness for others and courtesy, and also in the special duties of youths and girls. Almost everywhere there is an absence of corporal punishment as a means of education. In most of these tribes abortion and infanticide are unknown or are seldom practised. Where, as in the case of the Bushmen and south-east Australians, we hear of children being got rid of (not, however, by direct killing of them, but by their abandonment), the reason is always the scantiness of food in the continual wanderings of the tribe, and the prolonged period during which children are kept at the mother's breast.

It must be added that children show great love and respect for their parents, and, in general, respect for the older people is one of the bases of primitive social life. Parents who are no longer able to work receive care and support from their children, and at this stage it is unheard of for any one to evade this obligation by putting an end to their lives.

5. THE TRIBE AND THE STATE

In this primitive stage of development, while we thus find clear evidence that the individual family, and even the monogamous family, was already fully established, and this, too, with notable stability and purity, the State appears only as a rudimentary feature of tribal life, in a very loose and unsettled form, and practically as the mere outcome of family relations.

We hardly ever find the little groups of families, each of twenty to a hundred individuals, under some petty chief, further linked together in a wider association headed by a supreme chief. Of all the Pygmy races we find this only among the people of the Andamans. Thus, in general, only the first step has been taken towards the development of the State. In many cases even this first step has not been reached, and any kind of chieftainship is unknown, as, for instance, among the natives of Tierra del Fuego, and notably among the Semang. It is very exceptional for chieftainship to become hereditary; but in various ways marked capacity and a generous, friendly and kindly disposition are continually bringing men of influence into the important position.

Nowhere does the chief possess an absolute right of command over the married men. All effective control is in the hands of a council of heads of families, which the chief calls together and presides over. But attendance is not compulsory. In many tribes any one who does not wish to obey the summons may attach himself to some other group of families.

There is no other grade of rank besides that of the chief, and even the chief himself is only the first among equals, and goes about his work like all the others. At the very utmost a few of the men may be at his disposal, and a few girls at that of his wife. Any accumulation of property by individuals is impossible, for the land is the common possession of the group of families, food is sought from day to day, and the gathering together of a large quantity of weapons and tools is no gain where every one makes his own. Under such conditions slavery is unknown, with

its degradation of the individual, its breaking up of family life, and the brutalizing of the slave-holder.

But we find a manifestation of the rudimentary State in a permanent obligation that reaches farther than the individual family. This is the recognition of a general duty of care for those in need. For there must always be some part of the general produce of the chase, especially that carried on by young men, that is to be daily set apart for the old people, the sick or disabled, and the widows, and such families as have a large number of young children. And all this is regarded, not as an alms, but as something that belongs to them. It is a duty not to be fulfilled in a mere mechanical and perfunctory fashion, but with love and sympathy and even at the cost of one's own self-sacrifice and inconvenience. Sick and helpless people are often carried for years in the wanderings of a nomad tribe, and their death is mourned and regretted like that of any other member of the group.

The relations of the various groups of families with each other are as a rule neither hostile nor even unfriendly. It is especially to be noted that the very idea of wars of conquest, wars to gain possession of the hunting-grounds of another tribe, is generally so remote from their mentality that these people cannot even imagine it. The tribes of central California hold that the Supreme Being has expressly forbidden such wars. Each group of families has its hunting-ground, in which ordinarily only the members of the group are free to hunt and collect supplies. Strangers can do this only after obtaining their permission. There are seldom disputes as to boundaries, and these are nearly always settled without any quarrelling.

As for the Australian natives Mr. G. C. Wheeler, in his work on *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia* (London, 1910), remarks that:

In contrast with the loose ideas generally held, war in these tribes cannot be deemed a normal condition. The ordinary method of settling all disputes, even in questions of murder, between the local groups has been found to be one or other of the forms of a strictly regulated justice [p. 160].

In the rare cases in which war follows, there is, however, no torturing of prisoners, and no cannibalism except in a few of the tribes which adopt this practice (with the idea of making the strength of the opponent their own), and the number of dead is generally trifling, the conflict often ceasing with the fall of the first man.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE

I. THE 'SPEECHLESS MAN' OF THE EVOLUTIONISTS

WHEN we come to the question what form is assumed by the mental life of these primitive men, we must at the very outset face the fact that one of its most important manifestations—language—exists among them all in a distinct and fully developed form. Here indeed we have one more instance that gives abundant proof of the obstructive and misleading influence of evolutionism on scientific research.

Haeckel and others long asserted the existence of speechless men—the famous *homo alalus*. When this was everywhere shown to be mere fiction, they fell back upon talk about tribes that would doubtless soon be discovered, in Australia, or innermost Africa, or in South America, with their power of speech so poorly developed that they must have recourse to movements of the hands or other gestures, so that at night when they could not be seen, they could not understand each other!

Such fables were not put forward only in popular literature, but we find Edward Clodd giving us this kind of thing in his work on *Animism, the Seed of Religion* (London, 1905), and also in his paper read at the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908.)¹ In the former work we find the following marvellous passage, descriptive of the *homo alalus*, the speechless man, as:

semi-erect, big brained, deft-handed, because of his opposable thumb, communicating with other *homines alali* by various grunts and groans, supplemented by grimaces and postures. This is no fancy sketch, there are to this day tribes extant, like the Veddahs of Ceylon, who depend on signs, grimaces and guttural sounds which bear little or no resemblance to articulate speech.²

We may take as something more serious than this imaginary picture the essay of C. Franke, *Die mutmassliche Sprache des*

¹ See *Transactions of the Congress*, vol. i, pp. 33-5.

² *Animism*, p. 18.

*Eiszeitmenschen*¹ (Halle, 1913), which denies the power of speech to man in the Ice Age. He argues that in the older prehistoric skulls the chin is yet undeveloped, or so little developed that there could be no complete action of the musculus genioglossus which is indispensable for the full power of speech. He holds therefore that with the men of the St. Acheul period it was quite absent or limited at most to the labial sounds, which were supplemented in the Le Moustier period by the dentals, and in that of Aurignac by the gutturals (palatals). But against this theory Klaatsch had already called attention to the fact that the Australian natives, despite some Neanderthaloid characteristics, had a full command of speech and showed sufficiently developed the fossa genioglossi. We can now all the more thoroughly reject this theory, as we have found fully developed human speech, with labials, dentals, and gutturals among all the primitive peoples known to us, even though they show features of the Mousterian, Chellean, and Acheulean type, and indeed earlier than those of the Stone Age.

We have a striking instance of the way in which the finding of even one isolated relic of prehistoric times in good preservation may correct a mistaken theory based on a large number of earlier defective finds. This is supplied by the recent discovery of a Neanderthal skull in the neighbourhood of Rome—near the Monte Sacro.

Before this there had been discoveries of some twenty skulls that could be certainly identified as belonging to the Neanderthal type, but *not one* of these was in a complete state. All the representations of the Neanderthal type of skull hitherto published are only artistic reconstructions of it from these imperfect data. The most adroit of these reconstructions we owe to Professor Boule of Paris, whose reputation on these matters is world-wide. His reconstruction was based on the skull discovered at La Chapelle aux Saints. He deduced from the position he assigned to the foramen magnum² on this skull the conclusion that

¹ 'The probable Language of Man in the Ice Age.'

² The foramen magnum (sometimes known as the foramen occipitale) is the largest opening in the skull. It is in its base, where it connects with the vertebrae of the neck, and through it the brain links up with the spinal marrow, the main

Neanderthal man had not yet the fully erect attitude and movement of men of our day, and could not have had the same facility for speech. This would place him farther from the human type and nearer to that of the apes.

Towards the end of April 1929 a skull was found near Rome which both its form and the stratum in which it lay showed to belong to the Neanderthal group. It was the first discovery of this kind in Italy, and also the first thoroughly well-preserved skull of the whole group to which it belongs. It has now been the subject of a thorough investigation by Professor Sergio Sergi, assisted by his father, the long famous expert, Giuseppe Sergi.

Professor Sergio Sergi has published the result of his researches in the *Rapporto tenuto nella XIX Riunione della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze* (Bologna-Trento, 7-15 Sept. 1930). He comes to the following conclusion (p. 17):

We have here characteristics more than sufficient to show that the skull belongs to the Neanderthal type, and these also supply the proof that—contrary to what has been the current view—Neanderthal man was in possession of articulate speech, with the head held erect and not in a prone position. This means that he fully possessed those fundamental human attributes by which Man is distinguished from all the rest of the Primates.

Professor Sergi also shows that in this perfectly complete Roman skull the foramen magnum is in the precise position it occupies in the typical human skull, and that the conclusions of Professor Boule rest upon a mistaken reconstruction of the fragmentary skull of La Chapelle aux Saints.

2. UNIVERSALITY OF LANGUAGE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

The plain fact is that even those races which from the ethnologist's point of view are the most primitive have at their command fully developed human speech. Their languages include words that connote general ideas. They can express themselves

trunk line of the nervous system. On the position of this important link depend (1) the position in which the head can be held (erect or prone), and (2) the development of the region in the base of the brain which controls the action of the tongue in articulate speech.

in clear sentences on the subjects they deal with, group such sentences to reach a conclusion, and follow this up so as to set forth in an orderly manner further groups of sentences.

In my work, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* (Heidelberg, 1926), I believe I have, for the first time, set forth the results now available as to their actual development. These primitive races are indeed not so fully provided with the elements of language—vowels and consonants. They are deficient in the modified vowels *oe* and *ue* (the German *ö* and *ü*); the fricative sounds *s*, *f*, and *ch*; and in the distinction between *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, and *p* and *b*. The development of the numerals has not yet gone very far, because they have as yet no large number of things to enumerate. There is a dual system, based on the pair of eyes, ears, and limbs, and the pair in a monogamous marriage. There is also no classing of substantives into various groups or 'genders', which, after all, with their complex changes and rules of concordance, can become in many ways a hindrance to fluent and familiar talk. This is why such complications have later become more or less obsolete in highly developed languages—as, for instance, in English.

But all this does not prevent these primitive languages from clearly expressing thoroughly human thoughts, feelings, and decisions and thus becoming efficient instruments for illuminating and strengthening the intellectual life and social intercourse of men. As we have already remarked (p. 43) even at this stage of development we find myths and traditional tales that in their beauty of description, their deep feeling for nature, their capacity for giving expression to great thoughts, may be regarded as the prelude to the masterpieces of the world's literature.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND MORALITY

I. EVOLUTIONIST THEORIES

UNDER these circumstances there need no longer be any wonder that we now find clear evidence that these primitive men also manifest a human mentality in the fact that they have a knowledge and give recognition to religion and morality; and that in this region they show us conditions that, simple though they be, are yet essentially higher and purer than those prevailing among so many of the people that in external matters are more civilized and progressive.

This last statement may well come as a surprise to many, after the long series of evolutionist theories that since the beginning of the nineteenth century have been in fashion in the science of comparative religions. The theory of races without any religion, which according to Lubbock (Lord Avebury) must have been the beginning of all religions, had indeed been so emphatically remitted to the region of fable by Tylor, Roskoff, and others, that, at last, of all the peoples of the whole earth only the Kubu of Sumatra were described as a race without religion, and these have now been clearly shown by Van Dongen and Father Schebesta to be neither a primitive nor a godless tribe. But old evolutionist theories of religious origins, which dominated the science of religion for almost the whole of the nineteenth century, invariably made it start from 'lower' forms and reach 'higher' forms, such as ethical monotheism, only as the last stage in a long, complicated development. Such were the theories of the earlier investigators of the science of language, like Max Müller, with their mythologies personifying the forces of nature, and the Fetishism of Comte and Lubbock, the ghost worship of the shades of the dead as described by Herbert Spencer, the primitive 'animism' of Tylor, and the theory of religion as originating in magic taught by E. H. King, Frazer, Marett, Hartland, Preuss, Hubert, Durkheim, and many more.

Andrew Lang, who was himself at first a devoted disciple of or, was the first to break away from the spell of these evolutionist theories, when in his now famous work on *The Making of Religion* he showed that there was a long array of instances of worship of what were already honoured as 'Supreme gods' *existing even among primitive peoples*. After a period of lively controversy, with at the same time a remarkable silence on the subject in some evolutionist circles, these conclusions received continually more abundant and critically sound confirmation through the generally more markedly historical direction of research in ethnology and the science of religions—notably through the work of men like N. W. Thomas, Swanton, F. Radin, Graebner, A. Le Roy, W. Schmidt, and others. The result is that it is no longer possible to challenge or underrate the significance of these facts.

2. MONOTHEISTIC RELIGION

If we take the idea of monotheism in a significance that can quite correctly be attributed to it, we cannot refuse to grant that even in the most primitive stage of civilization—and practically all of them—possess in fact a more or less distinctly monotheistic religion.

Even if besides a Supreme Being they believe in the existence of other exalted beings, their religion must be actually designated monotheistic, if these are more or less clearly described as created by the Supreme Being and consequently derive from him their powers and activities; and still more if their tasks are assigned to them by the Supreme Being, and particularly if the latter also watches over and directs their fulfilment of these duties. Thus the name of 'Gods' cannot be separately applied to these subordinate beings.

Besides instances in which there are hardly any of these higher still subordinate beings, as for example in the religions of African Negrillos, the Negritos of the Philippines, and the Aborigines of south-east Australia, we find among primitive races peoples who, even though they believe in a great number of these exalted beings, yet at the same time attribute such a supremacy

in nature and power to the Highest of All, that the term monotheism is quite applicable to their belief. Such, for instance, is the case with the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi of south-east Australia, the Ainus, and most of the Algonquin tribes.

It may also be clearly shown in other cases that most of these higher beings are of later origin, under the influence of later forms of civilization. This may be, for instance, the result of more fully enumerating and dividing up the separate powers and functions of the Supreme Being—as in the case of the ‘God of wild animals of the chase’ among several races of the Arctic regions, or the prominence of a lunar racial ancestor, or a solar ‘Son of God’. So also there may be the transformation of Evil into an independent being, and the creation of wives, children, and other relatives of the Supreme Being. This last development usually is the outcome of astral mythology, but there are many races that know nothing of wife or child for the Supreme Being, and for whom any question on this subject is regarded as offensive or ludicrous. This is the case with the African Negrillos, the Philippine Negritos, the Kurnai of south-east Australia, the natives of Tierra del Fuego, the Samoyedes, the primitive Esquimaux and Ainus in the Arctic sphere of civilization, and nearly all the primitive races of North America.

If we except the above-mentioned instances of later influences having led to the introduction of nature myths, animism, and ancestor worship, these primitive peoples generally are strangers to any deification of the personified powers of nature, or of ghosts or ancestors, and pay no worship to them. Among them also fetishism, the worship of animals, trees, and stones, or to put it generally, the religious worship of any natural object, is quite unknown. It may also definitely be asserted that amongst these peoples magic or sorcery is developed to a notably less extent than among those of the primary, secondary, and tertiary stages of civilization. It has spread to an exceedingly slight extent among the Pygmy races of the central primitive stage of civilization. They either have no knowledge of amulets, or they have very recently adopted them from primary and secondary races. Among most of them ‘Black Magic’ in the sense

orcery intended to injure another, is unknown, as also is the magician or sorcerer in the strict sense of such terms.

Sorcery is found to a greater extent among the peoples of the northern primitive culture, the south-east Australian natives and the African Bushmen, and among those of the northern primitive culture, the Samoyedes, Koryaks, and Ainus. But even amongst these it is neither so intensely or extensively in vogue as among neighbouring races that are, as far as external matters go, of a higher grade. More than this, among these primitive peoples, thanks to the higher significance they assign to the Supreme Being, it is important to note the special meaning of the values they attach to a large number of objects that appear to be the absurd things that are the characteristic marks of sorcery. Amongst them there is no reliance on some internal or essentially existing virtue in an inanimate object or the performance of a rite. For their belief is that the virtue or active force they ascribe to such things is imparted and attached to them by the *personal* Supreme Being, and his omniscience is the explanation of their mysterious power. This has been very fully demonstrated by K. T. Preuss in his admirable book, *Glauben und Mystik im Schatten des Höchsten Wesens* (Leipzig, 1906, pp. 25 ff., 38, and 41, 42).

There can be no doubt that this monotheistic religion by the very belief in one Supreme Being gives us a manifestation of something of the highest importance. For a belief that everything in this world is to be attributed to one Supreme Being, who continually maintains and controls it all, implies a high degree of mental power and concentrated thought. The evolutionists of course will not grant this to primitive man, who according to their theories had only just advanced beyond the level of the brute creation. Yet if, as we have seen, the fact that he could make efficient tools shows that these men were able to reason from cause to effect, so too the fully organized character of their daily life, in which each gave his full share and each had possession and control of what was needed, must have even more easily led to the thought of the world as a well-ordered cosmos and not a fragmentary chaos.

It must of course be admitted that the actual greatness of this cosmos was far from being within the mental grasp of these men. Yet their myths of creation show they had the idea of immense extent and distances, as, for instance, when the tell of the diver birds, that when they had to bring up some earth from the bottom of the primeval ocean, they took days and even weeks to perform their task, or of the coyote that had to go all round the newly created world, and came back from its journey old and grey.

3. THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

But it is not only in the faculty of concentrated thought which it implies, that this monotheism shows the high estimation we may give to the religion of these primitive people. For its Supreme Being Himself is in the fullness of his attributes and functions an ideal personification of the highest essential and moral character, and well calculated to inspire the peoples that acknowledge and honour him with ideas of the high value of active life and social and moral virtue.

(a) *The dwelling-place, personality, and name of the Supreme Being.* Heaven is his dwelling-place, but in earlier times he was mostly on earth among men, but went away from them on account of a sin of theirs. Thus he is not identified with the material heaven, the sky, but he is a person in Heaven. It is this dwelling-place of his that often suggests the names given to Him—'He who is above', 'The Old One above', 'The Heavenly One'. Lightning and thunder are often the expression of his anger and the instruments of his justice. Hence also are derived names that denote him, such as 'Kari' (thunder) among the Semang and 'Puluga' (thunderstorm) among the southern Andamanese. The sending of the fruit-giving rain is not so often attributed to him.

As to his form, it is generally said that they do not know what it is, or that his presence is not seen but can only be felt. But often he is described as of human form, usually that of an old and venerable man. Light, splendour, and fire are often associated with him, as for instance, by the Semang, the southern

Andamanese, the north central Californian, and the Algonquin tribes.

According to the Wiradyuri and Euahlayi of south-east Australia, 'Baiaame', their Supreme Being and his wife, sit on rock-built thrones of translucent crystal, and around them rise pillars of crystal shimmering with the colours of the rainbow. Among the Samoyedes the rainbow is the hem of their Supreme Being's mantle. On the other hand, nowhere is the Supreme Being of primitive peoples represented by an image or picture, except only where he is identified with the tribal ancestor 'Son of the Sun', as is the case with the Yuin and the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi in south Australia.

But with all his greatness and majesty he is never far from men or quite indifferent to the actions and fortunes of mankind. On the contrary, it is actually at this earliest stage that we most often find the familiar name of 'Father' used as the name of God. Such appellations as 'Father', 'My Father', 'Our Father', 'My Father in Heaven', are to be heard among the Samoyedes in the region of primitive Arctic civilization, and among the north central Californians, the Algonquins, the natives of Tierra del Fuego, the south-east Australians, and thus throughout almost the whole extent of the lands of primitive peoples. It is only among the Pygmies that this name has not yet been firmly adopted. The Ainus designate the Supreme Being not only by the affectionate name of 'Cradle' (of the children), but also by the powerful name of 'Support of the whole world' and the mystic name of 'The Inspirer'.

(b) *Eternity and omniscience.* Names like these are sufficient to give a characteristic impression of the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being. But we have further direct evidence on the subject. Thus we find some kind of *eternity* more or less clearly assigned to such a Being, about whom more detailed data are available. It is said of him that he existed before all other beings and that he will never die.

The omniscience so often attributed to this Supreme Being is generally exerted to influence moral conduct and is a manifestation of his eminently moral nature. With this omniscience the

Supreme Being watches over all that men do or neglect to do. In the south-east Australian tribes the young men, both before and after their initiation to manhood, are distinctly warned of this fact, and it is added that he who sees all things knows also how to inflict punishment. Among the Batwa of Ruanda it is expressly said that: 'There is nothing as to which Imana is ignorant. He knows all things, even hidden sins of thought.' With 'Baiaame', the Supreme Being of the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi, also, this omniscience extends to the thoughts of the heart. The 'Puluga' of the Andamanese sees everything by day. But the 'Keto' of the Batek-Nogn Semang has the sun and moon to serve as his eyes, just as the Supreme Being of the Samoyedes, for whom the stars also serve as cars. Among the Halakwulup the stars are the eyes of God, with which He watches over all the earth. The Kensiu-Semang believe in a kind of omnipresence of their 'Kari', 'who is everywhere near even to the furthest things'. And the Dama hillmen speak similarly of their Supreme Being, Gawab: 'He is everywhere and knows everything.'

There is a seeming tendency to inactive rest attributed to Baiaame of the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi, inasmuch as it is an all-seeing spirit (which, however, he himself has created and devoted to this task) that must keep him informed of all that happens on earth. Amongst the west central Algonquins we hear also of such intermediate beings. Some of the Bushman tribes believe the birds bring tidings of all things to the Supreme Being.

(c) *Goodness and bounties to mankind.* A characteristic of the Supreme Being of these primitive races is his absolute goodness, so that from him only what is good can come, and all good things come that men anywhere enjoy. According to the north central Californians his will was that the lot of men should be cast in a kind of Paradise, as completely free from care as might be, and full of delights. This is also the tradition of the Algonquins. He wished that in this state there should be neither sickness nor death for men, but that as they grew old they would bathe or dive into the 'water of life', and thus at once regain their youth. As, despite his will, death came into the world, the Supreme

Being instituted for the Algonquins the 'Life Ceremony', that their lives might last as long as possible. The Pygmies of French Congo say that in the beginning God lived with them in the same camp as their Chief and Father, and then they were happy and free; but they transgressed his command and therefore must leave his consoling company.

Sympathy and readiness to help are characteristics of the 'Puluga' of the Andamanese, and the 'Baiaime' of the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi. Puluga is ready to forgive sins where there is repentance and amendment, and he remits the punishment of them. The 'Old One above'—the Supreme Being of the north central Californian Wiyot—invites men to pray with confidence to him in all their needs, and is ready to help them. The Supreme Being, whom the Wintun call 'He who dwells above', makes provident preparation for all men that are to come into the world. So also the Supreme Being of the Yamana gives generous aid and good gifts to those who pray to him. Nevertheless, the sternness with which he also sends death brings upon him, and also on the Kari of the Semang Pygmies and the Nyamuzinda of the western Kion-Batwa, the reproach that he is 'harsh and terrible'; but this reproachful feeling is readily rectified by the explanation that these Beings are only punishing that which is evil.

The Supreme Being of these primitive peoples is always and invariably *morally good*. Nothing that is morally evil ever appears in any relation with him unless as something he abhors and punishes. This profoundly moral character of the Supreme Being has its essential origin in the fact that he is the primary and highest lawgiver of morality, and is thus its first source. We shall have to deal in more detail with this point later on.

It is indeed because moral evil of all kinds is held to be something utterly alien to the Supreme Being that among the races who most strongly insist upon his moral perfection, we find another being opposed to him as the representative of evil, railing against and striving to hinder his beneficence. We cannot correctly describe this as a system of Dualism, for the all-good Supreme Being is far more powerful and important

than his opponent. But the origin and continuous action of this evil being are confused in a dim twilight, through which, so far, we can distinguish nothing at all clearly. We find something of this kind among the primitive peoples of the Arctic lands, among the Samoyedes and the Ainus and among most of the primitive North American peoples, as, for instance, among the north central Californians, the tribes of the north-west and the western and eastern Algonquins.

(d) *Omnipresence and creative power.* An attribute which specially distinguishes the Supreme Being of the primitive races is his immense power, often expressly described as unbounded, so that it must be actually defined as *Omnipotence*. Among many of the south-east Australian tribes it is said of him that he can go everywhere and do everything. Among the Semang-Pygmyies he is more powerful than all other beings, and this is tacitly and *implicitly* equivalent to asserting for him a greater power than that of all the exalted beings of the primitive world, in which there is no other being that is even distantly like to him in power, or can in any way excel him in this respect. Among the North American Indians this is often expressed by telling of the Supreme Being challenging some other exalted being—usually the traditional ancestor of the tribe—to trials of strength, such as the throwing down of a mountain, or the diversion of a river's course, the cleaving asunder of a rock, or walking on the water and such-like tests. In these he is always victorious. We find such traditions among the Kato, the Yuki, the Atsugewi, and the Thompson River Indians. We also hear of the most powerful magicians confessing that they are powerless in the presence of a fatal sickness that is sent by the Supreme Being himself.

The might of the Supreme Being is manifested in its highest degree in his *creative power*. To none of the Supreme Beings of primeval times is this openly denied, but there are some of them to whom it is not positively attributed, or as to whom, in this respect, there is a lack of clearness or certainty. But these are relatively few cases. Amongst them are those of a number of the Bushmen tribes, and among the Arctic primitive races the Koryaks, and amongst the Samoyedes also the idea of creation

does not present itself strongly or clearly. This is also the case in the Tierra del Fuego among the Yamana and the Selknam.

On the other hand, the idea of the Supreme Being as the Creator is recognized more or less plainly, among all the Pygmy races of which we have detailed knowledge—among the Ainus and all the south-east Australian tribes, among the most primitive of the peoples of Tierra del Fuego, the Halakwulup, among the races of the north-west, among the north central Californians and the east and west Algonquins, and a Sioux tribe that has become assimilated to them, the Winnebagos. Among the tribes of this last group, and also among one central African Pygmy tribe in French Congo, we find the highest type of the idea of creation—creation out of nothing. This is acknowledged quite clearly and with full consciousness. Their legends are all legends of creation and their national ceremonies are recitals and representations of the story of creation.

4. THE SUPREME BEING AND MORALITY

(a) *The Giver of the Moral Law.* We have already made it clear (p. 63) that, considered in himself, the Supreme Being of primitive ages is always morally good, and that the ultimate reason for this is that he is the creator and source of morality. Thus indeed his *relation* with morality is determined by his very nature.

There are indeed a certain number of primitive peoples among whom the relations of the Supreme Being to morality are not very clear, persistent, or effective. This is notably the case with the Bushmen, the Koryaks, the Ainus, and the more primitive types of the Esquimaux. But we find that there are not many races of which this is true. Amongst all the Pygmy races of which we have detailed knowledge, and also among the Samoyedes, the north central Californians, the Algonquins, the Fuegians, and the south-east Australians, the Supreme Being is the moral lawgiver. His commands include the celebration of ceremonies that he has instituted and the offering of sacrifice and prayer; a docile respect for the aged and the elders of the tribe, care for human life and avoidance of unjustifiable homicide; observance of sexual morality (in the avoidance of adultery,

fornication, unnatural vice, and intercourse before marriage); fair dealing, and readiness to give help to those in need, the sick, the invalids, the aged, and those who have to support many children.

In many races these commands are fully impressed upon the young folk at the initiation of the youth, or at other rites, such as are specially celebrated for this purpose among the south-east Australians, the north central Californians, the Algonquins, and the Sioux tribes they have influenced, and the tribes of Tierra del Fuego—rites which are regarded as established by the Supreme Being himself to be a permanent school of morality, social conduct, and the religious spirit.

As generally speaking the morality of these primitive peoples is not at any low level, it appears that they actually obey these positive and negative commandments of the Supreme Being. This obedience and submission of their will are all the more remarkable because they live their social and political life in unlimited freedom, and do not recognize the right of any individual man to issue orders to them. In fact, there is no one who can issue orders to all the members of a tribe or forbid anything to them.

That the Supreme Being is also the watchful guardian of morality and that he actually uses for this end his attribute of omniscience has already been explained (p. 61).

(b) *The Judge of Morality in the present and the future life.* In virtue of this watchfulness over mankind, the Supreme Being has also the power of acting as the rewarder of moral goodness, and the punisher of those who are guilty of immorality. Accordingly we find it taught amongst a considerable number of primitive peoples that his *earthly reward* usually takes the form of length of life, and his *punishment* is sent in an early death. Among the Wiradyuri a simple-minded reasoning leads to the conclusion that all the old people are good, for if it were not so God would not allow them to live so long.

The Supreme Being sends death by means of sickness. The 'Kari' of the Semang sends it on an evil wind. Amongst other races, as, for instance, the Kulin of south-east Australia, it is

supposed to be brought by the evil 'spirits of sickness'. It is characteristic of the kindly goodness that so many peoples attribute to the Supreme Being, that they believe he himself never personally executes the sentence of death, but for this purpose he makes use of evil spirits (and amongst the Andamanese this is the very reason for their existence); or tigers and other dangerous animals are thus used, as, for instance, among the Semang, who regard them as his executioners and envoys. But he sometimes (as the Semang and others believe) directly uses the lightning to strike down the evil-doer.

Amongst a large number of primitive peoples—and indeed amongst the great majority of those of whom we have detailed knowledge—the Supreme Being also exercises his office of the judge of moral conduct who deals out rewards and punishments; not merely here, but also *in the hereafter*. All the primitive races, without exception, believe that there is an after-life for mankind. But as to what this after-life is like, they cannot all attempt to give any account. The Yamana, for instance, declare that they know nothing about it, and this is one of the reasons why they are so sad at the death of their relatives. Other races believe that in the after-life there is no division between the good and the wicked. But among the Semang this seems to be because they hold that all sins are atoned for in this world. The same idea seems to be prevalent among the Kion-Batwa of Ruanda. But among the great majority of these peoples such a division in the future life is recognized. Their ideas as to the lot of the good in the future life are very definite, but they are uncertain and indefinite as to that of the wicked.

5. THE WORSHIP OF THE SUPREME BEING

(a) *General remarks.* Preuss, Söderblom, and others have set forth that it is a characteristic of the high gods that they seem to hover far from mankind, have only slender relations with men, and consequently receive very slight veneration from them. This theory is in every way wide of the mark.

For the active relations of their Supreme Being with men had already begun in primeval times, when he is represented as

himself dwelling on earth among them, and teaching and training them. Even when he has left the earth none of these Supreme Beings withdraws far from mankind into an inactive and careless repose. He still influences the world and mankind by his omnipotence and beneficence, by his watchful care over the moral activities and the misdeeds of men, through the sacred festivals and the initiations of youth which he has instituted and at which he is often believed even now to be present, and finally by the judgement at which he presides when man's life is ended.

We find also—as, for instance, among the Halakwulup, the Semang, the western Kion-Batwa, the Koryaks, and the Ainu—cases of the belief that the Supreme Being introduces each individual human soul into the body it is to animate, and so provides that the course of each human life has its beginning from his hand.

Even if all these various relations with men are not to be found to the same extent and with the same intensity among the attributes of each Supreme Being, the instances in which this is in considerable measure realized are so numerous that there can be no justification for describing a purposeful remoteness from mankind as characteristic of the Supreme Being.

But men too, on their side, appear in active relations with the Supreme Being, and thus acknowledge their manifold dependence on him and his high significance for their own weal or woe. This may indeed be the result of the fear inspired by his power of punishing them, which impels them to refrain from what he has forbidden, and obey his commands. But besides this it may be attributed to the veneration and deep feeling with which they relate the legends that tell of the power and provident care of the Supreme Being, the respect with which they utter his names, their avoidance of any careless use of them, and, finally, through the significance of those very names, and more especially his names of 'Father' and 'Creator'. All this really amounts to acts of veneration and reverence that they will not give to any other being.

So we find these primitive peoples turning to the Supreme Being with acts of what we may rightly describe as *worship*.

These acts bring them into a personal connexion with him, and they establish the individual relations that result in the mutual attitude of 'I and thou'. This is effected by prayer, sacrifice, and solemn ceremonies.

(b) *Prayer*. It is no easy matter to secure precise information as to prayer among primitive peoples. We may indeed feel sure that some kinds of prayer escape the notice of many investigators with the result that they describe the races in question as people who know nothing of prayer.

This is especially likely to happen in connexion with two kinds of prayer—the purely mental prayer without any spoken word, and the prayer that consists of ritual gestures, with at most an occasional uttering and invocation of the name of the Supreme Being.

We find this purely mental prayer, often with intense concentration of thought, among, for instance, the primitive Esquimaux, both of the Algonquin races, the Semang (amongst whom the 'seers' pray thus for the other members of the tribe), and among the Bushmen.

Prayer by gestures, often of a kind that cannot be recognized by the observer as having this character, unless he can secure a further explanation of it, is in use among the Semang, the Yuin, and the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi of south-east Australia, and probably also among the Kurnai and Kulin of the same region.

But there is also another kind of prayer, as to which it is by no means easy to obtain certain information, unless one has a good knowledge of the language of the natives and lives for some time amongst them. These are two conditions that are seldom fulfilled in the case of these out-of-the-way and timidly shy people. This is the improvised and informal kind of prayer that is actually in use even among races that have not as yet got so far as to adopt established formulas for this purpose. Yet we have definite and striking evidence of this practice among the Negritos of the Philippines, the Yamana and the Halakwulup of Tierra del Fuego, the Kion-Batwa of Ruanda, and the Bushmen. But we have also elaborate ceremonial prayers used by these same

Negritos and other ceremonial prayers of some of the Algonquin tribes.

The prayer of petition is naturally that which is oftenest in use. But we have also evidence for prayers of thanksgiving among the north central Californians, and several of the Algonquin tribes, among the Yamana and Halakwulup of Tierra del Fuego, and the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi of south-east Australia. Amongst these last we find prayers said beside the grave for the dead men of the tribe, that they may be received into Bullinah (Heaven). Prayers for the forgiveness of sin also accompany the 'Sin-Sacrifice' of the Semang.

If we consider the *extent* to which the practice of prayer exists among primitive races, we may assert that there is only one people among whom we cannot be certain that it is practised. These are the tribes of the Andaman Islands. But they have certain mysterious ceremonies, the significance of which we cannot ascertain. It is very likely that these express a certain kind of prayer, without any words, and only by gestures. The Kurnai and Kulin of south-east Australia are almost in the same condition; but it is more probable that we have here much the same kind of prayer.

The practice of prayer is infrequent among the primitive Arctic races, the Samoyedes, and the Koryaks, and their prayers are mostly very short, but amongst them there is a greater development of sacrifice. Prayer is not in frequent use either among the western Kion-Batwa or the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi. With the latter public ceremonial prayer is used only on two occasions—at the funeral of a man, and at the close of the initiation of their youth. They frankly express the opinion that, considering how great is the goodness and justice of the Supreme Being, there is no need of so much prayer as they see among the white folk, which has also not much effect, if one may judge from the lives of these white men.

The Halakwulup of Tierra del Fuego also declare prayers of petition to be of no use, for the punishments decreed by the Supreme Being are unalterable, and he gives all good things without being asked for them, and, for these, they give thanks to him.

It can already be shown that there is a comparatively rich life of prayer among the Yamana of Tierra del Fuego, a number of the Algonquin tribes, the Pygmies of French Congo, and the Kion-Batwa of Ruanda. Better equipped investigations would probably give us similar results in other cases.

(c) *Sacrifice*. Sacrifice seems to be quite unknown among the primitive races of south-east Australia, but on the other hand we find among them very fully developed ceremonial for the initiation of their youth. It is also unknown among the oldest races of Tierra del Fuego, the Yamana, the Halakwulup, and the Kion-Batwa of Ruanda. It is difficult to assert that it exists among the north central Californians, unless we take the feather-staff ceremony to be a variety of it—a question difficult to decide. But sacrifice is in use among the peoples of the northern primitive civilization, amongst a considerable number of the Algonquin tribes and amongst the Asiatic and African Pygmies, the Bushmen, the Selknam of Tierra del Fuego, and the Veddahs.

The most prevalent, and amongst the Pygmies and Bushmen the only, form of sacrifice is the offering of the first-fruits of the chase and of the gathering of plant-food, and also the offering of some small portion of a meal before it is eaten. In all these instances there is an offering of food, the means of sustaining life, which according to the belief of these is the absolute possession of the Supreme Being. It is he who, at its very outset, has given life to men, and now, in order to prolong their lives, gives the means of life to them for their possession and use, on condition of its being received and used with ordered moderation and respect for the giver of it all.

In this connexion we may remark, as deserving special attention, the primeval sacrifice of the unopened skulls and the long bones of beasts of the chase (such as bears and reindeer) in the primitive Arctic Age. These would be regarded as of special worth on account of their contents, the brains and marrow, and offered among the first-fruits of the chase. We find the same thing also in the early Stone Age, that of the pre-Mousterians of the Dragon Cave above Vättis in the Tamana valley of Switzerland, and the Peter-hole near Velden in Bavaria.

The sacrifice of first-fruits expresses a recognition of the absolute dominion of the Supreme Being over the means of livelihood, and thus over life and death. Simple and obvious in its external form, it has an exalted inner significance. It is very widely in use, and among most of the Pygmies is the only kind of sacrifice known to them. It supplies a complete refutation of the theory that traces the origin of religious sacrifices to the custom of providing food for the dead, for such a custom is utterly unknown to nearly all the Pygmy races.

One of these Pygmy races, the Semang of Malacca, has no knowledge of the sacrifice of first-fruits, but practises instead a form of sacrifice in atonement for sin, which for a long time seemed unique in the whole world. When they hear the thunder peal, that is, the voice of their Supreme Being, Kari, they make, with a bamboo knife, a small incision near the knee, mix the blood in a cup of water and then fling it upwards towards the sky, at the same time asking for the forgiveness of their sins, and if the storm lasts long, even confessing these sins in detail. But now the sacrifice of their own blood has been detected also among the Pygmies of French Congo, where also the sacrifice of first-fruits is in multiple use.

(d) *Solemn ceremonies.* It is amongst those primitive races that have no custom of sacrifice, and amongst some of whom there is also very little use of prayer, that we find a particularly rich development of solemn ceremonies. In many cases these are prolonged over weeks or even months. They are said to have been instituted by the Supreme Being himself and celebrated ever since by his command.

Such in particular are the solemn ceremonies, known as the dedication or the initiation of the youth of the tribe, which are celebrated by the races of Tierra del Fuego, south-east Australia, and the Andaman Islands, with devout rejoicing and the most conscientious observance of every traditional detail. Among the oldest of these races, such as the Kurnai, the Kulin, the Andamanese, and the Fuegians, there are rites of initiation for both sexes, and these are publicly celebrated. The purpose of these ceremonies is to prepare and instruct the young people

for their subsequent entrance into the (monogamous) marriage instituted by the Supreme Being, and to impart to them, as fully as possible, the social, moral, and religious knowledge and aptitude it requires. Among most of these races on these occasions there is no lack of invocations of the name of the Supreme Being, either vocally or by words and gestures combined.

Amongst the north central Californians and the east and west Algonquins these ritual festivals assume the form of grateful and almost sacramental commemorations. They usually take place every year, lasting for four, eight, nine or even twelve days. They are supposed to represent the creation of the world and mankind, and actually to bring down, in the present, help and grace from God for the family, the tribe, and the whole world, and in some sense act as a renewal of all creation.

In the region of primitive Arctic civilization, at certain important periods of the year, prayer, sacrifice, and ritual ceremonial are combined in elaborately ordered *festivals*. Thanksgiving is offered for help received, with prayers for further aid. The nocturnal prayer ceremony of the Negritos in the Philippines, the Pano-ceremony of the Semang, the ceremonial with which the Khung-Bushmen pray for rain, and the arrow-ceremony and other rites of the Veddahs may well be classed as sacrificial rites. The Pygmies of French Congo observe solemn ceremonies at the appearance of a rainbow in the east, which is for them the sign of the everlasting benevolence of the Supreme Being, and at the reappearance of the sun after the rainy season.

(e) *Summary.* If we now make a brief retrospect of this branch of the subject, we may take it that we have established that, even though in some races this or that form of worship is unknown, there is nevertheless no race to be found with which it does not exist in some form.

The most widely extended practice is that of prayer, but even here we may be sure that much yet remains to be discovered. A notable matter of high importance is the wide extension of the sacrifice of first-fruits in this earliest stage of civilization.

The worship of a Supreme Being reaches its highest development in the region of primeval Arctic civilization and among

the Algonquin and north central Californians, thanks to a combination of prayer, sacrifice, and significant solemn ceremonies. But in these cases, it must be noted that here the best and most fully trained investigators have been at work. Such thorough-going research as theirs would very likely have given us further results among, for instance, the south-east Australians. It is also probable that the Pygmy races of Africa have still some surprises awaiting us; indeed, in one of them, the Pygmies of French Congo, quite a system of worship in manifold forms of prayer, dance, and ceremonies has recently been discovered.

CHAPTER V

THE REALLY HUMAN CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE MAN UNDER EVERY ASPECT

I. THE REAL SPIRITUALITY OF PRIMITIVE MAN

WE have now sketched in bold outlines a picture of the economic, social, mental, religious, and moral life of the earliest of men of whom we are able to learn something with the help of ethnology and prehistory. If our space permitted we might have filled in this picture with more detail, introduced more concrete examples, and thus given it a more persuasive aspect of life. But even with the sketch we have supplied, there cannot be the slightest doubt that here we have to deal with men in all the full completeness of human nature.

Simple and rough as are their equipment and their daily round of occupations, they have splendidly accomplished the task of holding their own in the wide world, in which they dwell in little isolated groups and are able to live a man's life and make the first inventions in the sphere of technical skill. Their thoughts and feelings, revealed to us by their legends and songs, are thoroughly human. They have grasped the idea of cause and effect, and thence risen to the concept of all the world with its infinite complexity united in one well-ordered cosmos and of its origin from the hand of one all-powerful Creator. Here, too, we find them reaching even the exalted idea of creation out of nothing, an ideal never grasped even by the mighty intellect of Aristotle, who was hampered and held back by his own theory of a primary existence of matter.

What we have learned of the social, moral, and religious life of these primitive peoples, simple as it is, stands nevertheless in its essential features on so high a level that its later development among more civilized races seems often to be more like a degeneration than further progress, and the best features of these later races in their ideals of the family and social life, their religion and morality, might well seem to have come down to them as a precious inheritance from these men of primitive times.

Every one must admit that in the ordinary life, the manners

and social dealings, the religion and moral code of these primitive races, there are no 'ape-like' features to be found. On the contrary, their really human character manifests itself with purity, clearness, and beauty as certainly as anywhere else in the whole history of mankind, and there are later periods that fall behind this primitive age in their ideas of morals, social life, and religion.

We can also see that an abyss of enormous depth and width separates these primitive men from even the highest of the brute creation. Already this is beginning to manifest itself as a definitely established fact, for neither on the side of men nor of beasts can we look for any advance towards bridging this huge gap.

As to the human side of it we now have a very full knowledge of all the primitive peoples of the world, except a few of the central African and Philippine Pygmy tribes, and the Gez-Tapuya races. There does not seem to be any likelihood of these supplying us with data that will in any important point modify our views as to primitive man.

As for the existing forms of the animal world, it is certainly beyond even the most sanguine hopes that any new species will be discovered with a nearer approach to human intelligence than any of those already known to us. As for the discovery of any new prehistoric animal types, even if such are found, they can obviously throw no light on the question of the intelligence of such creatures.

Thus, once and for all, we may finally abandon any expectation of fresh evolutionary links being established between the spiritual life of man and that of the highest forms of animal life. Even in the earliest representatives of mankind known to us, the soul is so absolutely and completely human that the advance to it from the highest level of the brute creation is more plainly than ever seen to be an impossibility, and any mental development such as evolution requires is utterly excluded.

2. THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN BODY

It is thus clear that, as matters now stand, the question of an evolutionary link between the human body and the higher

forms of animal life has hardly gained in probability, and has lost much of its importance. In this matter the state of the question is somewhat different from that of the question of spiritual life; for in some of the earliest men known to us, and especially among the Pygmy races, some bodily characteristics are to be found which might be regarded as 'approximations' to lower forms, as, for example, the receding chin and the nose flattened through all its length. On the other hand, the forehead, the frontal shield of the brain, has nowhere the retreating form, with the prominent eyebrow arches, that we find in the Neanderthal man. But even such 'approximations' are obviously insufficient to be accepted as giving us a proof of descent, and besides this, as we have seen in the Introduction (p. 7), the serious and difficult question remains without any solution—from what animal type any 'descent' can be traced. As to the solution of this question recent discoveries have not only given no further support to the evolutionist theory, but have resulted in eminent palaeontologists and anthropologists giving serious warnings as to the need of caution and even in some cases actually repudiating Huxley's hasty conclusions as to a descent from the apes.

Mr. Gerrit S. Miller, Jun., Curator of the Division of Mammals in the United States National Museum, has written an extremely interesting pamphlet on 'The Controversy over human "Missing links"' (*Smithsonian Report for 1928*, pp. 413–65, Washington, 1929), in which he expounds, exemplifying with the Pithecanthropus of Java and the Piltdown finds, the almost incredible variety of explanations and appreciations of 'missing links' forwarded by scientists of high rank.

The first description of the Pithecanthropus was published in a pamphlet issued at Batavia, Java, in 1894. And already in 1896 the divisions among scholars as to the character and value of these finds manifested itself in the following list:

<i>Simian character</i>	<i>Human character</i>	<i>Intermedial character¹</i>
R. Virchow	W. Turner	E. Dubois
W. Krause	D. J. Cunningham	L. Manouvrier

¹ Thus 'missing link'.

<i>Simian character</i>	<i>Human character</i>	<i>Intermedial character</i>
W. Waldeyer	A. Keith	O. C. Marsh
O. Hamann	R. Lydekker	E. Haeckel
H. ten Kate	P. Martin	A. Nehring
H. Boule	P. Matschie	R. Verneau
Kollmann	P. Topinard	A. Petit
W. Volz		

There was only one point in which all writers agree, namely, that the skull-cap is strangely different from the corresponding part of other known mammals, both recent and fossil. In striking contrast we find that there are not less than fifteen points of disagreements in which fifty-eight different opinions are standing against one another.

With regard to the Piltdown Dawn Man Mr. Miller writes: 'The announcement of its being discovered gave rise to a contest of opinion which is probably unequalled in the history of palaeontology.' More than seventy-five writers have taken part in it, as Professor Osborne said ironically: 'Over a few fragments of bone, three teeth and a portion of the jaw, the wise anatomists of Great Britain, of western Europe, and of the North American continent have expressed opinions of every variety.' And Mr. Miller continues:

Deliberate malice could hardly have been more successful than the hazards of deposition and recovery in so breaking the Piltdown fossils and losing the most essential parts of the original skull as to allow free scope to individual judgement in fitting the pieces together. . . . According to the different reconstructions the form of the cranium may be completely human in striking contrast to the apelike jaw, or it may have partially Simian features which cause this contrast to become less; its height may vary more than one inch, and the capacity of its brain cavity may range from 1,070 to 1,500 cubic centimeters.

Professor T. Graham Kerr, F.R.S., Regius Professor of Zoology in the University of Glasgow, says in his work on *Evolution*, p. 212:

Palaeontological knowledge regarding man's past history is still of the most fragmentary kind. Each additional scrap becomes the

subject of a voluminous literature, and the basis of an edifice of speculation out of all proportion to the foundation upon which it rests, and not infrequently constructed in complete defiance of the accepted canons of morphological argument. No doubt this is quite understandable in view of the intense interest of the subject, but the serious student of evolution has to step very warily when he enters this field.

M. Marcellin Boule, the Director of the Institute of Human Palaeontology in Paris, who is certainly at the present moment the most distinguished of French anthropologists, writes, in his *Fossil Man* (English translation, 1923):

We must confess that, however damaging the confession may be to our *amour propre*, we are still too ignorant to give a direct answer to Huxley's 'supreme question', or to solve in full the perplexing problem of our origin. And this ignorance, I cannot refrain from repeating it, is due to the great blanks in our palaeontological evidence, these blanks which Darwin deplored, which made my old teacher, Gaudry, say that palaeontology was at once splendid and poverty-stricken, and which can only be filled in with painful slowness [p. 456].

Professor Henry Fairfield declares his opinion even yet more decidedly against the origin of man from the apes. Professor Osborne, President of the American Museum of Natural History New York, is certainly one of the greatest palaeontologists of our time, and to his researches above all we owe our knowledge of the huge extinct reptiles and mammals of North America. There has lately appeared in America a new review under the title of *Human Biology, a Record of Research*. It is edited by R. S. Ward, the distinguished investigator of the problems of heredity, and amongst his contributors are some of the most famous anthropologists in the whole world. The very first article published in his review—and which had almost the significance of its programme—was the work of Professor Osborne, and appeared under the title of: 'Is the Ape-Man a Myth?' Osborne answers this question in the affirmative. He confesses that until the year 1924 he himself believed in this 'myth',

but he expresses his present view of the theory of man's descent from the ape in these weighty words:

For my present position in human phylogeny I have had an almost unrivalled training in fifty years of research among the lower primates—the horses, the rhinoceroses, the titanotheres, and recently the proboscideans. From this experienced standpoint the phylogenetic ideas of the Darwinian, and even the Huxleyan, period appear most puerile [p. 7].

In a paper entitled 'Dawn-Man Appears as Our First Ancestor' published in the *New York Times*, Sunday, 9 January 1927, section XX, page 3, he writes:

I am glad to be the first to befriend the dawn man from the long pre-Stone Age and to remove from his reputation the bar sinister of ape descent. . . . The myth of ape ancestry lingers on the stage, in the movies, in certain anti-naturalistic literature, in caricature of our pedigree, even in certain scientific parlance, but the ape-ancestry hypothesis is entirely out of date and its place is taken by the recent demonstration that we are descended from 'dawn-men' not from 'ape-men'. The crucial point in this demonstration is the application of modern intelligence tests to the Trinil man of Java through the expert observations of my Columbia colleagues, Prof. J. Howard McGregor, anatomist, and Prof. Frederick Tilney, psychiatrist. The Trinil man is a dawn man and not an ape man. He walked erect, he thought as man, he probably spoke as a man, although his vocabulary was limited. . . . But in the dawn man was the potency of modern civilization; a welcome gift from anthropology to humanity is this banishment of the myth and bogie of our ape ancestry.

The possibility of developing into man cannot be conceded to any of the existing or extinct species of apes. For according to the fundamental principles of palaeontological research these must have possessed to the fullest extent the evolutionary possibilities and characteristics of the supposed future forms of life. But all the apes are in the fullest degree of a specialized character and adapted only to clearly defined life conditions.

But, more than this, Osborne also rejects the theory now sometimes put forward that the apes may be collateral relations

of man or even descended from him. For the human hand with its endless variety of use would thus be more primitive than the merely prehensile hand of the ape. If the supposed man-like ancestors of the apes of to-day had ever had human hands, these would never have been lost, for, according to our experience, all the lessons of biology show that an actually useful characteristic is *never* lost. These supposed human ancestors of the ape could therefore never have evolved into apes. So everywhere we turn, the 'Ape-Man', from whatever point of view we regard him, either as the ancestor or the descendant of the ape, remains a 'myth', according to the testimony of the most authoritative palaeontologists of the present day.

Though Sir Arthur Keith, in his Presidential Address to the British Association, so confidently declared that 'the evidence of man's evolution from an ape-like being, obtained from a study of fossil remains, is definite and irrefutable', such a weighty authority as Professor Osborne has soon after this had no hesitation in characterizing this 'definite and irrefutable evidence' as a myth.

So this myth would seem to be the foundation on which the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Barnes, F.R.S., in his sermon at Westminster Abbey on the 25th September 1927, based his teaching that—'a general acceptance of the Darwinian hypothesis demands an entire reconstruction of theology, and an abandonment, or at least revision, of fundamental doctrines, which have been regarded as truths for more than nineteen hundred years'. One may well be surprised that his Lordship is prepared to replace truths of such venerable antiquity by myths that came into fashion about half a century ago.

Our best attitude with regard to the question of the descent of man, so far as his bodily form is concerned, must be a patiently expectant one, with an evenly balanced mind, waiting till further discoveries and researches give us such a decisive result as has already been attained with regard to the question of the descent of the soul of man from some earlier existing forms of life. This latter question has already been settled in the negative with complete certainty.

It is the business of science to push forward its researches with the most conscientious care and precision. One of its most imperative requirements is to complete its so far defective series of the fossil remains of primitive man. As such finds generally depend on chance, we can only wait patiently for further discoveries of this kind. But as regards the ethnology of peoples still existing in a primitive state and thus affording us a second source of knowledge of primeval man, and especially of the Pygmy races, there is no need to wait. On the contrary, the investigation of this field of evidence ought to be taken in hand with a possible energy and expedition, as soon as may be, with a full adequate supply both of expert workers and the needful financial resources. For there is reason to fear that, under the pressure of surrounding peoples of more advanced civilization--and especially of the Europeans--the survival of these races and the continuation of their ways of life, inherited from a far-off past, is very greatly menaced, so that it may be that within another twenty years whole tribes of them may disappear from the face of the earth.

To avert this menace of a grave loss of scientific research into the true record of mankind, we need, and we should have, the co-operation not only of men of science, but of all who are in any way interested in these problems. Those who assist in this enterprise will be following the example given by the reigning Pontiff, the learned Pius XI, who has already provided generous resources for the study of these primitive races, on the ground that 'these are human documents that must not be lost'.

THE ETHNOLOGY AND PRIMITIVE CULTURE
OF THE NEARER EAST AND THE MEDITER-
RANEAN WORLD

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THE ETHNOLOGY AND PRIMITIVE CULTURE OF THE NEARER EAST AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Origin and Nature of Civilization.

CIVILIZATION results from Man's efforts not merely to maintain himself and replace himself, as other living creatures do, but to 'live well'—as well as external circumstances permit—both by conformity, and by more or less deliberate interference with these, tending to supersede such restrictions on human activities by Man's rational control over the resources and the processes of Nature.

Successful interference of this kind with the order of Nature has been rare: all the rarer because civilization, as we know it, is cumulative, and results not only from occasional great discoveries or achievements on the part of exceptionally gifted and exceptionally lucky individuals, but from innumerable daily efforts of ordinary people to satisfy their immediate and trivial wants in the best way they can. Thus, 'line upon line, here a little and there a little', intricate combinations of crafts, customs, and beliefs come into being, responsive to changes, sudden or slow, in the make-up of the world around, and also to changes in the fears, desires, and hopes of successive generations.

Stable and Progressive Cultures. Among a very large number of known human groups, such accommodation between means and ends, resources and wants, is found to have been achieved, somewhen and somehow, so completely that until some fresh disturbing factor, such as contact with an alien culture, intervenes, the need for anything but what exists and is customary seems to be absent. Such 'life according to nature' was more frequently and typically observable before the recent spread of European modes of life, and the conception which it illustrated, of a 'state of nature' common to primitive humanity, has had profound influence on philosophic thought.

The State of Nature, and the Order of Nature. Fundamental, on the other hand, to modern European life and thought is the

conviction that the circumstances and processes of Nature are not only in themselves orderly—this, indeed, is implicit in doings of people ‘in the state of nature’ also—but that this orderliness is intelligible to man (if he will but attend to it) as a system of causes and effects; that Man, by interfering among causes, can bring about fresh effects; and that there is no apparent limit to Man’s competence to derange and rearrange this ‘order of nature’, provided he goes about it rationally. With the primitive mode of living ‘in the state of nature’ we contrast the civilizations of an ‘age of reason’, ever more closely homogeneous and coherent, as the control of reason over natural forces and materials grows.

Historically, this notion of the Universe as rational and manageable by human reason came rather suddenly into being, in a particular period and region, namely, on the shores (and especially the Asiatic shore) of the Aegean archipelago, and in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. It was, of course, long before the practical applications of this notion, which were also gradual and cumulative, produced the profound effects to which we are accustomed in modern times. But in certain directions advance was amazingly rapid. This belief in the validity and utility of Reason is fundamental in the outlook of classical Greece, and of all later peoples among whom the Greek view of life has prevailed. And it is the goal of the inquiry with which this chapter is concerned to ascertain the historical and geographical circumstances in which it first appeared, and among which it spread as it did.

The Nearer and the Further East. But the Age of Reason did not dawn among people ‘in the state of nature’. Greek civilization itself was an after-growth, and in some degree a renaissance, among societies which had already a long history and had outlived a quite high and elaborate culture already, in the ‘Minoan’ Bronze Age (pp. 158ff). This culture itself, too, though ancient, was composite and derivative from several others, each characterized by regional origin and distribution, and by specific historical rise, maturity, and decline. Collectively the record of these older phases of civilization is what is known

colloquially as 'Ancient History' or 'Oriental History'; and the regions in which respectively they arose and flourished we may describe as the 'Nearer East', to distinguish them from those other regions, in India, China, and other sections of the margin of continental Asia, where high cultures have come into being, but were never brought into direct organic and fertile contact with the cradleland of the modern world, and so have lived their own life essentially unperturbed, until they encountered European immigrants, sea-borne upon their respective coasts, in the still recent centuries of the Great Voyages.

Like the 'Age of Reason' which challenged and began to supersede them in the sixth century B.C., these older cultures of the Nearer East seem to come into being within a period of which the limits have recently become much more definite; while the area within which we have to look for their origins is also being delimited. It is still not certain which region, if any, can be truly described as their source, and it is therefore still necessary to trace separately the first known manifestations of each principal discovery and invention, on the conjunction of which these several cultures appear to be based; while we wait for further researches to decide the question of priority between them.

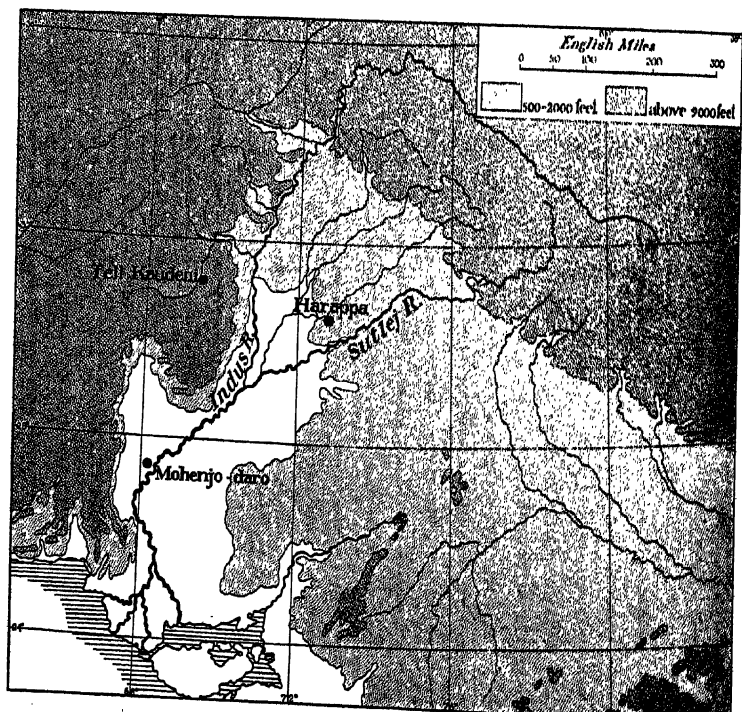
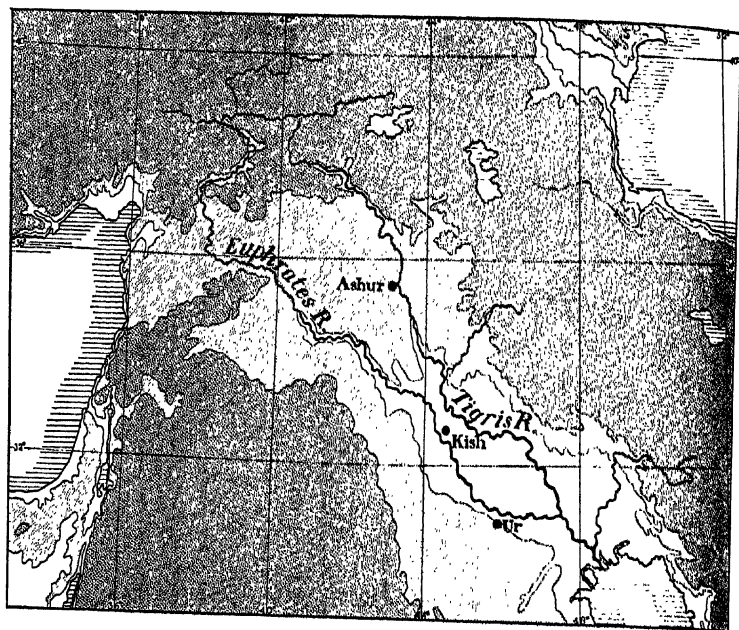
The Geographical Stage of Ancient History.

The geographical stage over which the pageant of ancient history passes is as remarkable a feature of the earth's surface as the doings, of which it has been the scene, are memorable in the career of humanity. Westward towards the Atlantic from the lofty core of central Asia, the north-west quadrant of the Old World land-mass extends in three great belts, a Northern and a Southern Flatland, separated by a rugged and dishevelled Mountain-zone which extends from the Hindu Kush to the Pyrenees. The two flatlands consist of relatively steady blocks of old crust, uncontorted and usually also unbroken, though here and there they have been tilted slightly or have sunk in wide hollows. Across the Northern Flatland runs a single wrinkle, the Ural range, fading away southward, so that the plains

east and west of it become continuous, only to be interrupted again by the Caspian and Aral Seas. An almost imperceptible rising of the eastern plain forms the watershed between these landlocked basins and the northward-flowing rivers of western Siberia. West of the Urals, the watershed lies much farther north, trending towards the Carpathians, and separating the head-waters of the Volga and Dnieper from the drainage of the Arctic Ocean and the Baltic. More important than surface features or drainage is the contrast between the whole southern half of this Flatland, which is covered with the desert dust called loess, and grows grass but no trees, and the graduated belts of parkland, deciduous, and coniferous forests, which begin on the stony marginal debris of the last retreating ice-sheet. Here, ever since the first pioneer trees, spreading westwards from highland Asia and eastward from the Carpathians, interlaced their branches in the longitude of Moscow, there has been a secluded grassland reservoir, of varying extent, but never obliterated, wherein old hunting man and the less fierce and dangerous of his prey, wild ox and wild horse, appear to have settled down into a syntrophy of mutual tolerance and utility; man protecting, managing, and breeding herds, which at the same time permitted him to exploit their milk, hair, and (in due measure) their young and themselves.

Nile Valley and Delta. The Southern Flatland, from south Morocco to the foot-hills east of the Persian Gulf, is also subdivided by an oblique watershed, from north-west to south-east; but as little or no rain falls now, its significance is small. Far more important is the double water-supply which the summer rain-maximum brings to the highlands of Abyssinia, and the tropical rain-belt spills over the north rim of Lake Victoria far to the south. The combined drainage of White Nile, Blue Nile, and Atbara sprawls uncertainly through Nubia first, gnaws its channel through the hard rock sills of the Cataracts, and has alternately eroded and silted the long narrow gorge or gulf of the Nile valley, and spread the delta fens before its mouth.

Red Sea and Arabia. Even more significant geographically as



well as historically is the separation by profound fracture, along the Red Sea, of a whole paving-slab, so to speak, of this southern flatland, to form the separate region of Arabia. This vast slab, moreover, is not only fractured along its Syrian edge likewise, but has been tilted bodily north-eastward, so that whereas towards the Red Sea and Mediterranean it presents rugged scarps, towards the Mountain-zone it dips waterlogged below sea-level into the Persian Gulf. Attention has been naturally concentrated on the small district at the head of that gulf, where the confluent silt of great rivers created a base for Mesopotamian civilization. But it needs to be emphasized that this flood-plain represents only half the courses of those rivers after they break clear of the Mountain-zone; that the open gulf is as long as the whole of those courses; that in addition the Gulf of Oman outside the Strait of Ormuz is about as large as Babylonia; and, finally, that the strait is no nearer to the site of Ur than it is to Karachi in the delta of the Indus. These considerations are important for two reasons. First, because the south-eastern margin of Arabia, instead of being deepest submerged, rises abruptly in the long mountainous promontory of Oman, and consists of much older strata, folded, injected with igneous rocks, and rich in minerals. It is indeed the remnant of just such an outer fold of the great Zagros range which looks down upon Mesopotamia, as Cyprus is, in front of Mount Taurus and Rough Cilicia. We might compare it also to the rugged Atlas range, from Morocco to Tunis, accidentally appended to the Saharan flatland, but structurally a southern member of the Mountain-zone. The significance of this contrast between Oman and the rest of Arabia will be apparent when we come to its human history.

Secondly, it needs to be realized that when the southward-dipping mountain folds which enclose the high plateaux of Persia swerve nearly northwards through Baluchistan to rejoin their northward-facing counterparts in the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs, they are confronted south-eastwards with just such an unken and tilted 'foreland'. Herein, the great Tharr desert responds with desert Arabia, the Punjab with its confluent

river is fed by Himalayan snows, as Euphrates, Tigris, and their upper tributaries are by the snows of Armenia, and the lower Indus valley with its delta, forming the province of Sindh, is about as large and potentially quite as fertile as 'Iraq. To complete the picture, we may compare the more habitable Rajputana with Syria and Palestine, and the Ganges, beyond, with the Nile. These analogies between the regions watered respectively by the Euphrates-Tigris, and by the Indus-Sutlej drainage system, passed unregarded as long as prehistoric culture was known only in the former. But the discovery of great cities, probably as old as those of Babylonia, and certainly not wholly isolated from them, forces our survey of the Nearer East to include this river-side culture of old India; and it is only because at present we do not know whether this culture was shared by the Jumna-Ganges basin, or not, that this fourth great cradle of civilization is provisionally omitted.

The Mountain-zone.

Between the Northern and the Southern Flatlands stretches the Mountain-zone, crushed and crumpled together like a mere table-cloth; thrust sometimes to the south, sometimes to the north; and bulging outwards, this way and that, in great arcs such as the Carpathians, the half-sunken folds from Albania through Crete and Rhodes to Lycia, or the gigantic southern margin of Iran from Armenia and Persia to the Sulciman Mountains and Chitral. Sometimes its multiple ridges have pinched upwards a plateau of old crust, to form Spain, Asia Minor, or Iran; elsewhere such crust blocks have sunk and are the beds of the Black Sea and Southern Caspian. There are also the districts where accumulating folds have depressed the wide forelands already described, Mesopotamia and north-west India; and to these we must reckon the whole eastern Mediterranean, the floor of which slopes from the quicksands of North Africa to profound depths off Rhodes and Matapan.

The Mediterranean Lake-land.

Thus for about half its length the Mountain-zone traverses

lake region, of which the distinct but interconnected basins and in divers relations with the ridges. The west Mediterranean, like the Hungarian lowland, is wholly embraced by them, and communicates with the Atlantic at Gibraltar, and with the eastern basin at Messina and west of Sicily, by mere notches in its rim; as the Middle Danube basin connects with the Upper and Lower. The east Mediterranean, like the Persian Gulf, lies wholly outside the Mountain-zone; for its abrupt west end is (as we have seen) not folded country, but the fractured and uptilted edge of Arabia. The Adriatic, too, flooding the western 'foreland' of the Dalmatian Alps is as shallow on its Italian shore as its fringe of islands shows it to be deeply indented on the Dalmatian. The Black Sea and Caspian are deeply sunk south of the Caucasus; north of it they are but partly flooded hollows in the flatlands. Finally the Aegean archipelago, like the Red Sea, results less from thrusts than from relaxation of mountain-building stresses. Here a whole strip of the crust has collapsed; but whereas the Red Sea floor is flattened, that of the Aegean was once the Mountain-zone itself, and half-drowned ridges and peaks still rise above sea-level in montories and strings of islands between shore and shore, or create this submerged scenery, in Crete and Carpathos, from the great deeps south of them.

Here then is a small-scale world including all varieties of tectonic surface and almost all the principal kinds of rock-structure and stratified sequence. In the heart of the mountain ranges, and beneath the crust blocks, ancient 'primary' fragments of an older crust, with its own obliterated mountains and basins; on the flanks of the ridges, the great limestones of the vast 'secondary' sea-floor; smothering these again, and sometimes interfolded with them subsequently, successive tertiary clays and sands, from seas that were a Mediterranean in the past; frequent outpourings of volcanic lavas, and ashes blown over low land and shallow seas alike; and finally the silty modern deltas and shingle-beaches, obliterating the landscape like that of Lombardy and curtailing the bays of southern Italy and the drowned valleys of Greece.

But on this bewildering variety of structural configuration three connected factors impose a certain order and system throughout more recent times; the climate, the vegetation, and the human inhabitants.

Climate. Lying, as it does, obliquely between latitude N. 50° in the Bohemian highland, and N. 25° on the Mckran coast, the Mountain-zone passes through a wide range of theoretical climatic zones; but as it extends from the Atlantic seaboard to the high core of Asia, and traverses a lake region which mitigates what would otherwise have been a severely continental climate, this highland appreciably modifies the distribution of the principal climatic belts. Even farther east the same 'Mediterranean' régime of winter rainfall and dry summer is maintained along the higher ground both north and south of Iran; cyclonic rain-storms, originating in the North Atlantic and conserved by the moisture of the Lake Region, are still competent to deflect the monsoon winds, and shed winter showers on Sind and the Punjab. East of the Mediterranean, however, and also of the Caspian, all low ground becomes suddenly rainless, like the Sahara and Sudan. Thus the Mountain-zone, or rather its marginal ranges, form long strips of comparatively moist and fertile country, athwart the world's greatest belt of deserts. The same is seen even more markedly in the winter rain and snowfall of the great mountains of Central Asia, and the high dry depressions between them. This function of the Mountain-zone, to collect and distribute moisture inland, is significant when we turn to the distribution of plants.

That changes of climate occur is well established, though the causes of them are obscure. Redistribution of landmasses and water-basins, elevation and sinkage of coasts, variations in the heat received from the sun, are important factors. Within the range of Man's occupancy, the most recent and most significant change is the repeated advance and retreat of the North-west European ice cap. The last extensive glaciation, known from its Swiss traces as the Würm maximum, retreated irregularly in a series of oscillations; the Baltic seems to have been ice-free by about 8000 B.C., and by about 7000 B.C. the storm-zone

which at present traverses the North Atlantic and accounts for our British weather was beginning to shift northwards from the African flatland across the Mediterranean, and correspondingly to diminish the supply of moisture to Arabia and Persia, where the dry beds of great rivers testify to former rainfall. Only by slow degrees was the peculiar climate of the present Mediterranean established, with its threefold seasons, cool rainy winter, sunny but still showery spring, rainless summer and autumn distinguished only by the sequence of grain-crops and tree-fruits such as vine, fig, and olive. The moderating effect of the Mediterranean lake-basins is shown by the sudden transition from this to a continental climate of extreme heat, and almost total absence of rain, within a few miles of the Syrian coast, though the winter storms of the Levant carry some rain along the foothills of Armenia as far as Nineveh, and winter rains reappear in the Indus valley.

Vegetation. Between the sand-eroded and sand-buried rock-surface of Sahara, south Arabia, and central Iran, and the snow-caps and occasional glaciers, which remain crowning the mountain-zone since the last Ice Age, the same sequence of vegetation types recurs throughout the Nearer East. Where there is heat enough and water enough, the palm flourishes, as far north as the coasts of Spain, Italy, and southern Asia Minor, but only in eastern Iran is the winter warmth sufficient to allow palms to encroach inland in spite of high altitude. Along the Indus valley, as in Mesopotamia, the palm skirts the foothills. Less dependent on moisture at root are the esparto-grass, acanthaceous thorns, and other camel-fodder of the hot steppe. Interspersed with these on higher and moister ground are shrubs, evergreen and aromatic, making their new growth in the cool showery winter, as our rosemary, rock-rose, thyme, and lavender do. Beneath and between them bulbs and woody-rooted plants, tulip and fritillary, gladiolus and iris, anemone, peony and crocus, make winter leafage and short-lived brilliant spring flowers, above a carpet of gorgeous annuals. But at the first heat of summer these all become 'dust before the wind' like dried poppies. Locally, with rain and dew enough, this

'Mediterranean' vegetation thickens to evergreen forest of holm-oak, box and myrtle, bay and laurel, juniper and yew. Next—and we are now well within the Mountain-zone—come trees leathery-leaved but deciduous, fig, walnut, and Spanish chestnut; then vallonias-oak and beech; and only then the plane, lime, and fully deciduous oaks of central Europe, where there may be rain at all seasons. For light soils, there are of course conifers to suit all climates, from the maritime-pine of the Mediterranean, the cypresses of Turkish graveyards, and the Lebanon cedar, to the firs and larches which replace the deciduous hardwood trees and straggle upwards to the snow line. On steep mountain-sides the transition from one régime to another may be abrupt; still more is there sudden luxuriance of plane and oleander along torrent banks; and dense reed-beds fringe sodden river-mouths and the rare swamps along perennial streams.

North of the Mountain-zone the forest belts lie broad over the land rather than in rapid sequence uphill. Most of peninsular Europe was naturally forested when Man cut his way through it; lime and walnut, chestnut and beech in the foothills of the Alps; oak and ash next; then various pines and firs, and lastly birch and aspen. On sandy soils even the pines give place to gorse and heather; on limestone and chalk, to turf; on loess, to coarser grasses; in swamp to peat-moss.

All these 'plant associations' shift across the natural regions with the changes of climate; and with them, of course, the wild animals appropriate to each; lion, camel, wild ass, and ostrich around the southern deserts; ibex and goat in the Mediterranean scrub; ox and deer, with wolf and bear, in the glades of the forest belt, and sheep, on the bare downs; reindeer at long last on the frozen tundra. Consequently some notion may be formed of the vegetation of a region in former periods from the animal bones in its caves and gravels.

The present human population of all this region has become greatly confused by historical migrations and modern facilities for intercourse. But the numerous regional breeds may be grouped under three main types; the slight-built, long-headed,

oval-faced brunette 'Mediterranean race'; the gigantic, even longer-headed, long-faced, blond 'Nordic race'; and geographically separating these and physically contrasted with both of them, the broad-built, wide-faced, sallow, dark-haired types often called 'Alpine' in Europe and 'Armenoid' in western Asia. In general these three varieties of 'White race' correspond with the populations of the southern and northern flatlands, and the Mountain-zone. But 'Mediterranean' people have long made themselves at home along the Atlantic seaboard from Morocco to the Hebrides; 'northern' people have repeatedly invaded central and western Europe, and temporarily parts of the Mediterranean world; and 'Alpine' people, though they are late-comers even in most parts of the Mountain-zone, have spread far beyond it, into Poland and eastern Russia, into the Netherlands and central France, and (long ago) into Spain and Portugal. There has also been frequent intermixture, sometimes sufficiently long-sustained to create permanent breeds with fresh combinations of ancestral qualities; examples are east-European types, broad-built but blond, and south-European combining broad heads with Mediterranean features and complexion.

What is more important than remote ancestry is the frequent specialization of breeds under local conditions of climate and mode of life. It cannot strictly be said that there was a Greek people before about 800 B.C., nor an English people before A.D. 1200; and the average make-up of Englishmen has demonstrably changed even since then. There have been, and still are, many recognizable varieties, some provincial, others commonest in this or that class, or way of life. What counts for much more than purity of breed and build is community of habits and beliefs, facilitated chiefly by similarity of food quest and economic régime—pastoral, agricultural, mercantile—and identity of the language whereby the same ideas, opinions, and desires are transmitted from one person to another. And among ideas and opinions some of the most potent to unify or disrupt a people are those least susceptible of rational proof, disproof, and least directly relevant to the satisfaction of material needs.

The Old Stone Age.

The successive phases of advancement among men of the Old Stone Age have been already distinguished and tabulated in the foregoing essay by W. Schmidt. While they have been longest and most carefully studied in Europe, there are already sufficient discoveries of palaeolithic deposits in the Near East, and throughout the whole length of Africa, as well as in India and other parts of Further Asia, to confirm earlier impressions of the remarkable uniformity of successive techniques of implement-making over the whole of this wide range. This is conspicuous when characteristic implements from Stellenbosch in Cape Colony and from the Somme gravels in France are compared; or from 'Mousterian' sites in North and South Africa. In the latter region, indeed, the differentiation of local 'industries' has been recognized at Still Bay in Cape Province, and correlated with successive styles of cave-paintings in the Bambata Cave in Southern Rhodesia. Later still, the spread of a new 'industry' or culture into districts occupied by another has been demonstrated; for example, the microlith industry into central Europe, Palestine, Kenya, and South Africa. In Kenya there is even evidence of alternation; and in the Smithfield and Still Bay cultures in South Africa, of the acquisition of the technique of one 'industry' by the craftsmen of another.

It is also only to be expected that at such vast distances one culture should supersede another earlier in one district than in another. The Smithfield industry, for example, combines Mousterian features with the Badarian technique of the Nile valley, yet flaked bottleglass occurs on Smithfield sites, as well as European trade beads. In Europe and in the Near East, however, such prolongation of palaeolithic cultures was checked by the spread of more civilized modes of life, and also by physical changes unfavourable to the older ways.

In Europe, where the evidence for both these kinds of event is copious, the principal activities of palaeolithic man fall in the comparatively mild intervals between the 'maxima' of the Ice Age. Along the Atlantic seaboard, indeed, there was

habitable country throughout, as far north as the Channel and the south of Ireland; but the continental climate of the interior permitted dry steppe and desert, when prevalent winds were outwards from the ice-cap.

Glacial and Interglacial Climates. The same conditions which accumulated snow, and pushed glaciers far down the valleys, shifted the storm-zone and rain-belt of the North Atlantic certainly to 25° N. latitude, and perhaps farther at times, so that large parts of Sahara, Arabia, and Iran were well-watered grassland and parkland, with much game, like the South African 'veldt' within living memory. How the belt of equatorial rains was affected by this shift of the storm-zone is uncertain; but the rarity of traces of negroid man north of his present haunts makes it probable that there was always a continuous belt of desert across Saharan Africa except perhaps along the seaboard; narrower, however, than now. In south Arabia and Persia the displacement of climate was complicated always by the monsoons, of whose history less is known, except that a great ice-cap on the mountains of Asia certainly intensified their seasonal contrasts.

Capsian and other Transitional Cultures. The remarkable uniformity of the earlier types of implements, already noted, indicates a general similarity of needs and skill, and at the same time considerable ease of movement over large areas. It is a further question whether we may presume a population of uniform breed. In Europe, Mousterian implements are associated with the extinct Neanderthal species of man, but in Kenya with men more like modern races; and in Hungary, Tunis, and the Saharan oases, and in far South Africa, Mousterian types include tanged spear-heads, and laurel-leaf points worked on both sides. Specialization and improvement had evidently begun, even before the more rapid advances of this 'Capsian' culture, which reached Palestine and Lebanon, and also spread widely through Spain into western Europe. In Spain, in North Africa, in Arabia, and even in India, vivid glimpses of the Capsian world are given by rock-engravings of wild animals and of the people themselves, hunting, fighting,

dancing; and this habit of drawing lasted on in Sahara, among the Bushmen in South Africa, into quite modern times. The Caspian folk not only drew pictures, but clothed and ornamented themselves; they used hafted spears, maces, boomerangs and bows; in North Africa, though they had dogs, they supplemented game-diet with snails, whose shells form immemorial middens, like those of the Atlantic coast. In Kenya pottery has been found in a culture otherwise resembling the 'Aurignacian' of Europe, but not yet demonstrably contemporaneous with it.

Even these later cultures of the Old Stone Age, however, only have historical significance in so far as they contributed to our own; and this is not easy to prove, because the period of transition, climatic and cultural alike, is ill explored.

Transition from Palaeolithic to Neolithic.

The north-westerly shift of climatic belts had two contrasting effects on vegetation and on everything dependent on the climate. Towards the shrinking ice-cap over Scandinavia and the Baltic blizzard in winter, and cold dry winds in summer, gave place to the stormy wet west winds, which permitted the spread first of arctic birch-scrub, then of pine-forest, only slowly followed (as we still see it in many parts of Russia and of North America) by mixed timber of oak and other deciduous trees. About 5000 B.C. the pine forest closed up around the old hunting grounds south of the Baltic and the Narrow Seas, and reduced a miserable remnant of the hunters to fishing and mere food collecting.

Kitchen Middens. Along the Atlantic coasts from Denmark and Britain to Portugal their 'kitchen middens' of bones, oysters and whelks contain, along with clumsy flint-work and (in the upper layers) ill-shaped pottery, the remains of dogs which may have been domesticated, but may only have been fellow sufferers from these austere conditions, fellow-hunters and scavengers round the camp. Rarely there are implements of another fashion, not chipped and flaked, but rubbed to an edge from natural pebbles of harder stones than flint, sole signs of

intercourse with another world of men, habituated to forests where steppe-folk starve.

Peat-bog Folk. In morasses along the coast and up the peat-infested streams necessity bred invention: fallen tree-trunks, collected into rafts and platforms, at least kept the home above water in flood-time; and another fresh use for branches was found, as handles for the stone hammers which begin to appear in these settlements. As there is no other trace of foreign intercourse as yet, it is possible that the skill to bore stone in this way may be a local improvement on the boring of bone and antler, which had been practised by the old hunters. A slight-set-back to colder conditions, with a small extension of the glaciers and ice-cap, can hardly have improved the conditions for these folk, and it did not go far enough to disorganize the forest belt which insulated them from the rest of the world.

Microlith Culture in North Africa and South-west Europe. To the south and east, conversely, the shift of the storm-track gradually diminished the rainfall over the Southern Flatland, and impaired the former continuity of parkland or prairie habitable for game animals and their hunters. North of the Mediterranean, and especially in south-western Europe, where warmth and moisture from the Atlantic necessarily mitigate the climate, the stage at which these changes took effect is marked by the spread of North African fashions of flint implements—the 'Capsian' culture—and the practice of setting miniature flints in a wooden shaft, for barbs and cutting-edges, which has its counterpart in the contemporary culture of Kenya on the south-eastern edge of the drought-stricken area, and farther afield in the similar use of shark's teeth and sharp shells by certain peoples in the Pacific. The minute flints of the 'Microlith culture' are found very widely between the Baltic shore and the north side of the Mountain-zone, into Poland, Lithuania, and south Russia. They are also distributed from Spain through North Africa to Egypt, Palestine, and (beyond a wide unexplored area) in India and Ceylon. Like earlier cultures, they reappear in Kenya, and finally in South Africa they are accompanied by the dog and by the ostrich-shell beads of the

Capsians. In the north-west they are found locally in Brit and northern Ireland. Their uniformity of fashion, and the limited range in time, make it certain that the 'microlith' represent a single innovation, rapidly propagated, more probably by mobile bands of hunters than by traffic among more sedentary folk, if indeed there were permanent settlements. In North Africa, as we have seen, this simple culture lasted long and gradually acquired pottery, sickles, and polished stone implements from the 'Neolithic' culture of Mediterranean neighbours.

It was not, however, among the dishevelled remnants of the palaeolithic food-gatherers, nor in the regions which the westerly winds and their cyclonic storms were infesting with forest and peat-moss, that any new hope for mankind was likely to dawn. Yet at first sight the loss of accustomed rainfall over the Southern Flatland seemed to threaten, no less inevitably, catastrophe by drought. But the storm-belt, as we know it now, is over 2,000 miles wide, and it has shifted its own width northward, probably in about 10,000 years. There has thus been always an ample zone of slowly changing but equally habitable country; and as we have seen, it happens that this country is traversed by the varied scenery of the Mountain-zone and the complicated Mediterranean lake-land. It therefore contains numerous more or less secluded and isolated regions where various modes of life might be achieved, and a considerable variety of human breeds, to make experiments, where experience failed to satisfy their needs.

Primary Inventions and Discoveries.

The phases and varieties of culture, with which we are henceforward concerned, all alike result from a few inventions of profound importance, economic and social, superadded to what primitive man already had, the manufacture of implements, the use of fire and of devices for kindling it, the construction of the bow (which is depicted in the later cave-paintings of Spain as well as inferred from the occurrence of worked flints small enough to be arrow-points), and the pictorial representation of

animals and men, engraved, or painted on rock-surfaces, or carved in bone. Among these new arts the most significant are the domestication of animals, the cultivation of plants, the making of pottery, the construction of cordage, textiles, and woodwork; and the discovery that metallic minerals can be shaped by blows, melted by heat, and run into moulds; and further that from other minerals similar metals can be prepared. Each of these has to be considered separately, though the results of each inquiry are curiously similar.

Domestication of Animals. The gradual change to drier climate had invariably the effect, on the great grasslands, of interrupting the pasture, and concentrating game and hunters alike into the moister valleys and lake-basins. In such oases, comparatively overstocked, animals and men were forced into closer association; beasts of prey became more obviously man's competitors and foes; the grazing animals found, in man's neighbourhood, and especially round his camp-fires, immediate safety from the carnivorous, though at some ultimate cost to their young or themselves. Selecting wildlings and weaklings thus for consumption, good milkers and douce grazers for breeding, man unawares created permanent breeds convenient for domestic use. Early stages of the same process may be seen in Papua now, where young bush-pigs are tolerated about the huts and brought up with the children. Conversely the nurture of human infants by wild or half-domesticated animals is the subject of many legends, and occasional instances. Once habituated to human society, domesticated animals provided wool, hair, and milk in their lifetime, as well as meat, hides, and sinews when dead. Herodotus' quaint account of the 'ox that cooks himself' has modern parallels in the use of bones as fuel where wood is lacking.

The geographical distribution of the domesticable animals throws some light on the cradle of this great discovery. Around the margins and recesses of the Old World, and also in all parts of the New, peoples survive who have no animal followers but the dog. Probably the earliest traces of domesticated dog are in the Capsian culture of North Africa and western Europe: certainly the kitchen-midden folk had dogs about their settlements;

but were they domestic? More or less domesticated pigs appear in Melanesia, and in the simplest cultures of South Africa; in early Europe the wild boar was the ancestor of domestic swine which are represented already in the Swiss lake-dwellings. In South America the llama yields its hair but not its milk; it carries burdens but is guided only by fear, and tethered by a hoop over its head. In tropical countries of the Old World, the buffalo, naturally fierce and shy, can be ridden and driven as well as milked, and may become a fenland substitute for prairie cattle. The goat, in many varieties of a single Asiatic highland species, 'wild, seditious, rambling', and omnivorous, has to be kept aloof from the other works of man. Of the sheep, which respects a fence, and at all events does not eat trees, there are also many varieties and several species, none of them African. North Africa has no wild goats, though they are said to be native to Crete and other Mediterranean islands. The 'Barbary sheep' (*Ammotragus lervia*) is not strictly a sheep at all, and has never been domesticated. But the 'turbary sheep' (*Ovis palustris* of the old lake-dwellings) which survives in Graubunden, the domestic breed of Anau, and the oldest Egyptian sheep, are derived from the urial (*Ovis vignei*); this is found wild along the Mountain-zone from the Punjab to Armenia, and on the northern steppe. A larger species, the argal (*Ovis ammon*), has been domesticated in Tibet and Mongolia. Except in Tibet, side by side with the local yak, a mountain ox, there has been neither inducement nor need to use the sheep as a burden-bearer. The mouflon (*Ovis musimon*) survives in Sardinia and Corsica, Asia Minor and the highlands of Persia. It is shown domesticated before 2000 B.C. on a vase from Erech in Sumeria, and some of the horned sheep of the west are of the same ancestry.

The wild ox, commonly known as 'urus' (*Bos primigenius*), survived from Magdalenian times in continental Europe, and was still wild in some districts under the Roman Empire. It is found also widely in Asia, Malaya, Hindustan, and Arabia, except the southern peninsulas. The general build varies, and especially the shape and size of the horns. Africa has no wild

cattle. In northern India *Bos namadicus* is regarded as a distinct species, and seems to be the ancestor of the domesticated breeds of Anau and early Egypt, and also of the smaller short-horned cattle which occur in the Swiss lake-dwellings, side by side with the European 'urus'. It seems probable therefore that ox, sheep, and goat were all domesticated somewhere in western Asia, and propagated into Europe and into the Nile valley. In Egypt, as late as the Fourth Dynasty, attempts are depicted to domesticate various desert antelopes, but apparently in vain. It may be that the knack of taming animals, or breeding tame strains from wild, is no longer general, though rare individuals have wonderful skill.

Quite a different problem is presented at first sight by the burden-bearers, camel, ass, and horse. The two-humped camel is found wild near Lop Nor in central Asia, and certainly had once a wider range. Domesticated, it has long been known in Arabia; a camel is depicted in an Egyptian tomb of the First Dynasty, and modelled in clay even earlier. Camels with one hump appear in Mesopotamia only about 1000 B.C. They may be native to North Africa, but were not known to early Egypt.

The ass is certainly native to north-east Africa, and appears to be replaced in western Asia by the onager, which has apparently never been tamed, though it may have interbred with the domestic ass. In the Nile valley asses were in use not long after 4000 B.C.; in Libya apparently even earlier; in Sumeria probably as early, though precise comparison of dates is not yet possible.

A dun-coloured wild horse (*Equus Przewalskii*) still exists in central Asia, and the recently extinct 'tarpan' of the Russian steppe was probably the same; it is at home on dry cool steppe, as the ass is on the margins of hot desert. Similar wild horses, small, pony-like, with large head and thick neck, ranged as far as western Europe whenever conditions were favourable, for example in palaeolithic (Aurignacian and Magdalenian) times. A wild horse is depicted with bear, urus, and other parkland animals on a very ancient silver cup from Maikop, north of the Caucasus. Nor did the horse wholly disappear from north

Germany, the Vosges, and some other districts, till historic times. The dappled colouring of many European breeds has been attributed to a distinct western variety protectively coloured for forest life, as the zebra is for tropical grassland.

In palaeolithic Europe the horse was hunted for food. Though bone objects of several early periods have been described as horse-bits, there is no good evidence for domestication. The Sumerians had a name for the horse, and made representation of draught animals more like mules than asses, as early as the First Dynasty of Ur (about 3000 B.C.). But asses were in general use till about 2000 B.C., when the horse was being described in Babylonia as a novelty, 'the ass from the east', or 'from the mountains'. Probably it was made familiar by Kassite traders or invaders from the plateau of Iran; but the origin of these people is as uncertain as their race; and having horses, they may have travelled far.

In Asia Minor there was horse-breeding before 2000 B.C. At Gaza in Philistia are the remains of a people who conquered the old Canaanite inhabitants about 2000 B.C., buried their horses with ceremony in their own graveyard, and were driven out by Egyptian forces about 1500 B.C. These horses were of the big-headed Asiatic type. About 1400 B.C. a Syrian chief has the name *Biridaswa*, which seems to be Aryan (cf. Sanskrit *aśva*, Lithuanian *asva*), suggesting the presence of people such as fought in horse chariots against the invading Hebrews about 1380 B.C. (Joshua xi. 4, Judges i. 19).

Egypt had no horses till after the Hyksos invasions (1800-1600 B.C.) which probably introduced them through Palestine. A difficult question is raised, however, in regard to the horses of Africa by the 'Arab' and 'Barb' breeds. These are bay, with dark 'points', and often a white 'star' on the forehead; and their other differences are such that they have been thought to be independently descended from a wild African horse, now extinct; especially as the nomads of Arabia were still without horses until the fifth century A.D. but used camels and asses.

With the exception, then, of the ass and perhaps of the barb horse, the principal domestic animals appear to have originated

from wild creatures of western Asia; and the close resemblance between domestic breeds in the Swiss lake-dwellings and those of early Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of northern India, makes it probable that the cradleland of them all was no very extensive region. Desolate as the great plateau of Iran now is, it was certainly once better watered than that of Asia Minor is now. It lies amid the districts where each of the domesticable species survives wild, the horse in Turkestan, the ass in Arabia, and so forth; and also between Sumeria and the Indus valley, where domestication is demonstrable early, and the northern steppe, whence peoples already pastoral have been emerging since such migrations are first perceptible. But no direct evidence appears there yet, and it is not necessary to suppose either a single focus of pastoral life, or even a single origin for each domesticated animal. The breeds of camel and of sheep certainly descend from different species, whose habitats are now distinct; if the urus was tamed, there would be two sources for oxen; and the roan 'thoroughbred' horse, even if not ultimately African, differs in structural detail both from the dun Mongol pony and from the dappled 'cart-horse' of Europe.

Domestication of Plants. The traces of primitive domestication of plants lead to similar conclusions, but with a difference anticipated by the contrast between the marsh buffalo, the parkland ox, and the horse of the dry steppe. Of the diet of palaeolithic food-gatherers we have but partial view, because almost nothing has been preserved except animal bones and shells; yet a hand-axe would serve to grub roots as well as to fell game. As soon as the lake-dwellings reveal another side of people's food-quest, vegetable provender is abundant and varied, and the diet of aboriginal tribes in Australia and South America confirms this. Among these natural supplies, the seeds of wild grasses are not uncommon. Some peoples of North America gather wild rice in its native swamps; wild grasses are collected in Queensland habitually; in Kordofan, when grain crops fail; in central Europe they are still gathered by peasants to make the cakes appropriate to certain festivals. Dry grains, like nuts and some fruits, can be stored through the seasons, and

sown deliberately at seed-time, when once their germination has been observed in chance instances.

Preparatory disturbance of the soil is more difficult to explain. It has been suggested that seedlings sprouting on grave-mounds were the clue, and suggested at the same time a connexion between such growths and the dead beneath, or their spirits. More obvious is the link between plant fertility and the weird ways of women; for around the primitive home it is the women who have the best opportunities to detect stored nuts and grains actually germinating, and intermittent leisure for transplanting, weeding, and watering them. The convenience of a supply of useful plants close at hand was obvious. And it should be noted that plants are useful for other purposes besides food and drink, more particularly for textile fibres. In early Europe, flax ranks beside the grain crops; in the East, cotton and hemp beside rice; in America, aloe beside maize. The simpler processes of cultivation have generally been woman's work; man takes a subordinate part in these mysteries, when there are trees to be felled, stumps to be grubbed and burned, or heavy ground to be broken up and fenced. Above all, when animal power is applied eventually to tillage or transport, the beasts are his, for he has the strength and skill to manage them, as modern men drive steam ploughs.

Climatic Types of Agriculture. In tropical and oceanic climates there is little distinction of seasons; elsewhere, the dependence of plant life on warmth and moisture makes cultivation seasonal, sometimes alternating with other employments, more usually making seed-time and harvest the busy seasons. A profound distinction emerges forthwith between the grain crops of the tropics and monsoon-lands, where the rains are in the heat, and the temperate regions of winter moisture. Typical of the monsoon régime is the marsh-grain, rice, which must be supplied with water at all stages but the last, and consequently employs the whole time and energy of the cultivator throughout the growing season, and also in preparation for next year's plantings. Less arduous, for they need neither watering nor deep digging, are the sub-tropical maizes and millets: their wide

range and enormous yield illustrate long-continued selection; for the wild maize bears but a single row of grains, and millets are grown from Sudan to Manchuria.

Strongly contrasted with all these are what have been described as the 'noble grasses' of the foot-hills and desert margins in the climates with winter rainfall; wheat and barley from very early times; oats and rye supplementing and eventually replacing them where the summer is wet and cloudy. All these are dry-land grasses, deep rooted, and content (as they mature) with subsoil moisture; requiring therefore deep tillage, but usually no artificial watering; drainage indeed, as in many parts of England, may be more needful than irrigation.

As with animals, there can be no doubt that all cultivated plants are derived from plants that formerly grew wild; and sometimes the wild plant is known, as in the instances of maize, rice, oats, and rye. But it does not follow that early specimens of grain or any other plant food found with human remains were cultivated. The peculiar millet found inside the bodies of prehistoric Egyptians is not of any cultivated kind, and may have been gathered wild: and the oats found in Wiltshire pit-dwellings of 'First La-Tène' period may have been 'weeds of cultivation' in some other crop; they are at all events some centuries earlier than any other record or sample.

Barley grows wild still over wide regions between Afghanistan, Transcaucasia, Arabia, and the Aegean: it has been seen twice in the African Tripoli and may well have been better established when the rainfall was greater. From the abundance of cultivated varieties in Abyssinia it has been argued that barley must have been native there, though none seems to be wild now: but are tulips native in Holland? Barley has been found among the remains of Egyptians not later than Middle Predynastic times, but not certainly earlier than the first intrusion of Asiatic types of people.

Wheat includes three distinct plants, with many varieties. 'Einkorn' (*Triticum monococcum*) or 'dinkel' wheat is well distributed throughout Asia Minor, in north Syria, and as far as the Persian border of Kurdistan; varieties of it are found in Greece

and Bulgaria, and as a weed in Serbia; in the Crimea, and in eastern Caucasus. 'Emmer' (*Triticum dicoccum*) grew wild in ancient Babylonia; it has been collected along the Euphrates, in Syria and east of the Jordan, and twice in Persia; closely allied varieties have been found in Armenia and Georgia. Neither 'emmer' nor 'einkorn' has been found wild anywhere in Africa; it must be remembered, however, that the climate of north-eastern Africa has probably deteriorated more than that of western Asia. No variety of the 'bread wheats' (*Triticum vulgare*) has ever been found wild: they may be crosses between 'emmer' and 'einkorn' or some wild grass, and on Mount Hermon these two wild grains grow together along with wild barley, which has a more conspicuous grain than either.

Cultivated 'emmer' has been found stored in an undisturbed grave of the 'Badarian' culture of the Nile valley, about 5000 B.C. But the Badarian folk probably, and certainly their Tasian predecessors, are of Asiatic rather than African type, and as no wild wheats of any kind have been found in Africa, this cultivated grain may have been introduced too. That a stone grinder was found in a Tasian grave proves nothing, for other things may be ground besides grain; a caution which we may have to remember later.

So little has been explored of the earliest cultures of Mesopotamia that the potfull of some sort of wheat from Jemdet-Nasr near Kish is at present unique; and it is only provisionally that it is dated about 5000 B.C. Of the people of this part of Mesopotamia we know that they were already a mixture of the 'brown' Mediterranean breed with broad-headed folk probably from the Mountain-zone; and that their culture has links with Syria, where both 'emmer' and 'einkorn' grow wild, and whence wheat seems to have been carried to Egypt.

To these scanty clues to the origin of so momentous a discovery, tradition and ritual add something. It was the Egyptian goddess Isis who 'found emmer and barley growing wild' and gave them to stop men eating each other, and at her festival symbols plaited of wheat and barley-stalks were carried around,

as they were within living memory at English 'harvest homes'. Similar myths were told of Cybele in Asia Minor, of Demeter in Greece, Ceres in Italy, and other native corn-mothers in Sicily and Spain. In Greece, the customary thank-offering to Demeter was a pig. Such rites live long. May we guess that those to whom the corn-lady brought her gift of grain had nothing better than pigs to give in return?

Pottery. It may seem trivial to pass from control of animals and plants, which has meant so much to man, to the potter's mastery over his clay. But beyond the very real advance in culture (which is, after all, a convenient term for this or that people's place in Nature, and outlook on it) which this simple invention marks, ancient pottery has special significance to ourselves. For clay is so plastic as to reproduce the peculiar styles and designs of contemporary handicrafts, basketry, leather, turnery, and metal-work; so fragile and frequently replaced that it chronicles fashions minutely as they change; so indestructible that it outlasts almost everything; so valueless, that its fragments are cast out unwanted, and accumulate undisturbed, later above earlier, and consequently form our most copious, most varied, and most indisputable evidence of changing needs and tastes. In particular, since in simple communities pot-making is woman's work, at all events until the potter's wheel comes into use, a change of pot-fabric on any site betokens wholesale replacement of its women; continuity of pot-fabric, that whatever the political or social revolutions of that community, through massacre or defeat of its menfolk, the women were perpetuating, together with their industrial skill, the blood of the old population, their folk-memory, and probably large elements of their language and religion.

Cordage, Textiles, and Woodwork. Of other handicrafts there is little evidence even in the best cave deposits. Perforated ornaments and beads imply some kind of drill, and also thread by which to suspend them; an Aurignacian buried in a cave at Athlit in Palestine even wears a head-dress embroidered with hells. Hides and sinews can hardly have been lacking when bone and antler were used and carved. But it was a new

experience, as the great forests spread over the hunting-grounds, to make similar use of the remains of trees and plants. Yet this, quite apart from fruits, nuts, and eventually grain, was one of the new notions which initiated the modern world. Very significant is the change in the technique of implement-making. With flaked flint you can wound, kill, and flay an animal, prepare hide and meat, shape and decorate bone; but you cannot fell a tree or work wood. For forester's use, a tougher tool is needed; a rolled pebble of slate or basalt, split and ground to a smooth edge, serves both as axe and wedge. 'So the tree fells itself', for this edge-tool is lashed to a wooden handle, and wielded with a force that would shatter an implement of flint. Similarly fibrous bark and roots, and the tough stems of plants, are a substitute for sinew and hair, far more adaptable to basketry, net-work, and textiles. To realize how small a glimpse of the daily life and work, in this new world of forest exploitation, is given by most ancient sites, we must turn to the homes of modern forest folk in tropical countries, where the rank vegetation offers much the same problems, and therewith the means to solve them, as did the temperate rain-forest of post-glacial Europe. Only one ancient culture reveals by its peculiar circumstances these other aspects of primitive wood-craft, and societies based on them.

Alpine Lake-dwelling Culture.

At first sight the timber rafts and platforms of the Baltic peat-morasses offer a primitive anticipation of the more elaborate and systematic pile-dwellings which fringe Alpine lake-shores and occur also widely outside the Alpine region, for example, at Glastonbury in Somerset far on in the Iron Age, and in Macedonia, where Herodotus described them picturesquely in the fifth century B.C. And indeed it is not improbable that adventurers from the Baltic shores may have found their way up a great river such as the Rhine into its Alpine head-waters. Even closer are the resemblances between the Baltic platforms and the timber-built 'crannogs' of the lochs of Scotland and Ireland, many of them quite late, if not of historic periods. For this mode

of life, rude as it is, at least makes human existence possible under austere conditions of cold and wet.

But intermediate types of settlement are rare, and other elements of the lake-dwellers' culture have to be taken into account. From the west doubtless also came implements of bone and antler, perpetuating late palaeolithic fashions, and the Capsian types of flaked instruments. Microliths are found here actually in their wooden settings, preserved with much other perishable material in the lake-sediment below and around the dwellings. The pottery, too, follows clumsy leather vessels, like that of the kitchen-middens. But especially in the stern Alps, and most of all in the lake-dwellings of Upper Austria, all these rather primitive characters are merged in a culture which in respect of pot fabrics and other movables is essentially borrowed from the Danubian (p. 154 below). Here, however, resemblances of form are no safe measure of antiquity; the low-lying valleys and in fenland are always the refuges of the dispossessed and old-fashioned. It is noteworthy that in these elements the best pottery is the earliest; and that the bones of domestic animals are relatively commoner in the lower than in the higher deposits. It is only in the latest layers, on the other hand, that polished stone axes occur, followed soon by copper ornaments, and fresh fabrics of pottery.

But what after all needs explanation is the peculiar structure of the lake-dwellings themselves. Wooden piles driven in large numbers into the mud-bottom off shore supported a timber platform, on which huts and enclosures, also of woodwork, stood. Herodotus describes the 'single gangway' to the shore, trap-doors in the platform, the horses foddered on the fish fed up through them in baskets, the babies 'tethered by the lest they roll off'. He notes also what organized labour went into the building of lake-villages, and the polygamy of their folk. In the remains of Swiss pile-dwellings we can complete the picture; the thatched roofs, clay hearths, and frequent conflagrations; besides the clever carpentry, various wholly-wooden contrivances, from whistles and combs to boomerangs and anchors, cart-wheels to canoes; the cordage, netting, and textiles,

fundamental dependence on woodcraft and other forest lore, this other group of cultures has in common a peculiar handling of their pottery, and especially of its painted decoration, which reveals something of their mode of life, and helps to explain why their distribution is so wide and also so discontinuous.

Cultures so distributed are, however, not easy to explain: in particular, how is it that the pottery in various regions of it differs greatly in its shape, but is relatively uniform in its ornament, which is always executed in paint, and usually in pigment darker than the surface of the clay? As the lake-dwelling settlements of the Alps differ in details borrowed or intruded in course of time from alien neighbours, so the settlements with 'painted-ware' cultures represent various phases and periods, and exhibit regional peculiarities some of which can already be referred to a particular foreign source; for example, the spiral decoration of the Ukraine and Thessaly (pp. 120, 157) which seems to be borrowed from the Danubian folk (p. 155). As the argument has now to be cumulative, some of the principal 'painted-ware' cultures must be considered separately in detail.

East of the Carpathians, and widely across the 'black-earth' steppe as far as the middle course of the Dnieper as well as southwards through Wallachia to the Lower Danube, settlements are found protected by a rough stone rampart and ditch, and containing much pottery, painted with bold spirals in red, outlined with black, on a white ground: another fabric has its spiral ornament grooved and filled with white: and occasional fragments with incised spirals suggest intercourse with the Danubian region beyond the Carpathians (p. 158). A common form is a tubular stand, and these occur also in pairs, with cross-pieces and handles. Female figures in clay illustrate either tattooing or painting with similar spiral designs. Bones of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs occur, and 'shoe-last' implements indicate hoe-agriculture again like that of the Danube basin (p. 154). On several sites two periods of this culture are distinguished, and over so wide an area there are naturally local variations. Around Tripolje, near Kiev, flat axes of copper occur, and perforated maces and hammer-axes; these also are certainly from else-

here. West of the Carpathians, in Transylvania, in the upper valley of the Alt, the same 'painted-ware' culture reappears at Erösd in a district which yields both copper and gold, and is connected with the Wallachian plain by the deep-cut valley of the Alt. The settlement at Erösd is in a strong position, on a spur, and is fortified with rampart and ditch. Here ornaments of copper and of gold occur, and also clay stamps bearing the spiral designs with which people decorated themselves. The vessels are redware, painted with spirals and meanders in several colours. They were traded occasionally to the Danubian settlement at Tordos in the Maros valley farther west, where also gold is found in river-silt. Crude painted wares appear rarely elsewhere in the Danubian region, and also in Galicia and Cracovia north of the Carpathians. They seem to be offshoots from the main 'painted-ware' culture. South of the lower Danube, similar fabrics of pottery characterize sites in Dobruja and eastern Bulgaria, the Maritza valley, and eastern Macedonia. In Thessaly many sites acquire varieties of the 'painted-ware' culture in their second period, which is contemporary with the Second Danubian culture (p. 155). Even in southern Italy there are early painted wares with similar designs in Calabria, and others again in eastern Sicily (p. 168).

Origin of the Painted Wares. As there are no painted wares farther west, and the Thessalian varieties are intruded into a region of quite different culture (p. 159) at a period earlier than the arrival of Aegean painted styles from the island world, it seems necessary to look for the origin of the whole 'painted-ware' culture in some other direction. But north of its 'black-hill' habitat lay the deciduous forest, and utter barbarism till much later; and eastward, beyond the Dnieper, the strongly trusted and far less artistic culture of the 'ochre graves' (p. 229), whose tribes eventually spread westward and overcame the painted-ware folk, as we shall see (p. 232).

At farther afield still are found other painted-ware cultures. Even in a stratified mound on the site of the Persian city Susa, on the foot-hills of the Zagros range, the earliest settlement and cemetery yield flint implements, simple copper axes and

mirrors, and much pottery, of fine thin light-coloured clay painted in black with conventional designs suggested partly by the structure of leather bowls and cups, but partly derived from horned animals, flying and running birds, and coursing dogs. These people then were hunters. That they had also agriculture is suggested (but not proved) by grinding stones; that they had some trade, by a few foreign pots of red ware, and by obsidian and turquoise, probably from Armenia and north Persia. Beneath similar finds at Tepe Musyan, higher in the hills, nearly a hundred miles from Susa, lies a deposit with similar but cruder pottery, and no trace of metal. This earlier culture reappears on other sites in the same region. Other closely related fabrics occur in Mesopotamia at Tell-al-'Ubaid (near Ur) and in the 'antediluvian' layer at Ur itself, at Abu Shahrein (ancient Eridu) and at Bender Bushire, and appear to be considerably earlier than the earliest Sumerian graves. They may be of the fifth millennium and were formerly dated even earlier. Those who used them were cultivators as well as hunters: they had flint hoes and arrow-points, corn-grinders and sickles, and spindle-whorls.

In northern Mesopotamia also there is painted ware at Kish, in the layer which preceded the great flood (p. 131); but it differs from that of Ur in having red paint as well as black, and in this respect resembles painted fabrics of North Syria and Asia Minor. In Mesopotamia, indeed, it looks as though two distinct movements of culture had converged on the newly formed alluvium, one from the eastern foot-hills, the other down-river from the north-west. In any case, the earliest culture in Mesopotamia turns out to be derivative from a culture or cultures already well developed elsewhere, and partaking in 'painted-ware' tradition. To the fabrics of Syria and Asia Minor we have now to add 'painted ware' from a fresh site in Cyprus, which, if it is really earlier than the first bronze-age culture there, increases the significance of the mainland evidence, and helps to establish its priority.

Similar fabrics of painted pottery are widespread at a very early period; at Anau on the foot-hills of southern Turkestan near Teheran, in north-western Persia; in Seistan, and at Nal

in Baluchistan; at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, and Harappa in Punjab, and on several sites in the Kansu, Honan, and Fengtien provinces of northern China. The Chinese sites are certainly early, and have been attributed to the centuries about or before 1500 B.C. The others cannot be dated as yet.

Thus the group of sites with painted pottery between the Dnieper, Carpathians, and Lower Danube, with expansion into Transylvania and outliers or imitations in Moravia and even in Bohemia, falls into place as a far westward outlier of a great culture province embracing the whole length of the Eurasian grasslands, and also the whole width of the Mountain-zone and the Iranian plateau-heart.

Painted Ware and Nomads. This unusually wide range of a culture so nearly uniform in its decorative art is not at first sight easy to explain. But certain features are significant. Most of the local styles have vases which, whether actually wheel-made or not, exhibit both in form and in the arrangement of their decoration that symmetry about a vertical axis which betrays the influence of the potter's wheel. The decoration is applied in horizontal zones, more or less enhancing the curves of body and neck; and in the 'second culture' at Susa and so in the derivative fabrics of Syria and Palestine, the horizontal zones are broken up into panels by vertical partitions, and these panels are embellished with more or less pictorial designs. But the First Style of Susa, the First Period at Anau, and the most characteristic examples at present known from Asia proper, are unusually free from these influences. Their vase forms are indeterminate and sloppy, and the painting either perpetuates features of construction in leather, felt, or other pliable substance, or else disregards or disguises the shape of the vessel so completely as to suggest that it represents some patterned material, out of which desired shapes were cut, and fitted together, the cuts and seams running one way, and the lines of the vessel another. Many of the detailed ornaments, too, and especially those which fill interspaces in the structural designs, are actually in use on the leather-work of pastoral peoples in historic times, both on the northern and on the southern

grasslands. In Ukraine and at Erösd, too, the designs sprawl all over the surface, irrespective of shape or use, and in Thessaly they seem to camouflage the vase form deliberately.

Occurring as they do both very early as at Susa, or very secluded as in Asia Minor—or both, as in early Thessaly—these types of decoration seem to be primitive in this technique; nearest, therefore, to the phase at which the newly acquired art of the potter adopted and perpetuated forms and ornaments from some other handicraft. This is most likely to have occurred at the points where a nomad pastoral folk settled down to sedentary life on the parkland margin of their grassland, or beyond it.

Following this clue, we note that whereas clay vessels characterize sedentary cultures, nomad pastoral people make habitual use of leather, and there are other instances of nomad folk taking to pottery when they settle down on the margin of the grassland. If tribes of a widespread nomad folk traditionally using decorated leather-work settled down at different points in this way, it might be expected that their painted pottery would agree in decoration while varying in form, as these 'painted wares' actually do. And such occasions of settlement need not be contemporary, so long as the nomad culture continues, out of which they diverge. If, however, within the grassland itself, or from some other point on its margin, a different culture came into being, and spread, it would sooner or later disorganize such earlier settlements, and drive survivors of them farther afield, nomadic once more. If, moreover, such folk resumed their nomad habit, the same tradition of pot-making once acquired should reappear wherever else they became temporarily settled, and ventured to make pots; whereas, on the move, pots being brittle perish, and cannot be renewed. As we have perceptible accumulations of potsherds only where settlement has been continuous, the discontinuity, and also the local variations, of this industry explain themselves, as easily as similar discrepancies among the handicrafts of distinct tribes of modern nomads. In North Africa, where a quite distinct industry of similarly painted pottery has come into being on the margin of another

great region of nomad culture, the ornaments of the sedentary Babylonian potters vary from family to family, but are hereditary within each, and have a general resemblance to the decorated leather-work of the nomad people.

It seems therefore safe to regard this widespread group of painted wares as the record of local stabilization, in regions of permanent settlement, of the nomad peoples of a continuous grassland régime. If we can date such settlements, we have approximate dates, within the continuance of that régime, at which such crises occurred; and their geographical distribution marks points at which, for some reason or another, sedentary life had attractions, or was enforced on the nomads by circumstances.

It has only been necessary to discuss a matter at present so speculative because the painted-ware cultures of Thessaly and Elam are outstanding facts, not explained by the earliest known history of other cultures, Mesopotamian and Aegean, which grew up adjacent to them, and themselves necessary to explain certain peculiarities of those very early cultures, and also to throw light on their origins. The earliest settlers in Mesopotamia, for example, brought with them thither a culture which already included painted ware.

In contrast then with the lake-dwellers who seem to perpetuate within the Mountain-zone a mode of existence highly specialized and characteristic of forest life, and in part adapted to the last makeshifts of the old Stone Age in the north-west, the 'painted-ware' folk illustrate attempts of nomad pastoralists on the Northern Flatland (perhaps originally derived from the steppe plateau of Iran) to accommodate themselves to the conditions of the margins of the forest-belt as it shrank from the south-east on the north flank of the Mountain-zone. We have now to consider what the effects of that shrinkage were in the south-west of the same highland region.

Southern Flatland: its perennial Rivers compared and contrasted.

The gradual change of climate over the Southern Flatland has greatly enhanced the importance of the greater rivers which

traverse it. We have only to imagine a similar decrease of rainfall in America over the 'middle west' or the Argentine, or in Africa over the Congo basin or the Zambesi, to reconstruct its effects in these ancient times. Gradually, all but the largest streams failed, their dry gravelly beds still scoring the sand-worn surface: and at last only two river-systems, exceptionally supplied at their distant sources, remained (and still remain) in function. There are special but different reasons for their perennial flow.

In western Asia the Tigris and Euphrates collect the winter rainfall of large tracts within the Mountain-zone, and the Tigris receives tributaries all along its left bank from similar hill-girt basins. In summer, also, both Euphrates and Tigris are in flood, for the snow which begins to melt from March to May is not all gone till autumn, and the flood-waters sweep down violently, bringing much coarse gravel and silt, so that fresh and uncharted shoals emerge each autumn when the river subsides.

In Africa the Nile's lower course, below the crystalline spill-way of the Cataracts, transmits only the finest mud, and this only in the summer flood-time: all other debris has been shed long before, on the Blue Nile, when the grade first slackens out of the foot-hills of Abyssinia; and the White Nile flows always sluggish but clear through sudd-covered swamp, after it leaks through the rock rim at Ripon Falls. Even the White Nile, fed by equatorial rains in the Lake Region, flows stronger in summer, as the rain-belt shifts northward with the sun; but the sudden flood that reaches Egypt in July is mainly due to the summer rain on the great highland of Abyssinia, which breaks suddenly as in India, and converts long reaches of the White Nile into a backwater of the Blue, providing also almost all the silt.

Nile and Euphrates. The differences between the régimes of the Nile and the Two Rivers of Mesopotamia explain the profound contrasts in their economic history. The Nile flood, regular and nearly uniform, is easily controlled and distributed over the long narrow floor of the valley; a low Nile causes anxiety, but hardly famine; a high Nile may 'breed frogs', but cannot

devastate Egypt. On the Euphrates, and still more on the Tigris, the date and volume of the flood are alike uncertain; the heavy load of gravel gives the streams terrible power to erode old embankments and new channels; between eddies and shoals, navigation is perilous at all seasons, and impossible at high and low water alike. The coarser sediment blocks the channels, the finer is swept along the swift current, to be shed suddenly where fresh water meets salt, extending the vast area of fringing fen, instead of renewing the fertility of the 'Land between the Rivers'. At the head of the Persian Gulf there is no such current as distributes the Nile mud along the 'Serbonian bog' towards Palestine; and the converging lateral deltas of neighbouring currents have enclosed a vast lagoon in front of Basra. Thus, below the surface-soil of Egypt it is only rarely that there is trace of bedding or change of texture; at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in a century, deposition has been steady for 50-70 feet and therefore at least for 15,000 years. Under the ruins of Ur and Kish the deposits are not of one flood only, but of several, are recognizable. The 'Deluge' here was a fearsome and memorable event, like the great floods of the Yangtse and Mississippi in our own time.

Nile Valley.

As long as the Libyan desert received rain, the lateral gullies of the Nile valley brought down seasonal torrents, and there was continuous herbage from the high desert down to the jungled fens along the swampy vagrant river (much as we see it now in the Jordan valley) far up the White Nile. Tree-roots found among huts of the earliest settlements belong to kinds already present in Egypt in later prehistoric times. That the Nile valley was armed with game is evident from the pot-paintings of the dynastic people, and from tomb-paintings later than 3000 B.C. In Sudan, modern Nilotic tribes have been seen scattering millet-seed on the mud as the river subsides, and returning from their dry-ground settlements when the crop was ready, an instructive link between mere 'food-gathering' and deliberate culture; and Predynastic Egyptians certainly ate a sort of millet, and may have obtained it in some such way. The earliest

known inhabitants, of the 'Tasian' culture, resemble the broad-headed breed of the Mountain-zone, but their 'Badarian' successors were southerners, akin to the more ancient stocks of South India and Ceylon. The Badarians were settled folk, hunting and fishing, but also cultivating emmer and barley; it is not so clear whether they had domestic animals. They made clothes from flax and skins, wove baskets, fashioned pottery, often imitating baskets and sometimes leather-work; and they ground axe-heads and vessels in hard stone. They had copper, beads of glazed stone, Red Sea shells for ornaments, green malachite from Sinai for face-paint: their custom was to bury their dead in a shallow trench, wrapped in mats or skins, with amulet figures of women in ivory or clay. Whether these represent the wife of the deceased, or some protecting power, is, as so often, quite uncertain. With their polished axes they were able to fell the trees, whose roots are found among their huts, and they had varied tools of flint, capable of working timber into boomerangs and other implements. When their pots broke, they could bore the fragments and lacc them together, as calabashes are mended in South Africa. Ivory was to be had for the hunting, and was worked into vessels, spoons, pins, and hair-combs carved with birds. The local ostrich supplied feathers for fans, and eggshell from which were cut beads for necklaces, as among the Capsians and the microlith-folk of South Africa.

Farther north, in the Fayyûm depression, then filled with water 200 feet above the present lake, people of similar habits had also acquired cattle, sheep, and pigs, and used barbed harpoons, tanged arrow-heads, and disk-shaped mace-heads. These implements may have been acquired by intercourse, but perhaps were devised locally. There is nothing to show that these early Nile-folk were not as indigenous as other North African people of similar build. That they have some negroid traits, only shows that intercourse already occurred up and down Nile across the whole drought-belt. But as the steppe-folk were crowded into the Valley and the oases, these Sudanese types faded out, and Badarian culture passed into the First Predynastic.

Settlements now became numerous all down the Valley. As timber trees disappeared, stone axes were disused—in the Fayum they were even reshaped by chipping—and coniferous wood was imported from Syria. The flaking of flint knives and arrow-points was now superb. For small instruments, however, copper became commoner, though it was still not fused but treated as a malleable stone; probably it came from Sinai, like its ore, the green malachite. Other distant intercourse brought obsidian, lapis lazuli, and emery, all found in the Mountain-zone. For river traffic, boats were made of bundles of rushes, with cabins and oars, but no sails yet. There is ampler provision for the needs of the dead, clay models are substituted for real cattle or attendants, and the vases and slate palettes are decorated with scenes of daily life, anticipating the fresco-paintings of later times. Representations of noxious animals may be amulets, or 'totemic' badges. The coexistence and also the sequence of distinct fabrics of pottery and styles of decoration, red-polished, black-rimmed, incised, or painted white on red, suggests both local isolation and fresh immigrants from Nubia or the Libyan west; some details in this and in other arts link Predynastic culture with Capsian in Algeria and Spain. As so often in later days, intercourse led to comparison, and provoked competitive advancement among riverside communities communicating up or down stream.

A Second Predynastic phase seems to have originated in Lower Egypt. But its origins are obscure, for the delta mud covers them, as it covers the 'black ware' settlements which preceded it there. When this Second Predynastic culture spreads up the valley, it is contrasted with the First which it overmastered there, by its pear-shaped mace-heads, scimitar-knives, swallow-tail blades, buff pottery painted with red patterns and scenes, and fondness for animal-shaped pots and palettes. Figurines in the graves are replaced by amulets, representing bulls' heads, flies, and falcons, and the grave-equipment is often deliberately smashed, to liberate (perhaps) the 'souls' of the objects. The ships on the vases and in a plastered tomb at Hierakonpolis now bear ensigns, usually

such animals as were worshipped in the provincial 'nomes' of later times. Models of houses show timbered doorways; the variety of foreign rarities indicates wider intercourse; games were played, so leisure was enjoyed and enhanced; dances combined recreation with acts of worship; painting and modelling betray observation of nature and society, and by their uses reveal also distinctions of rank or wealth. There is even a first attempt at an engraved seal-cylinder; but no advance yet on the rude symbols which are common to the First culture and to the Capsian cave-paintings.

The technique of vase-painting, the pear-shaped maces, and animal-shaped vessels, challenge comparison (as we shall see) with other cultures in western Asia; and the Osiris legends in later Egypt presume just such an intrusion from Syria as the Second culture indicates. That its early centre in the Delta was on its western front resulted from other causes, the supply of *natron* for glaze, the Libyan olive-industry, the convenience of the sole port for seafaring ships. These now began to reach the Syrian coast and also Asia Minor and Crete, the nearest copious sources of the timber which Delta and Valley alike lacked.

It is a further question whether the spread of a northern culture, up the Valley, may be identified with the traditional advance of Horus and his Harpoon-folk and Falcon-folk, with which some scholars associate the introduction of hieroglyphic writing, and of the Egyptian calendar with its reckoning in cycles of 1,460 years from an initial date in 4236 B.C. Early representations of the symbolic falcon, and of the typical maces and arrow-heads, are in accordance with this; but in another interpretation, Horus and his folk entered Egypt from the south. That fresh elements of culture, which seem from their distribution to be of Asiatic origin, appear in Egypt during this period, is, however, certain. The primeval self-sufficiency of the first valley-culture had disappeared before the end of the First Predynastic period, and wider intercourse with other lands had its reaction on the Nile-people themselves.

Sequence Dates and Proto-Dynastic Culture. By comparison of

successive fashions in each of several distinct crafts, a system of 'sequence dates' has been constructed which makes it possible to assign relative age to this or that tomb or habitation, and even to estimate absolute antiquity by reckoning backwards from the earliest historical dynasties. For example, the development of more elaborate forms of tombs, so determined, indicates growing contrasts of wealth and dignity, and more elaborate precautions for the continuance of well-being after death, through lavish equipment of the graves, and protective superstructures of which the ultimate forms are the mastaba-tombs of the Third Dynasty and the pyramids of the Fourth. Other instances are the regular supply of foreign timber, mainly from Syria, and (beyond the 'Great Bend of the Land') from southern Asia Minor and Crete; the increasing abundance of copper, also foreign; the wonderful craftsmanship of the vessels in diorite and other hard stone; the decline of pottery, as these and metal vases became commoner; the use of hieroglyphic writing, and cylinder-seals, revealing the new need to communicate precise information and authentic orders at a distance; the Egyptian objects (and even an Egyptian temple) found at Byblus far up the Syrian coast; the Red Sea *Tridacna*-shells which were being traded as far as Crete; and the ships with masts and square sails quite different from the papyrus-boats of the river. Decorative and symbolic designs occasionally resemble Mesopotamian, and after the establishment of the First Dynasty in control of both valley and Delta, the ceremonial maces of the earliest kings, with their elaborate relief-carving, are more often of Mesopotamian fashion. The recessed brick-work of the royal tombs, imitating a façade of wooden posts and matting, the plan of the tombs themselves, and the burial of animals and attendants in them, recur also on Sumerian sites. There were intruders also among the people themselves. A new large-built, long-headed people appears in the royal tombs; broad-headed people among the well-to-do under the Third Dynasty.

Which way intercourse went, is disputed. The Sumerians certainly navigated the Persian Gulf, and brought copper from Iran in south-east Arabia; the Predynastic centres round

Abydos have the shortest and easiest road from the valley to a Red Sea port; it is possible therefore that Arabia was circum-navigated already, as it certainly was in later times. On the other hand, Egypt has no defensible frontier at the Isthmus, and some of the first foreign traits are shared rather with Palestine than with Mesopotamia. Probably both avenues were in use.

First Cultures in Mesopotamia.

At first sight the sodden alluvial foreshore which Euphrates and Tigris began to accumulate at the head of the Persian Gulf, rapidly while the snows and rainfall were heavier, and more slowly later, was not favourable ground for a civilization. It had neither stone, nor flint, nor metals; the rivers were torrential in winter, sluggish and unwholesome in summer; the natural régime was marsh and fen, sand-bank and backwater, wild pig and waterfowl. But along the streams the date-palm grew wild, and in the foot-hills were wild wheat and barley, wild vines and stone-fruits, wild sheep and goats; among the mountains, obsidian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, copper, and tin. Above all, there was always water. Only 'let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear', and what a paradise was here!

With present limited information from very few excavated sites, only main elements can be recognized in a complex situation. Out of Arabia, and also out of the foot-hills of Elam east of the Gulf, it was easy for settlers to occupy the fen-land as fast as it was formed. The people themselves were of the widespread Eurafrican breed, of Arabian, not Highland, origin. Such a settlement, at Tell-al-'Ubaid near Ur, on the western margin, has already a composite culture. But nomad folk out of steppe-country do not usually build huts of timber, matting, and wattle-work, nor make fine pottery. Stone door-pivots must be a heritage from a land that had stone. Grain-crops were cultivated with flaked hoes of chert, not unlike early hand-axes from India and Somaliland. Arrow-heads, axes, and pear-shaped maces were of various imported stones; sickles were usually of hard-baked clay, for copper (though known) was rare. In

general this culture resembles that of the Elamite hills. The pots, too, are painted; but their decoration and forms are distinct from the painted wares of Elam, and are in part based on basketry; the potter's skill, applied to local needs, has been earned from elsewhere, perhaps from more than one source, or there are also pots without paint, but comb-ornamented and provided with handles, probably the earliest known yet, but recalling the primitive handled-wares of Syria and Asia Minor *v. below*, p. 147). From Samara to Bushire, on the other margin of the Gulf, there are painted wares much more akin to the highland types.

Quite distinct from all this is the painted ware of Jemdet-Nasr, near Kish, in the far north of the flood-land. Here the resemblances are with fabrics of Carchemish in north Syria and rather afield, and the people themselves are a mixture of Euphratic and Armenoid types; as if there had been movement down-stream along the Upper Euphrates, such as has often occurred. This would bring into the country around Sippar north Semitic tribes of the 'Martu' or 'Amurru' type (p. 137), between whom and the Arabian nomads there is distant kinship of language, but strong contrast of habit and behaviour; for the northern Semite is sedentary, a village dweller, and a farmer. For him the older and firmer silt of Akkad was a paradise; the utterly fenland could be left, till it dried, to the fen folk. These 'Akkadian' Semites seem to have descended into the flood-plain early enough to anticipate the rival movement of foot-hill folk down the Tigris, and divert it up-stream into what eventually became Assyria; but the danger of 'Guti' intrusion remained, and differences of language, as well as of custom, aggravated feud.

Later, and apparently not until Akkadian settlement was already well advanced, another alien people appeared in the south, with a distinct language, and a culture of their own superior to that of the fen folk, whom they exploited and finally superseded. Whence these 'Sumerians' came is still debated. They were big 'black-heads', with long beards, but with narrow skulls of a type which occurs in primitive Egypt,

but also in modern Baluchistan, Afghanistan, and the Indus valley. With this the bullet-headed statues do not quite agree, and it is possible that the priests and rulers whom they represent were of broader build than the mass of the population represented in the graves: and certainly there was such a mixture in the burials at Kish.

The gods of these Sumerians were hill-deities, their houses timber-built, their characteristic dress a skirt covered with flounces or tassels like a well-worn sheepskin; their language was of the 'agglutinative' type, best represented now among Mongoloids in central Asia. Most significant of all, from the first they were town-dwellers, forming distinct compact communities on sites protected from inundation by platform and dyke, with cultivable territory drained and irrigated by similar earthworks.

Such enterprises presume efficient organization and guiding will, and this each Sumerian citizen found in his city-god, whose sanctuary, exalted on an artificial mound within the settlement, was at the same time religious, administrative, and economic centre, administered by a priest-king, behind whose executive power stood the wealth and experience of an incorporated order of consecrated ministers of the god. Had we a glimpse of the foundation-days of such a community we might recognize a compact body of adventurers like the Falcon-clan and Harpoon-clan, in the Egyptian Horus-legend, whose coming transformed the Delta and the Valley into civilized states.

But in Sumeria the region was wide as well as long; habitable sites were numerous, but insulated among channels and swamps; colonization was multiple, as it was in the Aegean and in the Po valley (pp. 158, 174); and the political history of the Sumerians is a long struggle for land-ownership, and for water-rights, between independent city-states, aggravated by fanatical devotion to each city-god, and only occasionally assuaged by temporary supremacy of one city. It was a rule of force, or rather, in Greek phrase, a 'dynasty', the systematic use of material forces by a sequence of dominant wills. Repeatedly the greater coherence of the Accadian Semites gave them the mastery over the

Sumerian south, as in the days of Sargon of Agade, and Hammurabi of Babylon.

Such a régime was not established suddenly, but essentially piecemeal; and at present only a few Sumerian cities have been explored. Hebrew legend gives glimpses of a period when the 'sons of God' lived among another folk, and intermarried with the 'daughters of men', a common phrase where distinct peoples interpenetrate; of a great flood, which only certain 'sons of God' survived; of the attempt to found a single 'city and a tower' of burnt brick and bitumen 'whose top may reach unto heaven', and of the dispersal of the builders into many lands. But in this later story the new city is identified with Babylon, and city-builders 'journeyed eastward and found a plain', as though the flood-land were reached from up the Euphrates. Sumerian chronicles of about 2000 B.C. have also a flood, with 'dynasties' before and after it. At Ur, the first settlement is separated from the later by 8 feet of sterile silt. At Kish two early cultures are separated by such flood-deposits, and the earliest Sumerian remains from the later by another, which, however, does not seem to represent the same flood as devastated Ur. In such a catastrophe, the better protected and better organized people had obvious advantages, and though no single 'Deluge' covered the whole plain at once, the cumulative effect was to facilitate Sumerian occupation of the devastated areas, at the expense of an older peasantry.

Even after the floods, though there was evidently much intercourse, and southern elements tend to predominate, there are marked contrasts between Akkadian culture at Kish, and Sumerian at Ur. The cities become populous and industrial, maintained by intensive cultivation of their territory, but supplementing local resources with organized trade in foreign materials and rarities against manufactured goods. For these business needs, messages and accounts were inscribed on clay tablets in a script which, though still pictorial, is the precursor of the 'cuneiform' writing; these early documents, however, cannot yet be read. Engraved button-seals and cylinders provided personal signatures; and some of the seals were so accurately

fashioned that they may have served also as unit-weights. Among the remains of these people at Kish is a palace, built of sun-dried brick, with stairs and columns, slate slabs inlaid with pastoral and political scenes in shell and mother-of-pearl; and there is one small stone inscription with pictorial symbols. But by this time Sumerian influences from the south are conspicuous, and some of the graves are provided with a model boat, as though the way to the other world lay down-stream or oversea. At Ur the splendid 'royal tombs' of the First Dynasty display great wealth of gold and silver, wonderful craftsmanship in metals, stonework, and inlaid ornament; constructional skill in brick arches and vaults, vigorous naturalism in art, startling realism in the wholesale slaughter of retinue, men and animals alike, inside the graves. At Tell-al-'Ubaid the temple has copper lions, deer, and other creatures, encrusted with coloured mosaic, and an inlaid frieze of dairy scenes. These evidently were of supreme interest in the public economy.

Some notable devices and inventions first appear in these Mesopotamian cultures. The flat copper axe-blade was bent round the haft, not fixed into it, and then the 'shaft hole' so extemporized, in imitation of the perforated mace of stone, was cast solid, with the blade set either longwise or across for axe or adze, a great gain in strength and convenience. For the clay figures which after a while replaced real attendants in the tomb-retinue, hollow moulds were used, permitting mass-production, uniform, rapid, and cheap. Whether these clay-moulds, or copper-casting, came first is less easy to decide, for most of the early copper objects were worked over with hammer and graver. But the fine copper animals of Tell-al-'Ubaid were certainly cast in a mould.

The larger domestic animals, ass and ox (and apparently also at Nippur a large antelope) were now employed as a source of power, by harnessing them to various contrivances—sledge, cart, and plough. Merely to trail a fallen branch might happen to an animal accidentally; and some Redskins of North America tied to their dogs a pair of poles, to trail behind and carry a bundle. But it is a long way from that to the deliberate con-

struction and harnessing of a sledge, such as is still widely used on threshing floors in the Near East, and for transport in the Alps and in Ireland; still further, to the harnessing of a hoe or pick by its handle, so as to trace a continuous furrow, while the ploughman guides it by a handle inserted behind the blade. This primitive plough is still common in the Levant, made from a forked bough, with only the share-point in metal. Operated by the cultivator himself, this device is found among the Kaffirs, as in early Egypt, and in America among the natives of Colombia; what was fresh is the employment of the ox as a tractor, and such a labour-saving device was of special value where populations were growing so dense, and where irrigated crops could be raised in continuous sequence, provided power was available. But the inventor of the plough needed serviceable timber, and may well have been a man of the foot-hills, not of the flood-plain.

Quite another notion is applied to transport, when a tree-trunk is cut, and laid so that the loaded sledge rolls forward over it. When the roller is loosely secured to the vehicle by slings or forked bearings, so as to revolve without being left behind, it is easy to trim down this roller into a pair of disks on an axle; then to build wheels of boards with a leathern tire, and fix them on the revolving axle; then to fix the axle, but leave the wheels free to rotate on it; and finally to construct a lighter wheel out of nave, spokes, and rim, bound with leather or metal. Actual wagons with four built-up wheels on revolving axles were found in the 'royal tombs' at Ur, but mere sledges were also in use on this light and level soil. Like the plough, the wheeled-cart presumes suitable timber, and considerable skill to fashion it. To us it is known first in Mesopotamia, but that does not prove it indigenous there: for it occurs, still in the Bronze Age, in the lake-dwellings of the Alps (p. 113). In Egypt, wheeled cars only appear, together with the horse, under the Hyksos conquerors from western Asia; and their wheels are of delicate six-spoke construction. In Palestine, too, chariot warfare was encountered by the Hebrew invaders about 1400 B.C. The wheel with axle, rotating for the potter's use

horizontally, appears also in Mesopotamia at this early stage: but the spread of this device has not yet been traced precisely.

Early Use of Metals. While none of these inventions can be confidently ascribed to the Sumerians, nor even to their flood-land predecessors, some, of even more essential importance, certainly cannot. Early uses of metals must be distinguished according as the natural substance is merely collected and refashioned as a malleable kind of pebble, or deliberately won from veins in the rocks, or reduced out of its natural ore by more or less elaborate smelting, so that a new substance is artificially made. In both hemispheres many quite simple peoples are acquainted with 'native' gold or copper (more rarely with native silver) and hammer out the natural nuggets into useful or decorative shapes. Copper may be hardened by hammering, especially if it is alloyed with certain other metals, of which tin is the most useful; it is more easily hammered if it is heated; and it is not difficult in a good fire to heat copper to melting-point, and cast it in a mould to a desired shape. At the Mondsee site in Austria, such a clay mould has been found still enclosing the stone implement which served as a model. But much early copper does not seem to have been fused at all.

Gold, more malleable than copper, and also more difficult to melt, was even more commonly worked up from natural nuggets, and sometimes shows where these have been welded together. But softer and comparatively useless as it is, gold has been in greater esteem than copper, less on account of its rarity than of its bright appearance, conspicuous weight, and resistance to heat and moisture, which tarnish and corrupt copper rapidly. In the widespread belief that natural objects can communicate their special qualities to other beings, and especially to man, gold has therefore been in demand as a 'giver of life', or rather to sustain life and enhance vitality. Hence the pathetic custom of burying gold objects with the dead, which has gone far, in most early cultures, to prevent the supply from exceeding the demand, and so to maintain the value of gold as a commodity. With this demand enhanced by political conditions, as when Egyptian or Sumerian dynasties lavished gold

on their dead, gold travels far; but it carries so little trace of origin that it is very seldom that we can detect the sources of supply.

With copper it is different, for it usually contains traces of other metals; the Sumerian copper blades, for example, were as serviceable as they were, by reason of an unusual admixture of nickel; and a nickel-copper ore has been identified in the Magan district of south-eastern Arabia, overlooking the Persian Gulf. Some of the Sumerian alloys of copper with tin were however deliberate, and there are documents containing directions for making such alloys with various minerals. No references have been recovered to the sources of these; but the highlands from Elam to Armenia are at the same time so rich in ores, and so ill-explored, that it may be presumed in the absence of contrary evidence that these neighbouring supplies were known.

Occasional implements of iron have been found in Sumerian graves. Now native 'telluric' iron is exceedingly rare, and also hard to detect, as it rusts when exposed. But many meteorites are of iron, usually alloyed with nickel. In Egypt where iron is occasionally found worked, from Predynastic times to the Nineteenth Dynasty, it was always *ba-n-pet*, 'the metal of heaven', even when eventually imported and well known. Probably most Sumerian iron was of similar origin; and it must be remembered that the actual rarity of meteorites does not represent their frequency before men learnt their value and picked them up. In the New World indeed, where no such use for iron was found by the natives, meteorites are more frequently reported now than in the Old. But one early find of iron containing no nickel points to occasional Sumerian smelting. The production of iron from its ores, however, is an invention which can be better discussed later (p. 165).

So much that is original, and at the same time mature, appears first in the Sumerian culture, that the origin of the Sumerians themselves becomes an important problem. Certainly they did not originate in the flood-plain, nor as nomad Arabians, nor did they come down-stream like the Amurru and

Guti folk, nor directly out of the hills. The similarities between their physique, their city habits and architecture, their pottery, seal-stones, and script, and those of the ancient and deeply stratified sites, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and the like, in north-western India, have suggested either that they came round by sea (in which case a party of them may have gone farther west, and by way of the Red Sea and desert tracks to Egypt) or that both the Indian and the Sumerian settlements were colonized from some single culture in the unexplored plateaux between them. But it is easy to exaggerate likenesses in detail between cultures still inadequately explored; and the lack of positive evidence as to the date and duration of either makes it uncertain in which direction this or that fashion spread.

The same caution applies at present to all theories of priority as between Sumeria and Egypt. Resemblances are emphasized, contrasts discounted; the chronology of each culture is provisional; the distance between them, and the physical obstacles to communication, great; and the possibility is not excluded that by the long sea route round Arabia some third centre of culture may at some time have affected both. But the sudden appearance in Egypt, and still more the subsequent disuse, of the pear-shaped mace, the cylinder seal, and the panelled façades of buildings, coupled with the use of the musical *sistrum*, of certain types of stone vases, of grotesque drawings of animals, and the like, in the 'royal tombs' at Ur, point to fairly free intercourse between cultures, vigorous, stable, and already mature. In material inventions Sumeria certainly has the advantage; Egypt, on the other hand, while it discarded much that it can be shown to have borrowed, achieved a sequence of revivals and advances to which there is no later parallel in Mesopotamia.

Now the First Dynasty of Ur, to which the temple at Tell-al-'Ubaid appears to belong, is dated 3100-2930 B.C. By this time normal cuneiform script was in use. The splendid 'royal tombs' at Ur have been placed about 3500 B.C. for their grandeur was forgotten by the grave diggers of the First Dynasty. The union of the Delta and the Valley under the First Dynasty of Egypt, which may probably be placed about 3300 B.C., marks the

earliest point at which positive resemblances with Sumerian culture occur.

Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

Between the desert and the Mediterranean Sea, the uptilted escarpment of Arabia, faulted and rifted parallel to the sea coast, forms a series of well-marked regions, strongly contrasted in features and history. At the northern end, the mountain ranges which shut it off from Asia Minor, bulging southward, open out to enclose the Cilician coast-plain of shore-deposits and river-silt. Mount Taurus extends westward, precipitous to the shore-line. Amanus breaks off short at the coast, to reappear in the long eastward promontory and north coast-range of Cyprus. South of Amanus, one long trough-valley from the interior drains into the lower Orontes; inland a region of confused hilly country sinks towards Aleppo into rolling ground and steppe, traversed by the Euphrates after it leaves the Mountain-zone at Urfa, and continued to the corresponding point on the Tigris above Mosul. An oblique ridge from Mosul to Damascus divides this region of north Syria from the greater desert, and carried the most direct caravan route from the Euphrates to the oasis of Palmyra where it diverges to Homs and to Damascus.

This is the home country of the northern Semites, the Martu and Amurru peoples who descended from time to time by the Euphrates into Akkad. It is itself in turn exposed to aggression from beyond the Taurus range, and became repeatedly a dependency of the suzerain power in Asia Minor—Kheta, Muski, and the like, until Turkish times. The highland districts of Taurus itself were included by Greek geographers in Cilicia: to Babylonian and Assyrian kings they were grouped as Kum-mukh (Greek *Commagene*). Holding the passes, and the mineral wealth of Taurus, they were nobody's friend, but they looked well after themselves. The little plains and valleys farther south developed small separate states, which seldom co-operated even in mutual defence, but obstructed invasion, and no doubt took toll of the through trade which can be traced as early as

2400 B.C. between Babylonian merchants and their resident-agents in Ganes, a silver-working district in eastern Asia Minor.

Phoenicia.

From the mouth of the Orontes, a second type of country overlaps the first along the coast. Between Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, long lofty strips of escarpment, lies 'Hollow Syria', a narrow trough-valley, with hot moist climate, drained northwards by the Orontes, and southward by the Litani: both streams at last plunge abruptly through gorges of the Lebanon into the sea. The Lebanon coast is precipitous at both ends, but between these natural defences there are narrow coast-plains, sheltered coves, and those inshore islands and promontories which are famous as the sites of Tyre, Sidon, Arad, and other Phoenician cities. Of these, Byblus was already a port and a sanctuary, intimately connected with Egypt, as early as the Second Dynasty. Most of the others only come into history as vassals of the Eighteenth. Who or what their founders were, is unknown. Besides cave-men of the Stone Age, traces of all neighbouring cultures are found here, yet nothing demonstrably indigenous or peculiar. In historic times they were a refuge for all sorts of people from the interior, and fostered a combination of individual initiative abroad with strong local patriotism in each crowded city. Unavoidably these cities were competitors as well as close neighbours; constantly they quarrelled among themselves; and seldom if ever did they resist invaders without finding a traitor at home.

The natural resources of Phoenicia are few, but they are significant. Off-shore there is fishing; inland, good markets for fish in exchange for farm produce, for the coast-plain and steep valleys are well watered from the snows and cloud-cap of Lebanon. Above the terraced plots began the forest, maintained by the same moisture; the last ragged descendants of the 'cedars of Lebanon' still stand; those that were rafted down to Egypt for the Third Dynasty kings were probably not the first to be felled: and all through ancient times this traffic went on. As so often in commerce, one people's rubbish is the raw material for

another's industries. On the Pacific coast of North America modern conditions are similar, on a larger scale: to farm at all, you must clear the land of its trees.

Ultimately more valuable to Phoenician cities were the passes to Hollow Syria, fertile in natural gums, spices, and drugs, as well as cultivated crops. Those rarities were what Byblus traded earliest to Egypt; and when the Anti-lebanon too was crossed, and trade opened with Damascus, the highways which met there, from east, north, and south, contributed each its own merchandise to the convoys bound to the coast.

Logs that were not worth floating coastwise to Egypt, were yet excellent ship-timber for local craft. We have seen already how seafaring ships with great sails appear in the Predynastic delta alongside the river-boats. Though there was still woodland in parts of Libya in classical times, there are no harbours worth the name between the Delta and Tunisia, and pines for masts and spars need moist soil and cool air: so there can be little doubt whence these first scafarers came. We must remember, moreover, that while the summer wind sets fair from Phoenicia to Egypt, the main drift of the Mediterranean water is the other way, and the daily *imbat* wind, on-shore and off, is strongest under high land.

Navigation. This, however, is not the whole story. Northwards the same conditions for seafaring continue: the voyage of St. Paul illustrates every point on this route; the convenient halting-places in Cyprus and on the Lycian coast of Asia Minor, the quick run 'under Salmone' at the east end of Crete; the treacherous south wind off Fair Havens, followed by the fierce northeaster, the rapid refit off Clauda, and then panic fear of the 'quicksands' on the lee-shore of Libya. With better luck, the ship that reached Crete so commodiously could shift cargo there, and return, as the fruit boats of Cos did recently, with a stern wind straight to the Delta ports. Herodotus came to Egypt that way, for he describes the soundings by which the low coast was picked up for lack of landmarks. Later the *Pharos* of Greek Alexandria remedied that, as its modern lighthouse does. All this country ancient Egypt knew as the 'Great Circle

of the Lands'. No wonder that, as we shall see, Crete seemed to lie so neighbourly even to Predynastic Egypt, and was apparently colonized while Delta and Valley were being united by Menes.

How much of these discoveries is attributable to Phoenician seamen it is difficult to determine. There is, as we have seen, some reason to suppose that the first Sumerians reached Mesopotamia by sea, and continued to navigate the Persian Gulf, perhaps even the open ocean as far as the Indus. That takes us back far; but Herodotus and others heard that the Phoenicians had themselves come from the Indian Ocean, and there have been modern attempts to attribute to them the ruined structures of Bahrein. On the other hand, no specifically Phoenician influence has been detected westward, for example, in early Crete, though Cretan products have been found in Egypt at several periods, and early Egyptian influence is well marked in Crete itself.

Now the first ship-builders and sea-captains were effecting a revolution in human affairs, no less momentous than the control of river waters in Egypt and Sumcria. By embankment and canal, man domesticated running water to his uses, as he had domesticated his cattle and the noble grasses; by changing the distribution of water over the face of the land, he had multiplied both area and productivity of cultivable soil. But to launch even a raft is to redistribute a portion of the land upon the face of the water. What the first ship-men achieved was to domesticate the sea. From being the chief obstacle to communication between the lands, the sea became the frictionless, buoyant, concurrent medium of intercourse. Whereas commodities waste and the traders themselves change their outlook and habits, as they traverse the long landways, halting and unloading each evening, the cargo in a ship stays stowed till it can be discharged; the crew have the freedom of their own company, and a constant home aboard till they 'come unto the haven where they would be'. For the same reason every ship, as predynastic Nile-folk already knew, remains a separable part of its country of origin, obeys its laws, and flies its flag in token thereof. Only when its crew step ashore do they leave its protection; but this they do,

if they are minded to remain, with their habits and notions uncorrupted by traffic with foreign folk, such as happens in land travel. The consequences, in all sea-borne settlements, are momentous; an oversea colony must be, what the Greeks justly called it, an *apoikia*, a 'home away from home'.

Phoenician Colonization. Phoenician cities lay, at first sight, ill provided with areas for oversea settlement. Cilicia to the north, Palestine (as we shall see) to the south, offered different conditions, and in particular no such defences landward, as Phoenicia itself had. The south coast of Asia Minor rose out of the sea even more abruptly, and inhospitably for the most part. Crete and the Aegean swarmed already with seafarers of their own. North Africa had a long lee-shore, adverse current, and few attractions. Only at a later stage of history, and under severe stress of hostile neighbours inland, did Phoenician emigrants at last find in Punic Africa a country like enough to their own, and available for exploitation unimpeded; and Utica, Hippo, Hadrumetum, and at last Carthage itself, created a western Phoenicia where eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean met, and another Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, on a gigantic scale, lay along another sea, in the parallel ranges of Atlas. Nearer home, only one region attracted Phoenician settlers. Cyprus, lying just within sight of the Lebanon, rich in forest-timber, in fenland pastures, and (as was early realized) in copper ores, received more than one group of continental immigrants during the Middle Bronze Age, and eventually had several thriving centres of Phoenician activities, especially Idalion in the copper country, and Kition, the best harbour, over against Tyre. But this was not till later: and it was probably not from the Syrian coast that the resources of Cyprus were first exploited (p. 149).

Palestine.

The third and southernmost section of the Syrian coast is differently constituted again. The upper course of the Jordan flows parallel with the Litani till the latter turns seaward north of Tyre. Here Anti-lebanon ends abruptly in Mount Hermon

and the Jordan flows on beneath a mere escarpment of the desert plateau. Its lower valley is a trough narrower than Hollow Syria, but progressively deeper: the Lake of Galilee is 682 feet below sea-level, and the Dead Sea 1,300 feet. Lebanon, too, subsides into the broader and less rugged highland of Galilee, seaward spurs of which shut off Phoenicia at the 'Ladder of Tyre' from the wide lowland plain of Esdraclon, which is separated only by the watershed of Tabor, Little Hermon, and Gilboa from the Lake of Galilee. Then from the promontory of Carmel an oblique ridge runs inland, widening and rising into the highlands of Samaria and Judaea, steep-sided towards Jordan, but sinking less abruptly into wide coast-plains, and gradually southwards, beyond the torrent of Gaza, into the desert of Sinai. Only at Jaffa do these southern highlands almost reach the sea, separating the plain of Sharon from that of Philistia. Palestine thus consists essentially of highlands and coast-plains, but the highland is interrupted by Esdraclon, and the plain by Carmel. From Damascus southward, the main road into Arabia follows the escarpment east of Jordan, towards Petra; the 'way of the sea' crosses the Jordan below Lake Merom, and traverses Carmel by the pass of Megiddo; south of Gaza the last watering-place is Beer-sheba; then all is desert to the border of Egypt. As the Dead Sea does not now cover the whole of the Jordan delta, crossing is comparatively easy in the neighbourhood of Jericho, whence roads diverge, guarded by Jerusalem and other fortress sites along the watershed of the plateau.

Early Cultures of these Regions.

Of the whole of this threefold region, only Palestine is at all well known, even in historical times. The Phoenician sites have been stripped; Damascus and Jerusalem conceal their own past. But the caves of Carmel and Lebanon were occupied both early and late in the Old Stone Age and the abundant *tells* of stratified debris represent all periods from before the introduction of copper. The earliest layer at Lachish (Tell Duweir) is neolithic, with burnished redware. Rather later, Old Gaza presents a 'First

Canaanite' culture, which had unpainted jars with wavy ledges instead of handles, but already imported copper weapons, distantly related to those of Mesopotamia and Elam. After an interval of north Syrian or Cilician invasion, corresponding (it is suggested) with the intrusive Seventh and Eighth Dynasties in Egypt, the later 'Canaanites' had regular towns, brick fireplaces and baths, and other conveniences, gourd-shaped pottery, and painted ware dated to the Twelfth Dynasty. Then came the 'Hyksos' horse-folk (p. 106), raiders with little culture of their own, on their way to the richer spoils of Egypt, and in their time appears yet another attempt of newly stabilized nomads to render leather-vessels in clay. Cylinder seals and button seals confirm this tale of rival fashions. At Byblus alone Egypt seems to have set firm foot under the Second Dynasty, and maintained a precarious connexion, and it was not till the Eighteenth Dynasty, after its counter-attack on the citadels of the shattered Hyksos, penetrated Hollow Syria and reached the Euphrates crossings, that Egyptian influence spread through the interior.

Even at the Hebrew invasion, in the generation after 1400 B.C., which was greatly facilitated by these Egyptian conquests, the highlands were thickly wooded, and the plains well watered. Highland folk from the Mountain-zone seem to have always found it easy to spread southward as far as the forests extended; for nomad pastoral tribes from the desert, it was correspondingly difficult to live in traditional fashion under Mediterranean conditions. The Israelites were not the first invaders who 'mingled among the heathen and learned their works' in the 'good land beyond Jordan', where men sat 'everyone under his vine and under his fig-tree', enjoying the 'corn, wine and oil' and the 'milk and honey' of Mediterranean climate and régime. The 'fat bulls of Bashan' and the 'balm of Gilead' testify to similar conditions even on the high plateau east of Jordan; but the trough valley was the normal frontier between mainly sedentary and mainly pastoral folk: Mesha, king of Moab, was a typical 'sheep master', only temporarily the vassal of Samaria. Typical again, in later history, is the panic of the Syrian besiegers of Samaria on a rumour that the 'Kings of the Hittites'

were coming. Damascus, like Peshawar, lies at the mercy of the hillmen.

Cities, Dynasties, and Tribal Leagues.

Only in the Phoenician cities is there trace of highly organized communities comparable with the city-states of Greece. Even Damascus, otherwise a typical bazaar-town, had its dynastic kings. For over all the region the rule of force lay heavily: the desert nomads on one side, the hillmen on the north, the 'brigand empire' of Assyria repeatedly from the east, raided, and levied tribute as the price of defence against other raiders. 'When the strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace.' But at the rumour of war 'the highways were unoccupied, and travellers walked through byways; the inhabitants of the villages ceased' (Judges v. 6-7) by reason of 'the noise of the archers in the places of drawing water'. Only here and there was there 'a people that jeopardied their lives unto the death in the high places of the field' under a heroic leader. Some of these leaders, like David and Omri, founded dynasties in their turn; seldom, however, really powerful for long, for 'adversaries' sprang up like unto themselves.

Only two kinds of societies achieved greater stability. The bazaar-cities, at principal confluences of traffic, were too necessary to every one for a raider to destroy them; they were rich enough to pay vast blackmail, and their luxuries and rarities were, after all, what the 'dynast' amassed his wealth to buy. They were administered, too, like London, Venice, or the Hansa towns, by a close corporation of hard-headed, well-advised traders, who knew what they wanted, and usually got it at a price they could pay. A group of such marts, if their common interests prevailed over their rivalries, might be even stronger; the Phoenician cities for instance, then Damascus; and the long persistence of the Philistine towns, after their rule of force was broken by the House of David, may have been similar. On the desert margin, and out in an oasis, isolated 'caravan-cities' like Petra, Gerasa, and Palmyra, outlasted even Roman dominance.

While the bazaar-city is the climax of sedentary politics, peoples of nomad antecedents found salvation, now and then, in a federal league, strongest, as a society, when its centre was a common sanctuary; as a power among its neighbours, when it was a fortress. Shiloh and Beyth-el illustrate the first, Samaria the second; Jerusalem was citadel and temple in one. But the Hebrew polity was in origin an army of invasion; its first sanctuary and oracle was a tent; its god was a god of armies, the 'Lord of Hosts'; the 'congregation' was a mass-levy of its fighting men. Once established in conquered and depopulated territory (for the vassalage of Gibeon was exceptional), its political and religious centre was 'whither the tribes go up'. When this was 'a city at unity within itself', all went well: but very ill if there were 'great searchings of heart', or a seditious captain like Joab. The risk of a military dynasty, and also of compromise with the 'heathen', whether neighbours or vassals, were met by the great institution of spokespersonship or 'prophecy'. The 'spirit of the Lord' whom all professed to serve might 'come upon' any member of the 'congregation'; and to a 'prophet of the Lord' the strongest king turned deaf ear at his peril. Thus the right of free speech, with its ultimate appeal to the common conscience and reason, coexisted with hereditary priesthood and military dynasty in rare and momentous balance.

Asia Minor.

More than once already it has been necessary to refer to movements and influences originating beyond the mountain barrier of Taurus. We have now to ask whence they came, and what they mean. No sooner have the mountain folds which embrace Iran drawn together into the highland knot of Armenia than they swing apart again to include the similar but smaller plateau of Asia Minor. Originally this region had more than three times its present area, and was bounded northwards by continuous mountains connecting Caucasus through the rugged parts of the Crimea with the Balkan range, and to the south-west by others of which Crete is the most conspicuous fragment between Lycia and peninsular Greece. But the Aegean

archipelago and the Marmara region subsided long ago, and the Black Sea comparatively recently, leaving actual 'Asia Minor' as an oblong promontory to connect the rest of the Nearer East with that 'Europa Minor' which politicians (rather than geographers) have misnamed the Balkan Peninsula.

The subsidence of the Black Sea is so recent geologically that it has remarkable effects still on this residuary region. Formerly the main drainage of the promontory was lengthways, between the mountain-folds, and the upper courses of the rivers which traverse western Armenia have still this general direction. But while Euphrates, cutting back through one range after another from the south, has captured the head-waters of most of them, and the subsidence west of Mount Amanus has let out Cilician rivers into the Gulf of Alexandretta, the streams of the north coast, steeper and more torrential, have tapped one longitudinal trough after another, Lycus and Iris only within the Pontic folds, Halys intercepting the whole drainage of the central plateau; to be deprived, in turn, of its western tributaries by the more recent aggressions of the Sangarius. This, too, had already cut off several streams, whose old valleys are now gulfs of the Sea of Marmara. Westward, again, the Rhyndacus has begun to do the same to the drainage around the Mysian Olympus. Consequently, of all that ancient lake whose level deposits compose the central plateau, there remain only the salt marshes in the south-west, a miniature counterpart of the salt desert of central Iran.

Surrounded by steep ranges, and itself of an average altitude of nearly 2,000 feet, it is no wonder that this inland basin has so nearly dried up, like the Salt Lake basin in North America; and there is no reason to think that man has ever known it except as open country. The mountains, however, and especially their outer seaward slopes, have necessarily had ample rainfall, and even now there are remains of the forests which once made them wellnigh impassable. But though the Armenian and Caucasian snow-caps still testify to former extensive glaciation at high levels, and consequently torrential rainfall below, there have certainly been periods at which primitive man could reach the

comparatively habitable basin of the plateau, and remain secluded there during subsequent periods of austerity.

Probably it was in such conditions that the more highly specialized varieties of Alpine or Armenoid man came into being, and spread, westward certainly into Alpine Europe, perhaps also eastward, into the Upper Tigris basin and other intermont districts towards north-western Iran. Extreme varieties of these Armenoid types survive still in the forests of Lycia, Cilicia, and Pontus, and are characteristic of the Armenian highlands.

Asia Minor is so ill explored, and its valley gravels have been so scoured by torrents, that the lack of traces of the Old Stone Age may be accidental; and as Neanderthal man has been found in caves of Galilee, and Mousterian deposits in several parts of Palestine, there is no reason to suppose that he did not pass freely along the Anatolian section of the Mountain-zone. Armenoid man, however, belongs to the same group of modern 'White' races as the Mediterranean and Northern breeds, however broadened and otherwise specialized may be his physique, and even his psychology.

The Gourd-ware Culture. In default of systematic excavation, it is at present only from the common characters of cultures adjacent to Asia Minor in various directions, that we can reconstruct the peculiarities of an Anatolian type of culture; but superficial discoveries on the plateau itself begin to confirm these comparisons. Sporadically throughout Syria and Palestine and even as far afield as Tell-al-'Ubaid, copiously in Cyprus, occasionally in the western valleys, emphatically in the Cycladic island-world and in Crete, and now widely throughout the mainland north and west of the Aegean, coherently related pot-fabrics occur, general characteristics of which are that the body of the vessel is modelled on gourd flasks or skin bags; that there are narrow necks obliquely cut away to form a pouring spout; and that loop-handles, vertical or horizontal, are provided on the sides or between neck and shoulder. Standing bases, on the other hand, are either omitted, or replaced by three or more projecting feet. Decoration is often absent, the burnished surface

being sufficient enhancement of the vase-form: but linear patterns may be incised (as on the gourds themselves) or modelled in relief. Paint is never used in the primitive fabrics, but gypsum or kaolin is rubbed into the incised patterns to make them conspicuous. The crudest pottery of this culture is self-coloured; to the north-west, where moist fuel makes a clear fire uncertain, many early fabrics are deliberately blackened by smoke or other devices; others are slate-coloured or silver-grey; but the majority of the mature varieties are baked red, and many are deliberately covered with a 'slip' or 'smear' of more ferruginous clay to ensure this result.

Though there is plenty of flint and chert in the region characterized by 'red-ware' or 'gourd-shaped' pottery, flaked tools are of less importance than implements ground from pebbles of hard stone; and the natural glass, obsidian, used locally for implements around a mountain full of it at Alageuz in Armenia, was also traded widely thence, as well as from Lycia. As there is obsidian also in Sinai, in the Aegean island of Melos, and farther east in the Mountain-zone, the significance of this traffic is less than was supposed when fewer sources had been identified.

Of the settlements of the 'gourd-ware' folk, little is known yet, though their stratified sites are common throughout Asia Minor. At Hissarlik, the traditional site of Troy on the south side of the Hellespont, and in Lesbos, the development of this culture may be followed through several periods. There were closely settled villages, and Hissarlik was heavily fortified with rubble walls and timbered gates, and had a principal house composed of separate but adjacent rooms, oblong, with end-door protected by a porch. The people practised mixed farming, and had all the usual live stock; they hunted and fished; traded the rarer varieties of stone tools; used, and even cast copper, and lead too, when they could get it. They had occasional vessels of silver, foreign because made with standing feet, and of gold, more closely in the mode of the gourd-ware. Their jewellery of gold wire or thin plate was for the most part simply barbaric, but the finer ear-rings echo the fashions of the royal tombs at Ur;

and a few rude clay cylinders and beads bear groups of lines which seem designed to be recognizable.

In Cyprus, though settlements have not been easily recognized, probably because wood was more used than mud-brick, tombs are common, excavated in soft rock, and often richly furnished with red-ware and copper adzes, daggers and pins; all else has perished. The cemeteries, and therefore the villages, lay in the lowland, avoiding both forest and marsh. They represent a culture introduced already mature among aborigines who had flint tools, but otherwise little but perishable house gear. Even the rare axes of hard stone in Cyprus all come from bronze age sites. As this culture certainly did not come from the Syrian coast, it must be from Asia Minor, and the marked resemblances with Hissarlik justify provisional use of evidence from Cyprus to interpret what little we know directly of the mainland. Even in Cyprus, the recent discovery of a settlement with 'painted-ware', apparently earlier than the 'gourd-ware' culture, puts all our information about the latter into a new and larger perspective (p. 118); for the 'painted ware', too, has very wide and early range.

This simple 'red-ware' culture so closely covers the region within which certain primitive types of copper implements occur, that it has been thought that the use of copper in the ancient world may have originated hereabouts, especially as copper ores abound in Taurus and in Cyprus; and certainly this is an early industry, not obviously dependent on either Mesopotamia or Egypt. Predynastic Egypt indeed seems to borrow hence its most characteristic axe and dagger; Mesopotamia, however, shows no such dependence. Until, therefore, there is a positive date for the first tombs in Cyprus, the question of priority must be left open. All that is clear at present is that the 'red-ware' phase was a long one, and that it ended before the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt (*c.* 2200 B.C.). On certain sites of the plateau of Asia Minor, and also in Cyprus, the 'red-ware' culture gives place to another, characterized by pottery painted in basketry patterns on light-coloured clay. In Cyprus, where the transition was gradual, it had occurred before the Twelfth

Dynasty of Egypt. On the mainland the contrast of styles is abrupt in the centre and south-east; but 'painted ware' never reached Hissarlik or Lesbos. Some features of early Cretan pot-painting may, however, come in from Asia Minor, with certain pot forms, rather before 2500 B.C. (p. 157).

It illustrates the defects of our knowledge, that though documents in cuneiform script, from several mound-sites of the eastern plateau, reveal prosperous Semitic-speaking settlers in Cappadocia about 2400 B.C. trading in gold, silver, and textiles, it is not known in what archæological period they lived: nor how the silver vessels from the second city at Hissarlik are related to these merchants' business. Long afterwards the 'birth-place of silver' (in Homeric phrase) is placed far to the east of Troy; but even the palace in the later Hittite capital at Boghaz-keui, whose archives illustrate the history of Asia Minor from 1400 B.C. to 1200 B.C., has told us little else. From the documents it is certain that the Hittites as a political force came into being soon after 2000 B.C. and consolidated the peoples of a large part of Asia Minor into an empire about 1400 B.C.; that those peoples spoke some six or seven languages; and that the official speech of the Hittite government was distinct from them all, and fundamentally Indo-European (p. 198). But the questions raised, rather than solved, by this information will be better discussed from the point of view of language than of race or material culture (p. 209).

Two features, however, in the general culture of Asia Minor need to be discussed at this point; the parts played by this promontory of the Near East in the transmission of elements of culture to continental Europe, and in disseminating certain religious ideas in the ancient world generally.

The Cult of the Great Mother. In classical times the 'Mother of the Gods' was worshipped at Pessinus and many other places in Asia Minor, with rites symbolic of her function as source of life and fertility generally. She has a younger consort, sometimes presented as her son, whose sufferings and rejuvenation were also commemorated by devotees who sought to share his vitality. Monuments such as the rock-carved 'Niobe' of Mount Sipylus

in the west, and references to cults and sanctuaries in the tablets, exhibit this worship as far back as either records or monuments carry us. Outside Asia Minor itself, Syria and Palestine are full of cults and symbols of the 'Syrian Goddess'; the prominence of the goddess Ishtar among the deities of Babylonia dates from the conquest of Mesopotamia about 2100 B.C. by north Semitic peoples out of Syria; and the popularity of her conventional figure in art begins at the same period. In Cyprus and in Egypt, symbolic female figures begin to appear in the later Predynastic times, and other types, more closely like the Babylonian and north Syrian Ishtar, during the Middle Empire. In Lycia and other districts of western Asia Minor, other such figures go back to the earliest Bronze Age. At Hissarlik, from the first, they are the principal emblems attributable to a religious motive. The frequency of female figures in Cycladic graves in mid-Aegean might be attributed to substitution for actual consorts, if it stood alone; but such figures, some even in Cycladic marble, occur in pre-Minoan domestic deposits in Crete and on the Greek mainland, and cannot there be funerary. Farther afield still, the same symbolic type, in various local guise, is found in primitive Sicily, on the great temple-sites of Malta as principal dedications, in the remote cultures of Spain and Portugal, and of certain districts of France, especially in Brittany, and in far-off Yorkshire, Ireland, and Denmark, where they mark a definite phase of early culture and thereafter uniformly disappear. North-westward across the Marmara region, they are found in Thrace, in Thessaly in mixed culture (to be noticed later, p. 157), in Serbia as far as Vinča on the Danube, in the totally different culture of Roumania and Ukraine; and again, far away, by Lake Ladoga. As in the Cyclades, wherever female figures are placed in tombs, there must always be the doubt whether they represent a human consort or a protecting power; the same doubt arises over figures of cattle and other creatures. But figures found in the debris of a settlement, unless clearly designed as toys for children, can hardly be other than protective, though the very large number of 'owl-faced' objects at Hissarlik makes it probable that these

served some domestic purpose as well, compatible with their symbolism.

Transmission of Culture to Europe.

The question how far the primitive culture of Asia Minor served to transmit to continental Europe elements of primary civilization from the Near East is more complicated. Indeed, that of the female figures is itself one aspect of it; for it was long supposed that the 'Ishtar' type of figure originated in Babylonia, and spread to the Mediterranean and the West through Syria and Phoenicia. Certainly the pot fabrics, imperfectly known as they still are, demonstrate continuity of this fundamental handicraft across the Marmara region; and as we shall see, the confluence of this 'Anatolian' culture, continentally propagated, with that transmitted oversea through the Cyclades, is one reason for the rather complex course of events in southern Greece (p. 157).

The close similarity of a whole series of early copper types—flat axe, leaf-shaped dagger, spiral-headed pin, and perforated toggle-pin—in Cyprus, at Hissarlik, and in Hungary and other central European regions (while the repertoire of the south Aegean is either defective or derivative), makes it certain that the knowledge of copper, and probably also of copper-smelting, came by this route from an immediate (if not ultimate) source within the 'red-ware' culture. On the other hand, the frequency of standard bronze alloy at Hissarlik suggests that the tin-supplies of Serbia, perhaps even of Bohemia, were already providing return cargo. But until the mineral resources of Asia Minor are better known, it is not safe to discount them. There may have been tin nearer at hand.

Danubian Cultures.

Between the Dinaric ranges which separate Aegean and Adriatic, and the Balkans which overlook the Danube and the Roumanian steppe, a confused and shattered highland gives vivid example of what lies also beneath the waters of the archipelago. From one small separate plain to another there are

passes, linking the tortuous head-waters of streams that reach respectively the Middle and the Lower Danube and the northern angles of the Aegean. But beyond this confused hill-country the Carpathians diverge from the Dinaric and East-Alpine ranges and enclose the wide basin of the Middle Danube and its tributaries. The Upper Danube basin lies similarly embraced between the Alps, the Black Forest, and the central German highland; and is connected with the Hungarian basin by a narrower section between the Austrian Alps and highland Bohemia. Both these basins, covered like that of the Lower Danube with level deposits of wind-blown loess, are fertile grassland, but devoid of forest such as clothes the surrounding foot-hills. Unlike the plateau of Asia Minor, the Hungarian plain lies only about 200 feet above sea-level, and as the rocky sill of the Iron Gates controls the outflow, parts of it are marshy, and much of it has in past ages been lake-land like Anatolia. The Upper Danube, on the other hand, is adequately drained.

When the rain-belt had moved so far northward that the forests became penetrable, these lowlands, relatively dry and always treeless, permitted both pastoral and agricultural life. Few early cemeteries have been found, but this first settled population was of long-headed breed, distinct from those of the Baltic region and the north-eastern steppe, and also from the Mediterranean stock. Probably it had survived independently from the Old Stone Age, though traces of transitional culture are almost unknown. How these people gained acquaintance with domestic animals and plants is not clear, but as most of the varieties which reached them are of the same descent as those of Hissarlik and western Asia, it may be inferred that the knowledge of them came from the south-east. But the urus, and afterwards the horse, which are found in their settlements, are native to Europe. They may, however, not have been domesticated yet, but hunted wild. The loess was easily cultivated with 'shoe-last' celts of hard stone, flat on one side, which are often so large that they may have been ploughshares. The saddle-querns, as elsewhere (p. 110), need not always have been used for grain. Dwellings were usually oval pits roofed with branches and

Rhine from farther west. It may have been they who had the skill to discover and exploit the Bohemian tin, and gave fresh importance to that hitherto rather backward region. Finally, into Hungary and Yugoslavia came invaders armed with perforated battle-axes of copper (p. 228), such as already appeared occasionally. Now they settled down, and made better axes still from local copper, and these, with their owners, spread northward as far as Saxony, southward into Serbia, Bosnia, and the Aegean, and westward to the coast of the Adriatic and round its head. These invaders conquered, but did not destroy, the population they found. Probably one result of their conquest was to improve rather than dislocate communications, especially in view of their need for bronze weapons, and consequently both for the tin of Bohemia and for the copper of Hungary. This composite culture is shown by occasional imports from the side of Hissarlik, and even Cyprus, to have been established soon after 2000 B.C.; and to have developed rapidly into the Early Bronze Age civilization represented typically at Aunjetitz, south of Prague, and widely distributed throughout Sillesia, Saxony, Bavaria, and northern Hungary.

But with the arrival of the 'battle-axe folk' and of the 'beaker folk' we reach a period where movements of tribes and individuals can be traced more precisely than hitherto, and also a crisis where account must be taken of the distribution of languages as well as of cultures (p. 183).

Aegean Cultures.

While the penetration of continental Europe was being effected gradually along the land-ways from Asia Minor to the Danube, a very different situation developed in and around the Aegean archipelago, which illustrates the profoundly different qualities of sea-borne and land-borne cultures.

The Aegean Archipelago. Unlike the bed of the Black Sea, the collapsed and shattered section of the Mountain-zone which lies between Asia Minor and continental Greece is only submerged for about half its total height in the south, and progressively less to the northward. Mount Ida in Crete rises 8,000 feet above

sea-level; the floor of the sea north of it lies about 8,000 feet below. Olympus rises 10,000 feet, and the adjacent deeps sink 6,000 feet; and the Sea of Marmara is shallower still, and smaller than the North Aegean. On both shores mountain-ranges run down into promontories, and scatter into chains of islands, which intermingle in the central Cyclades. Conversely, drowned valleys carry back the sea far into the highlands, and smaller sinkages such as the Gulf of Corinth and the plains of central Greece and Thessaly prolong the structure of Macedonia and Thrace along the whole western shore. South of Crete, and west of Greece, the Mountain-zone breaks off abruptly into some of the greatest depths of the Mediterranean, and frequent earthquakes along this line warn us that these wounds in the crust are unhealed. Consequently the north and east coasts of the Aegean, which are the continental foreshores of Asia and Europa Minor, and have been inevitably the scene of migrations and traffic at all times, are in utter contrast with the southern island-screen, and even with the false-land of peninsular Greece, which has at its back only the Adriatic and Ionian Seas.

Earliest Elements of a Composite Culture. Through the continuous region of hill-country and small plains and valleys already described, the simple copper-using 'gourd-ware' culture of Asia Minor penetrated early and persistently. But north of Thessaly it met and mingled with southward pioneers of Danubian culture moving along the western highlands; and this blend of traditions drifted far down into southern Greece, like the Slav and Albanian settlers of medieval times. But meanwhile, or more probably during some pause in that movement, people from the 'painted-ware' culture of Transylvania, Roumania, and Ukraine (p. 117) crossed the Danube and spread through Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and the detached plains of central Greece, and even passed the Isthmus of Corinth. Only in Thessaly, however, were these settlements of long duration, for only here were there grasslands wide enough to be congenial. We may compare the medieval and recent movements of the Rouman-speaking Vlachs. This immigration, too, was composite; and it is only in eastern Thessaly, and in one or two districts of

Bulgaria, that the spiral decoration characteristic of certain sites north of the Danube (p. 155) reappears as an intrusive element. To this broad mass of 'painted-ware' peoples, southern Greece and the island-world owe much of their long insulation against other cultures of the north; in marked contrast to the normal accessibility of Italy once its primeval barriers, which are physical, had been breached (p. 167).

Meanwhile, from western Asia Minor, more directly, into eastern Crete and also into the Cyclades, came a later and maturer 'red-ware' with copper implements and female figurines, which were copied in the fine island marble, and eventually reached even Crete. It is remarkable, however, that there is practically no direct intercourse between the Aegean and Cyprus till very much later (p. 162): Cycladic metal work derives rather from Anatolian.

Libyan and Egyptian Contacts. These, however, were not the first occupants of this remote paradise. In Crete, beneath the Palace of Knossos, is a stratified mound of some 26 feet of neolithic debris, the pottery of which is a self-coloured, hand-made ware sometimes incised with basketry patterns, and remotely related to 'Libyan' imports into Predynastic Egypt, and more nearly to the first pot-fabrics of Sicily, Malta, and parts of the West Mediterranean. In the Cyclades incised basketry-ware of the same general character precedes the Asiatic 'gourd types'; and illustrates the mixture of human breeds in the earliest tombs. All this presumes navigation, and representations of boats, with standards like the primitive Egyptian, are incised on the Cycladic pottery. Some islands seem to have been originally peopled by Mediterranean folk, others by Armenoids; in others again both stocks met and interbred. In Crete, too, there are early Armenoids, and towards the end of the Bronze Age fresh broad-headed types come in; but the bulk of the population was Mediterranean.

But even before the 'Minoan' Bronze Age can fairly be said to begin, yet another element, far more significant, began to appear in Crete, namely, the direct influence of Egypt, in its later Predynastic phases, and under the earliest dynasties. The

pes of implements, the seal-stones, the skill to make stone vessels, and the shapes of these, are principal illustrations. Along with these, however, appear elements which are rather Libyan than Egyptian, especially the construction of beehive-shaped orbel-vaulted tombs for communal use: ivory and ostrich-eggs, too, began to be traded. What Egypt received in return is not clear; occasional vases of Aegean fashion, probably timber, for the Cretan forests were still unravaged, perhaps oil and wine, almost certainly slaves, though these are hardest of all to demonstrate in transit. Sea-going ships, with great sails, and many oars, quite different from the Cycladic skiffs, are etched on Cretan seal-stones. In due time Crete sent its fine pottery to the Cyclades, and received their marble figures and obsidian.

The Greek Mainland. Towards the mainland, the Cyclades, being nearest, were the first explorers, on the Isthmus, in Attica, and up the Euboean channel; trading obsidian, and becoming acquainted with the pot-painting of Thessalian steppe-folk, and with Danubian spirals. These they practised, transformed, and transmitted to Crete, whence the spiral at all events seems to have reached Egypt.

It was not long before the superior resources of Crete gave it the lead over the island world; but before Crete made touch with the Greek mainland a new factor there postponed exploitation. In central Greece appeared a fresh culture, with new grey-polished pottery, skilfully modelled, with bases, tall stems, and high handles, sometimes clearly copying metal-work. It is not yet known whether it came oversea from Asia Minor, or overland through the north where ruder (but not necessarily earlier) work in a kindred style is being found in Macedonia towards the Serbian border. Whencesoever derived, it certainly matured locally in the lowlands of Boeotia, and the people whom it represents spread rapidly, and even violently; northwards into Thessaly where they put an end to the 'painted-ware' cultures; and southward beyond the Isthmus, to found there a derivative local industry. This 'grey-ware' influence is commonly miscalled 'Minyan' in rivalry with the 'Minoan' of

Crete) just touched the Cyclades, and thereby may be approximately dated about 2000 B.C.

Egyptian contact and Minoan chronology.

From the first fully 'Minoan' establishments to the last decadence of this wonderful culture of the south Aegean is a period of about two thousand years; as long as from the age of Augustus to our own times. Principal phases of its development are approximately dated by recurrent periods of intercourse with Egypt; the diagrammatic distinctions between Early, Middle, and Late Minoan happen to fit approximately with real turning-points of advancement; and the threefold subdivision of each is substantiated by minor reconstructions of the buildings at Knossos. This site provides the standard series, though in Early Minoan I, II, and Late Minoan III it has to be supplemented from other Cretan sites. In the Early Minoan periods, pot-painting only gradually supersedes self-coloured and incised wares, and decoration is mainly linear and simple; Egyptian vessels of stone, imported and copied, link this phase with the Third to Sixth Dynasties of Egypt. Middle Minoan art substitutes, for basketry, the spiral and other curvilinear and floral designs, executed on black ground in white, orange, red, and purple; it executes fresco painting in many colours, fashions delicate 'egg-shell' ware in imitation of silver-work, uses socketed spear-heads and engraved dagger-blades, and develops a pictorial system of writing, on seal-stones and clay tablets. Besides an occasional Babylonian cylinder of about 2000 B.C., scarabs, stone vases, and other Egyptian objects of the Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasties are imported, and Cretan polychrome vases are found on Egyptian sites of this period (2100-1800 B.C.).

At the close of Middle Minoan II (about 1700 B.C.), a violent earthquake shattered Knossos, stimulating emigration and colonization of the Greek mainland, especially in Argolis, but also giving occasion for wholesale reconstruction at home, and advances in craftsmanship of all kinds. The progress of painting is now fully illustrated in the frescoes of new villas around the domestic head-quarters, which gradually takes shape itself in

the succeeding 'Palace Period' contemporary with the Eighteenth Dynasty. Polychrome vase-decoration gives place to black silhouette, and nature-study to grandiose conventions; but the glazes, ivory-carving, and other higher crafts culminate in vigorous realism and superb technique. The larger dwellings are curiously modern in plan and construction. They provide for internal light-wells, and also for the shade and ventilation needed in the Cretan climate. Heat was supplied only by portable braziers, artificial light by tall oil-lamps on pedestals. The 'palaces' of Knossos, Phaestos, and Mallia were residences, courts, sanctuaries, business centres, and workshops at once; their various departments grouped irregularly round a central court, and on outward-facing terraces. These urban communities were unwallled, and communicated by engineered roads with each other and thin well-constructed ports.

Minoan life, based on the simple economy of the Mediterranean régime, with its characteristic combination of grain agriculture with tree-crops, hill-pasturage, fishing and sponge-living, achieved exceptional facility in artistic expression of all kinds. These no doubt originated in the villages, which closely resemble those of classical and medieval times; but they were fostered by the peculiar political and social régime, which (as the domestic architecture shows) concentrated wealth and initiative in the hands of a priest-king and his court. The sources of his great wealth are less certain. Commerce with Egypt in Aegean produce certainly counted for much. Trade in other directions is less easy to demonstrate; but amber beads in a Minoan tomb on the west coast of Greece, and vases of rare tone brought from the Lipari islands, are eloquent of distant connexions. Perhaps there was profitable slave-trading.

There were colonial settlements with rich 'bee-hive' tombs for their chieftains at points of vantage all round the coasts of continental Greece, from western Peloponnese to south Thessaly. Principal mainland centres were at Orchomenus in central Greece, and Mycenae in Argolis. At both these, the great 'bee-hive' tombs, which classical Greeks mistook (probably with reason) for 'treasuries', were built in the great days of the Palace

of Knossos, and reflect its glories; the 'shaft-graves', afterwards included in the citadel of Mycenae, contain among their immense wealth of gold objects masterpieces both of Knossian craftsmanship and of provincial styles; but the mainland pottery rapidly diverges from Cretan standards, under the influence of the Minyan tradition, already established in Peloponnese (p. 159).

The Fall of Knossos: History in Greek Legend. It is in this period of enterprises oversea that Greek folk-memory begins to contribute dynastic and personal details to the broad outlines of culture and style; but it is not till the Fall of Knossos that such evidence becomes rather suddenly copious. This catastrophe seems to have been due to rivalry between the Cretan centre and the mainland settlements, and certainly was followed by rapid spread of mainland activities, and establishment of coast settlements in Rhodes, Cyprus, and north Syria, as far north as Macedon and the Hellespont, and as far west as Syracuse. As it occurred about 1400 B.C., it falls within the decadence of the foreign empire of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and may have been politically involved in this. Greek legend describes how 'sons of Egypt' intruded into Argolis, and were massacred by native wives.

Though three more centuries separate the Fall of Knossos from the final disintegration of Aegean society about 1100 B.C., decadence is immediate and continuous. The higher arts fade out, pottery is carelessly made and hastily decorated, the mainland settlements were heavily fortified about 1300 B.C., and the great tombs looted and ruined. Within some of the new castles—Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens, for example, and in Melos—a fresh type of 'palace' was built, combining old Cretan constructions with the new need for a communal living-hall, a fixed central hearth, and escape for its smoke. Here alone fresco painting lingered, and older carvings like the famous 'Lion-slab' at Mycenae were used again. To these changes, Greek folk-memory supplies the personal counterpart, in the coming of 'divine-born' adventurers out of highland or oversea, to found dynasties and co-operate in loose feudal groups, to avenge grievances by a Trojan War, or to destroy such a remnant of the

old régime as the Cadmeian dynasty at Thebes. After only five generations (about 1260–1100 B.C.) these upstart baronies fell in turn before a fresh spread of highland clans out of the north-west, the Thessalian, Boeotian, and Dorian conquerors, with whose coming the classical history of the Greek people begins, and also the historical distribution of Greek dialects, which must be discussed in due course (p. 211).

Egyptian and Hittite Allusions. These folk-memories, and also the distribution of extant remains, find occasional confirmation in contemporary documents of Egypt, and in the Hittite archives from Asia Minor. A century before the Fall of Knossos, Tuthmosis III had received presents from many tributaries oversea: most of them seem to have been from north Syria and Cilicia, some perhaps from Cyprus, or even from Crete, and the offerings of some of them are of Minoan design. Hostile adventurers from Lycia and elsewhere oversea visit Egypt about the Fall of Knossos, and some of them were hired as coast-guards by its kings. Before 1300 B.C. the Hittite king is concerned with an 'Aeolian' from 'Akhiyawa' who has appeared at Lesbos, and about 1230 B.C. another 'Achaean' gives trouble in Caria and again in north Syria. In 1225 Libyan invaders of the Delta include 'Achaeans' and other peoples probably from the Aegean and western Asia Minor. Their defeat by King Merenptah did not prevent an even more formidable combination of sea-raiders, with land-raiders descending from Asia Minor into coastal Syria, where they all were defeated in 1194 by Ramesses III. The survivors of them were interned where they surrendered, in the 'Palestine' and 'Philistia' which bear one of their tribal names.

The Aegean and Asia Minor. In contrast with the progressive Minoan exploitation of peninsular Greece, the failure to penetrate similarly into the fertile western coastland of Asia Minor needs explanation. Probably the cause was the occupation of the plateau by those invaders who established the Hittite Empire in the centuries after 2000 B.C. (p. 150). As they aided Babylonia about 1950 B.C., they should have been well established by then at home. Rock monuments in Hittite style

are found along the western highways, but their date is uncertain. The source of the gold at Mycenae has not been ascertained, and it is not even known whether the Lydian gold-fields, so valuable later, were exploited yet. In later days (1320-1230 B.C.) the Hittite references to aggressive 'Achaeans' in Lesbos and Caria mark a fresh phase, after Knossos had fallen and adventurous strangers were beginning to exploit the un-Minoanized mainland.

Land Raiders and Sea Raiders. Meanwhile, on the Hellespont, Greek legend marks fresh phases by the first coming of 'Trojan' folk about 1400, and the building of Troy about 1250 for Laomedon, a contemporary of 'Pelops the Phrygian' who was carving a kingdom for himself in Peloponnese. To their grandchildren Agamemnon and Hector it fell to attack and defend that fortress, the feudal centre in 1200 of a region bounded by the Axios river in Macedon, the Xanthus in Lycia, and the 'birth-place of silver' far to the east, an echo of earlier commerce (p. 150). Other legends made the Fall of Troy in 1183 an early incident of the Greek colonization all along the west coast of Asia Minor, and eventually on the Marmara frontage also.

The connexion of this Trojan episode with the great land-raid and sea-raid on Egypt in 1193 B.C. is obscure. Greek legend contributes a Phrygian and Trojan campaign up the Sangarius valley in Priam's young days; another Trojan adventure into the East, from which Memnon returned to help Troy at the last; a series of sea-raids on Egypt and the Syrian coast by heroes of the war-generation; and glimpses of a land-raider 'leading his forces over the Taurus', and founding towns in Cilicia. On all this, the sudden silence of Hittite archives in the years about 1200 B.C. is eloquent commentary: the 'land-raiders', who broke out over Taurus, had broken in from the north-west, and shattered the Hittite Empire on their way. Thus disorganized, the component peoples of that empire regrouped themselves in time; a strong cautious Cilicia making the best of both worlds, north and east; Lycia secure among its cliffs and forests, as of old; on the plateau, the Phrygian conquerors holding loose suzerainty from Taurus to the Marmara; and on the western

coastlands smaller principalities, in Caria, Lydia, and Mysia, unable to prevent what was so long overdue, the occupation of ports and coast-citadels by mixed refugees from disorganized and overpopulated Greece. It is in these refugee areas, and in the devastated homelands whence their mixed population came, that the new and original type of political community arose, which we call the *Polis* or Greek city-state.

The First Workers in Iron.

Only one discovery of lasting significance comes out of that obscure situation; and of this the details are still obscure. Occasional objects of iron, usually meteoric (p. 135), occur in early Sumeria, and in Egypt from Predynastic times onward. Then among lists of tribute to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the 'metal of heaven' begins to appear. Among Tutankhamun's most precious possessions was an iron knife-blade, and an iron weapon was buried under a monument of Horemheb. Ramesses II begged a consignment of iron from the Hittite king, and was refused. But after the Great Raid, both in Philistine towns and at Carchemish on the Euphrates, which the new-comers long held, iron weapons are common; at Gerar iron swords were tempered, if not forged. In Cyprus and in the Aegean, iron was a rarity and a 'precious metal' in Late Minoan times; but after the 'Fall of Troy' it is fairly common both in Cyprus and at Hissarlik. Greek legend has two instances of iron looted from Trojans during the war, and one of them is 'self-cast'; and it was later believed that iron-working was practised first on Mount Ida in the Troad. Perhaps, within Greek memory, it was; though the traditional date 1432 B.C. is full early even for Hittite smeltings. In Greece itself, an Iron Age begins with the collapse of the Minoan régime; but the popular theory that the 'northern invaders' brought the first Greek iron with them is unsupported by evidence either in Greece or in any land whence they may have come.

Confirmatory evidence that iron-working began within the Hittite régime comes from graves lying north and south of the Caucasus which contain iron weapons of types familiar in

bronze in Asia Minor; and in these graves other objects, which seem to be of European origin, make it possible that, from this quarter, knowledge of iron-working may have reached Europe through the steppe-folk north of the Black Sea.

The Western Mediterranean.

While Aegean seafarers made repeated contact with Egypt, and eventually with Cyprus and the coast of north Syria, and while they failed to exploit even the western seaboard of Asia Minor, they seem to have sailed farther into western waters, though their doings there are not so easy to follow in detail.

From the west end of Crete, the direct distance is not greater to Sicily than to the Delta; and if the coasts be followed there are fewer dangerous expanses of open water. In south-eastern Sicily, Late Minoan rapiers and pottery are found in native tombs which imitate the 'bee-hive' tombs of the Aegean, and settlements in the Ionian islands and at Taranto are halting places on the way thither. What did these Minoan navigators make of the West?

They found themselves on the frontier between two worlds, for the Strait of Messina (which, since they sailed south of it, they presumably explored) opened on a great western sea. This sea these Late Minoan folk had not yet traversed when their own civilization collapsed. But they were not the first to enter it from the east. Earlier Minoans had brought obsidian from Lipari, and carried painted vases to Sardinia, Marseilles, and the Balearic Islands. And there are features in the Bronze Age of the western Mediterranean which suggest both that they themselves did more than this, and that they were not the only explorers there.

Italy, Africa, and Iberia.

Of the three principal coasts of the western Mediterranean, the abrupt north face of Africa Minor is ill explored, except around Carthage. Those of Spain and Italy, better known, have very different regions to landward. In Italy (with Sicily) the watershed of the Apennines parts company from the Mari-

time Alps and traverses peninsular Italy obliquely, reaching the Adriatic coast at Ancona. Its continuation southward, after following that coast for a while in a broad region of rough highland, swings again obliquely to the Calabrian shore, and determines the steep northern coast of Sicily. Thus the Po valley, the westward-facing lowlands of Etruria, Latium, and Campania, the bleak moors of Apulia, and the fertile valleys of south-eastern Sicily, lie wholly separate from one another, and distinct from the central highland: and this isolation was absolute before the Apennine forests were breached by nature and man. No less impassable was the triple barrier against the Danubian regions—the forest and snows of the Alps, the forest and swamps of the Po valley, the forest and steep front of the Apennines.

Of the Spanish peninsula it is enough here to note its contrasts: how both flanks of the Pyrenees may be passed almost at sea-level; how the broad valley of the Ebro lies on marl rather than marsh, well drained and opening on to the west Mediterranean, not away from it, like the Po; how the central plateau, on the contrary, drains to the Atlantic, while on the Mediterranean coast its high margin shelters small but very fertile coast-plains; how the Sierra Nevada, with its great mineral wealth, screens rather than secludes another Lombardy in Andalusia; and how the Strait opens, not directly on to the great swell of the Atlantic, but on to the comparatively sheltered Bay of Cadiz, with more mineral wealth up the Guadiana and beyond it. All southern Portugal, too, was in earlier times as well watered, as it is now relatively dry. Both peninsulas alike, however, have diverse and separate regions, and their cultures a multiple and perplexing story.

Cave-dwelling Aborigines. The survivors of Capsian culture made the best use they could of caves and rock-shelters from the Po to the Ebro, on the lee-side, which was also the drier side, of the mountains; but they found the Apennines and the north edge of the Meseta alike inhospitable. In south-eastern Spain there had long been such rock-shelters, and on the coast of southern Portugal there lay the kitchen-middens of 'strand-loupers'

like those of South Africa. Elsewhere there was little trace of man for a while. In Apulia, also on the lee-side of the watershed, there was another hunting-ground of Capsian folk, but their culture was different from the northern, and probably these had come from Africa independently, by Tunis: in Sicily, however, they have left no clear trace. But in forest a stick is as good as a stone.

Painted-ware Settlements. There was therefore not much to hinder parties of the 'painted-ware' people wandering west of Macedon and Thessaly from settling beyond the Adriatic; the only wonder is, that they managed to cross it; but they certainly did not go round. Their villages are regular, with wattled huts, and they had cattle, but apparently no agriculture, and used very rude grubbing-picks of local stone.

In Sicily the first sedentary occupants were different. Like those of Crete and the Cyclades, they brought incised basket-ware, shapely axes of ground stone, and mere flakes of flint and local obsidian. But these folk, though their settlements were well arranged and defended, were completely replaced or absorbed by the bearers of the 'First Siculan' culture, with 'painted-ware', black on red, in shapes distantly recalling those of Thessaly and Ukraine, and probably representing another sea-borne movement like that into Apulia. Copper objects are rare, and the thin flat daggers resemble those of early Spain. Two kinds of bone objects are exactly repeated in Hissarlik II; one of them also in Malta, and the other in Spain. These Siculan folk buried in rock-cut chambers, with a stone door-slab, like those of early Cyprus, parts of Asia Minor, and Euboea: and the same type recurs in Malta, Tunis, and Sardinia. In these communal sepulchres they placed the dead sitting around their funeral feast. They set their villages on hill-tops, and entrenched them, as men do in strange country. This culture lasted long, but 'painted-ware' gave place at last to self-coloured and burnished pottery of quite uncertain affinities, and it was in this 'Second Siculan' phase that the Late Minoan settlers arrived.

Sardinia. In Sardinia similar rock-cut tombs contain pottery,

which combines the older basketry-ware with gourd-shapes like those of the Aegean. There are rude marble figures, and representations of boats with high Cycladic prows. There is also direct evidence of immigration, for some of these peoples were of broad-headed type, among a Mediterranean majority. But the flat daggers, and some of the basketry-wares, resemble Spanish types: and a similar 'bell-beaker' vase comes from a cave-deposit near Palermo. Other vessels on tripod feet recur in Spain and also in the Camp de Chassy in the Rhône valley. We are clearly dealing here with elements of a widespread western culture.

Primitive Iberia. What this culture was is illustrated by many sites in Spain and Portugal. Hill-top villages about Almeria contain 'transverse' arrow-heads and pottery hardly in advance of the 'kitchen-midden' ware; but flat stone idols already suggest acquaintance with widespread Mediterranean beliefs. On the central plateau the pot-fabrics show basketry types, and similar incised ware comes from graves in Portugal, where there are also rock-cut tombs like those of Sicily and Sardinia.

Metals and Megaliths.

All these primitive and local cultures, however, rather suddenly acquire abundant copper, and begin to construct their communal tombs with stone blocks, sometimes above ground, and sometimes still covered by remains of a mound, but often denuded and exposed. These great tombs are of two principal types of construction, either corbel-vaulted like the early charnel-houses of Crete, or built of massive uprights and cap-stones. Sometimes a corbel-vault is supported on a wall of uprights. Both kinds are often provided with a stone-lined approach; sometimes there are alcoves in the sides of the passage, and in the 'passage graves' the primary chamber itself is omitted. Rather simpler are the 'cromlechs' and 'cist graves', large and small, with only a single cap-stone on three or four supports.

There has been much controversy about the relative age, and respective sources, of these interrelated types. Only a few points seem to be established. All are varieties of the same communal

burying-place, and the sequence of varieties differs locally; the corbel-vaults were only built near the coast, but some of the roughest constructions lie far inland. The associated pottery is of no specific kind, but develops out of earlier types, and into local fabrics. Though copper is not always found in these chambers, no variety of them goes back before the age of metal, and some belong to quite advanced stages in it. This suggests a cause for the establishment of such types in the West, where it is difficult to prove that they originated, though that is often asserted. If the corbel-vaulted tombs were introduced by people from overseas with knowledge of copper, and skill to exploit the rich ores of certain districts of the peninsula, and if both tomb construction and metallurgy were copied by the natives, the concurrent spread of 'megaliths' and copper would be explained, and also (if these immigrants came from the eastern Mediterranean) the wide distribution of similar monuments elsewhere, and the dependence of all western types of copper objects on the common repertoire of Cyprus and Hissarlik. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that all builders of 'megalithic' structures were either coppersmiths or prospectors, nor that all who were concerned with copper built 'megaliths'. Once established, the custom of communal burial became habitual but not universal; associated (but not coextensive) with whatever other notions or beliefs popularized the use of female figures, beads of the rare blue-grey *callais* stone, and charms of gold or amber.

Outside the peninsula the distribution of similar monuments is peculiar. The Balearic Islands have their 'talayots' with columns supporting the cap-stones; in Sardinia the 'giants' graves' have a long corridor, terminal apse, and concave façade: in Malta, pairs of wide lateral apses with upright wall-stones and corbel-roof almost obliterate both chamber and corridor, and these greater buildings are now temples, not tombs. The charnel house of Halsafieni is of similar design but rock-cut. In the heel of Italy is one isolated group of simple 'dolmens', and in one of them amber was found.

That there are other 'megalithic' monuments, all of the

simplest 'cromlech' type, in Arabia, the Caucasus, Central India, and some Pacific islands, of undetermined date, and unassociated with any single culture, is not a matter for discussion here.

Atlantic Extension of Iberian Culture. It is, on the other hand, significant that several types, all represented in one district or other of the peninsula, have a wide though not continuous distribution over the coast regions of western Europe. Earliest, to judge from associated objects, are those of Britain and the Channel Islands, Cornwall and Devon, Wales, the south and west of Ireland, Denmark, and southern Sweden. Later, when these monuments had already become common over the whole of Portugal, all southern Spain, and around both ends of the Pyrenees, they spread onward into Provence and across west-central France as far as Brittany; into northern Ireland, western Scotland, and several districts of England; from Denmark into north Germany, from Holland to Prussia, and up the Elbe and Oder to the foot-hills of Saxony and Bohemia. In the Seine and Marne basins it was easier to cut grottoes in soft rock than to collect great stones for passage-graves. All this development took time, and local cultures diverged and matured, coalescing with whatever existed already, remnants of kitchen-midden folk, far-wandered Danubians, and 'battle-axe folk' spreading westward along the north German plain. To these composite cultures we must return in another context (p. 235).

Bell-beaker Culture.

Even in the Peninsula the discontinuity of the maritime regions favoured divergence of habits and styles. On the east side of the Meseta, the culture of Almeria shows exceptional traces of intercourse overseas: ivory, hippo-tooth, ostrich eggs, and alabaster vessels occur, with jet and amber from the north; and for a brief period even pot-painting was attempted; ivory also has been found in Portugal, and a Red Sea shell near Seville. That copper was exported seems clear from the spread of a new weapon, a dagger-blade set not in a handle but like a pick, transverse to a long shaft, with broadened heel for secure attachment. The leaf-shaped dagger was ancient in the Near

East and Aegean, but this 'halberd' or 'palstave' is an Iberian invention, and can be traced coming into fashion in France, Italy, and eventually in central Europe, and improving as it spread. A late example reached one of the shaft-graves at Mycenae.

It was a great achievement when valley heads were explored and the central Meseta plateau exploited; and now a new phase of advancement begins. Whether the stimulus was some fresh element of population—North African, or indigenous to the Meseta—or ampler livelihood resulting from direct intercourse between maritime peoples unacquainted till now, is not clear. What is certain is that here are the masterpieces of the old incised pottery, representing even animals and symbolic pairs of eyes; and that from hence seem to originate the peculiar basket-like 'bell-beakers', which have eventually a wider range even than megalithic structures. When 'bell-beakers' occur outside the peninsula, it is usually in single graves, with all sorts of local gear; but the vessels themselves keep characteristic form and zone-decoration; and wherever they go and whatever their funerary purpose, advancement follows, especially in the handling of copper and bronze. But only on the Meseta plateau are they at home among a kindred fabric with other forms which do not travel so. It is natural to suppose that some kind of wandering craftsman, or pedlar, or 'prospector' either used or traded them: and the persons with whom they were buried are usually of broad-headed Alpine type. This raises the question, still unsolved, whether these bell-beaker folk are descendants of that ancient outlying patch of 'Alpines' who are found also in the kitchen-middens of Portugal; or of sea-borne Armenoids from the Levant; or again, of Alpine incomers from central Europe, where there was certainly later a great secondary nursery of 'beaker'-using folk at a later stage (p. 173).

Collapse of Iberian Culture. But with this great achievement the culture of the Meseta exhausted itself. The coast districts, too, though they did not entirely lose their prosperity, rested unprogressive, even round El Argar in the south-east, where some of the finest pottery, most advanced metal-work, and greatest

material amenities are found, and lasted longest. What went wrong, is unknown; but the gap between earlier and later culture is so complete as to make even the chronology doubtful. Consequently when men of iron-using culture broke in from western France, about the seventh century B.C., they found most of the peninsula in a backward and inert condition. Only along the Catalonian coast was there a barbarous reflection of Greek colonial art—and of even this the date is doubtful—and round Cadiz, and occasionally in Andalusia, first traces of intercourse with Carthage or one of the older Punic cities of North Africa.

Spread of Bell-beaker Culture. Outside the peninsula, but still within the western Mediterranean, 'bell-beakers' occur in Sardinia, in Sicily near Palermo, at Remedello near Brescia in north Italy. From Catalonia they pass into Provence, up the Rhône, and down the Rhine. Farther east, they are found along the Upper Danube, and as far east as Budapest. Into Saxony and Bohemia it is thought that they were attracted by the supplies of tin, and it is here that the fashion of them has the peculiar vogue which characterizes the mid-European 'beaker' culture. This has its independent career afterwards, and it is easy to exaggerate its affinity with the sporadic 'bell-beakers'.

In north Italy, with the advent of the 'bell-beaker' begins a full Bronze Age among the descendants of the 'cave-dwellers' already mentioned. And there was a reason for this. The barrier of Alpine snow and forest, formerly impenetrable, now began to give way; the lower passes lay open, and West Mediterranean traffic in copper and bronze competed with Bohemian and Hungarian.

Italy and its Invaders.

Down to this point Italy had been secluded altogether from continental cultures, and almost wholly even from Mediterranean contacts. But now the long drama of 'Italy and its Invaders' begins.

Terramara Culture. First, out of the West Alpine lakes, pile-dwellers descended into the foot-hills beyond Lake Como. But they had not spread far, nor had the 'beaker' culture

worked its full civilizing effects on the aborigines of the Po valley, when from the eastern Alps, and probably from their more-or-less Danubianized lake-dwellings, came wholesale immigration of a people whose timber-built platforms were adapted for habitations in the beds of running streams, which at the same time defended, watered, and kept them wholesome. Strictly limited in area by their construction and site, these 'terramara' settlements multiplied by propagation, and soon occupied all suitable positions on both sides of the Po, as far as the forested Apennines. Here their advance was checked. Higher up the main valley the streams were probably unmanageable; towards the Adriatic coast the prospect seemed better. But once clear of the Po basin, the streams are again narrow and torrential; 'terramara' construction faded out; and though the wooded highlands were gradually peopled with 'terramara' folk who had taken to the dry ground, only one small party has been traced far down in Apulia, with abode and burials of the old fashion.

In many of their customs these new-comers were Danubian, of the later composite phase already described (p. 155); but they acquired new fashions in new surroundings, especially the queer horned handles characteristic of their pottery, which wander also beyond the Adriatic down the Dalmatian highlands and as far afield as Macedonia.

Unlike the other peoples hitherto encountered, the 'terramara' folk burned their dead. It was perhaps the only way to dispose of the bodies decently, for there was no soil under the settlement, and the woods were wild. But there was fuel in plenty, and pots of ashes, each covered with a bowl, and stacked on a funerary platform nearby, tempted neither beast nor alien man. It is little therefore that we know of these people themselves, and we should know little even of their lives if it were not for the rubbish that fell among the substructures. They cultivated wheat, beans, and flax; had fowls and ducks as well as other farm stock; hunted and fished, used canoes with paddles, ploughs, wheeled carts, and seem to have had domesticated horses. They were skilled bronze-founders, and traded their decorative daggers as

far as Bohemia. They seem to have begun to settle in the Po valley about 1700 B.C. and to have been fully distributed by about 1400 B.C.

After a long but rather monotonous existence, during which communication never seems to have been broken with the countries of origin beyond the passes, nor ever fully established with the Aegean or even with Apulia and Sicily, the whole 'terramara' culture perished suddenly, and the numerous 'burnt layers' on top of their abodes were probably the result of a fresh invasion of the Po valley. For their close-packed urnfields cease too, and are succeeded by dry-land cemeteries, with similar cremation ritual, but different equipment and artistic style. Survivors, however, of the 'terramara' folk retreated into the foothills of the Alps, around Como, and also round Este, near the Adige and the approach to the great Brenner pass; and in the central Apennines, east of the Tiber valley, highland folk, the Umbrians and Sabellians of historic Italy, lived on without much change of habit, once they were freed from their dependence on running streams.

Villanova Culture. The new-comers were dryland tribes equipped and organized quite differently from the 'terramara' folk. They came in violently, soon after 1200 B.C., and from some of their habits and crafts may have been a western deployment of the great Lausitz movement (p. 239), which began in Silesia rather earlier, and swept over all the Middle Danube and as far as Thessaly and north-western Asia Minor, about the same time as this invasion of Italy. From the most typical settlement, close to Bologna, which now became a chief centre of traffic by way of the Apennine passes, this is commonly called the culture of Villanova. But it was not confined to the Po valley. Better equipped and habituated than any predecessors to deal with the forested Apennines, they broke through into the head-waters of the Tiber and Arno, and settled down all over the broken, confused, but very rich country between those rivers. Here, in what eventually became Etruria and Latium, the southern Villanovans matured their mode of life rather differently from the northern between Villanova and Rimini; while, north of the

Po, the tribes round Este became more susceptible than either to the foreign influences, mainly from the Aegean, which began to come up the Adriatic, and were diverting the northern amber-trade to the Brenner from old easterly routes. Round Como and Golasecca, finally, similar bodies of well-armed immigrants came from Hungary about the same time, and apparently also from Switzerland, to judge by the tomb types at Golasecca. But these late-comers found the country occupied and did not spread far.

The Central Highlanders of Italy. Between Apennines and Adriatic, invasion was less easy, and descendants of 'terramara' folk, emboldened by hard living and desperation, held their own in the highlands of Picenum and Samnium, and also harried the Adriatic coasts in their ships, like the Liburnian pirates opposite. Not all the fine works of Greek industrial art which enriched their tombs came to them by way of peaceful trade. These highlanders in turn seem for a long while, till about 400 B.C., to have avoided interference with the Daunian and Peucetian folk of Apulia, who retained from old time (or acquired during the Early Iron Age) a bizarre style of vase-painting. These people buried their dead, like the older inhabitants of Italy; their iron implements of Aegean types demonstrate some degree of oversea traffic; but their earlier history is obscure, till in the full tide of Greek colonization they are found in three very distinct local groups, rich, peaceable, and self-sufficient. Then in the fourth century the Sabellian highlanders came south.

Lowland Cultures of South and West. On the western side of Italy, the south coast, rugged and heavily wooded then, is unexplored, but seems to have had no characteristic culture. In Campania even more than in Apulia Greek colonists found a peaceable lowland 'Opican' folk, and civilized them rapidly, but little is known of their antecedents. Between Campania and Latium (where the last Villanovan settlements fade out) the Volscian hills bring typical highlanders right down to the sea coast.

The Etruscans. Rome, therefore, lay on the border of two

worlds, indeed of three, for the whole character of the central districts of Tuscany had been transformed, early in the Iron Age, and probably by westward forays of the Levantine sea-raiders, into a remarkable rule-of-force, exercised by small bodies of alien and desperate adventurers, with their backs in the first instance to the sea, and at all times with their backs to one another, for good and for evil, in their common danger from conquered and exploited Villanovans. Whence these Tyrrhenians (or as the Romans called them, Etruscans) came, is not yet clear. Greek legend brought them from western Asia Minor, fleeing from famine at home, and this may well be so. Certainly they are not of the west, nor of the north. They brought little oversea but their weapons and their language: and while the weapons wore out and were recast in Villanovan smithies, the language, on the lips of captured wives, broke down into a kitchen-jargon, and so passed to their children, unintelligible alike to Roman and to modern linguists.

So in this survey of the tangled antiquity of the western Mediterranean, we are brought back to the point where the Ainoan voyagers came but went no farther. Others before them, and the Tyrrhenians hard after, entered into that new world; but it was their own successors, the colonizing Greeks of the eighth century, who alone made it eventually their own, and passed on what was theirs for Rome to exploit and enjoy.

THE ETHNOLOGY, HABITAT, LINGUISTIC, AND
COMMON CULTURE OF INDO-EUROPEANS
UP TO THE TIME OF THE MIGRATIONS

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THE ETHNOLOGY, HABITAT, LINGUISTIC, AND COMMON CULTURE OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS UP TO THE TIME OF THE MIGRATIONS

ATTENTION has already been directed in preceding pages (pp. 87 ff.) to the main geographical features of the great Northern Flatland, and especially to the various avenues by which there is access from it, through the outer ridges of the Mountain-zone, to enclosed plateaux and basins, and into lowland and Mediterranean regions beyond. We have now to see what manner of peoples and cultures have come into being on this Northern Flatland, and what part they have played in the long history of it and of neighbouring regions.

In the Near East, and in the Mediterranean region, evidence for early human activities has been mainly archaeological. Those peoples all spoke languages of some kind, and many (though not all) of these are known. Among those languages, the Hamitic or Berber family survives over wide areas of North Africa. Its varieties are neither widely differentiated, nor very instructive in their geographical relation: if they ever spread beyond North Africa, they have been obliterated by alien competitors, with the possible exception of Basque along the Pyrenees. The Semitic family, less subdivided and for the most part not greatly changed through its long history, presents a simple diagram of outward spread along well-defined avenues of migration, from its cradleland of Arabia, no less clearly recognizable. But until the medieval movements of the Saracens, Semitic languages seldom obtained even temporary occupancy beyond the foot-hills of Media and Armenia; and overseas the Western Phoenicians never imposed their speech on the populations whom they ruled or influenced otherwise, and lost it themselves (or merged it in colonial Hebrew) under Roman rule. Arabic, on the other hand, though its spread has been vast, has almost nowhere become either so isolated, or so divorced from its proper religion or social organization, as to develop into daughter-languages, as Latin has developed into the Romance languages of Europe.

In the north, in strongest contrast, it has been from their languages that we have learned most (until quite lately), not only about the distribution, but about the social and even the material culture of the peoples of the Flatland; and these languages, though demonstrably related originally, and spread from some single continuous area, habitat, or 'home', have changed, in several very different directions, into groups which in their turn have broken up into varieties, and intermixed or overflowed each other in so complicated a fashion that there is still controversy about their precise affinities, and even more about the long history of their development from a parent stock.

Discussion has been so keen and often so inconclusive, mainly because, it was about this family of languages that philological inquiry began, so that methods had to be contrived and improved as discovery went on, and the full complexity of the problems gradually appeared. The methodical analysis of languages, also, was long practised by men whose training had been literary rather than scientific, and dominated by other principles than those which chiefly influenced the first attempts at archæology or ethnology. Consequently, if current, or attractive, hypotheses are to be given their proper place in our argument, it is only fair to present them in their historical perspective, and to summarize the principal phases through which the reconstruction of the human history of the Northern Flatland has passed, since it was first attempted more than a century ago.

Comparative Philology and its Inferences from the Study of Indo-european Languages.

The comparative study of this group of languages begins with the observation of Sir William Jones in 1786, of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, that 'no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists'; and that 'both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit'. To give scientific precision to this discovery was the work of Bopp (1833-5) for grammatical forms, of Grimm and Pott for the development of

sounds, of Schleicher in the reconstruction of the 'common source', and in the treatment of the facts of language from that evolutionary standpoint which was becoming habitual in biological science. This last provoked the reaction of Whitney, Brugmann, Delbrück, and others towards specifically philological methods based on more careful study of living languages, which alone can illustrate the processes by which languages have been modified in the past. This view of philology as an historical rather than a biological science has its counterpart in Ratzel's recognition that the distribution of a language results from the movements of people who speak it, and consequently is in great part determined by geographical facilities and obstacles; and that its development is affected both by segregation, and by intercourse with men of other speech.

If there had been a 'common source' for these languages—first designated 'Indo-european' in 1813 and 'Indo-germanic' in 1823—it was reasonable to ask where this original speech had been spoken, and by whom; and further, to what extent those who speak the daughter-languages are descendants of those who used the mother tongue, or have acquired them to the loss of their native tongues. On all these questions, speculation has been abundant, and controversy fierce. The gradual emergence, however, of the historical and geographical standpoints already mentioned has clarified the issue. It is realized that the spread of languages is far more closely related to that of cultures than of racial types; but that nevertheless neither general culture, nor its most delicate criterion, religious belief, necessarily varies with language, however profoundly influenced by the uses of words.

Comparison of Philological with Archaeological Evidence.

It is also admitted that to trace back the fortunes of a language, or even a group of languages, beyond the historical point where direct evidence or contemporary testimony fails us, is a work of inference supplemented by conjecture: that, on the other hand, prehistoric archaeology interprets a very large mass of objects, all of them original works of a craftsman, responsive

to contemporary needs, demonstrably changing in fashion as those needs changed, and forming evolutionary series from primitive to mature, degenerate, and obsolete; each moreover deposited in a particular place, at a particular time, often in an indisputable sequence, which is sometimes historically dated by documentary evidence, more or less direct. Thus, though variations, and even revolutions, in material culture cannot prove a change of language, they suggest continuities or crises in the history of a people, indicate the geographical extent, expansion, or shrinkage of its activities, demonstrate intercourse, intrusion, and replacement, and reveal the regional source, and sequence in time, of each disturbing element.

What is therefore to be attempted now is, *first*, to classify actual Indo-european languages in accordance with their structure and vocabulary; *secondly*, to trace them back historically to the period and region where each of them first appears; *thirdly*, to draw such inferences as may be reasonable from their similarities of form and of content to their prehistoric relations and distributions; and, *fourthly*, to compare those inferences with archaeological facts as evidence for the existence and movements of the principal cultures and peoples in prehistoric times. If these distributions of culture accord closely enough with the distributions of language, we may be justified in believing that the people who enjoyed this or that phase of culture also used this or that kind of speech.

Classification of Indo-european Languages.

Indo-european languages are related by profound similarities of grammatical structure, and of a large part of their vocabulary. They fall, however, into two groups, according as the sounds represented by *k* or *c*, *g*, *kh*, *gh*, remain guttural or are replaced by sibilants: for example, 100 in Greek is *hekaton*, in Latin *centum*, in Old Irish *cét*, in German *hundert*; whereas Sanskrit has *śatam*, Zend *satem*, Lithuanian *szimtas*, Old Bulgarian *suto*.

To the *centum* group belong (1) *Greek*, differentiated into four principal groups of dialects already in prehistoric times; (2) *Italic*, in the two divisions represented by Latin which retains

kw as *q*, and by Umbrian, Oscan and other highland dialects in which *kw* is replaced by *p*, a change occasionally found also in Greek; (3) *Celtic*, in two similar divisions; Irish, Manx, and Gaelic retaining *q*, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, like old Gaulish, substituting *p*; (4) *Teutonic*, characterized by a peculiar shift of the consonants and separated accordingly into eastern Gothic, northern Scandinavian, and western Germanic, which includes Dutch and English. To this group also belong (5) *Tocharish* represented in two varieties by inscriptions of the eighth century A.D. from the Turfan and Khotan oases of the Tarim basin in central Asia; and (6) the *Nasili* language which was the official means of communication in the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor, and is preserved on clay tablets of the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. from its capital at Boghaz-keui in Cappadocia.

The *satem* group includes (1) *Sanskrit*, essentially the speech of the Indo-european invaders of India; (2) *Iranian*, including Zend or Old Persian, and kindred languages, as far east as Khotan, with far outliers in Manchuria, and as far north-west as the Ossete language in Caucasus; (3) *Armenian*, together with ancient Phrygian and Thracian; (4) *Albanian*, similarly related probably to ancient Illyrian, and kindred dialects intruded early into southern Italy; (5) *Baltic* languages, including Lithuanian, Lettish, Estonian, and Old Prussian, together with the widespread Slavonic groups, eastern, western, and southern, of which Russian, Czech, and Serbian are examples.

The classification of these numerous and widespread languages is not, however, so simple as this primary distinction might suggest. Minor resemblances interconnect members of different groups. Greek, for example, has many words in common with Indo-iranian, and in its verb-forms it is nearer to Sanskrit than Sanskrit is to Slav, or Greek itself to Latin: like Iranian it turns initial and intervocalic *s* into *h*; and before *o* it substitutes *p* for *q*, like Umbrian and Welsh.

All these languages, moreover, have lost a considerable part of the 'common' vocabulary, often replacing the missing words by loans from other sources, sometimes Indo-european, but frequently not.

Loan-words and Survivals of Older Languages.

These alien loan-words, and other peculiarities, such as the consonantal shift among Teutonic languages, and the transference of the verb to the beginning of the sentence in Celtic, raise the question, what other kinds of languages have been former neighbours, and more or less completely obliterated by Indo-european spread? Ancient place-names of the Iberian peninsula, repeating those of Mauretania and Numidia, make it certain that the Hamitic group of North African languages once extended at least as far as the Pyrenees, where the Basque language may be a much disfigured survival. Some Celtic scholars have even suspected traces of such Iberian speech in certain peculiarities of Welsh. In western Sicily the Greek settlers regarded the natives as in some sense Iberians, and as having left traces in Italy as far north as Rome. Another group of aborigines with alien speech seem to have inhabited the Ligurian seaboard, from the Arno to the Rhône, and the difficult hill-country behind it.

The language of the Etruscans, between Arno and Tiber, is in a different category, for it was Greek belief (p. 177) that the Etruscans were immigrants overseas from western Asia Minor, and their speech, though very corrupt, has some points of likeness to ancient languages there. But as the invaders seem to have been few, the language may be in part aboriginal and West Mediterranean, like Ligurian hard-by.

In Crete, tradition puts the introduction of Greek late, in the thirteenth century; there were several languages in the island in Homeric times; in the eastern district one of them was still written in the sixth century; and the various earlier scripts from Minoan sites do not at present seem to have been used for Greek. That the pre-hellenic languages of the Aegean were, in part at least, akin to those of western Asia Minor is indicated by several types of place-names, with terminations in *-nth-*, *-nd-*, *-mn-*, and *-ss-*, widespread from northern Greece to Cyprus, Cilicia, and Cappadocia; the same endings occur also in certain Greek words. Of these 'Asianic' languages several are preserved in provincial

documents of the Hittite archives already mentioned (p. 187); and some of them were still in local use under the Roman Empire. As they have features in common with surviving languages in that philological museum, the Caucasus, it is safe to regard the whole of the Anatolian section of the Mountain-zone as having been formerly occupied by a large family of related languages, of which the language of ancient inscriptions from Lake Van is alone decipherable: it was superseded in the eighth century B.C. by the 'Phrygian' conquerors (p. 204) whose speech survives, much disintegrated, in Armenian.

Successive outpourings of the Semitic-speaking tribes of Arabia restricted these Mountain-zone languages to the hill-country; and east of Armenia Iranian speech penetrated deeply into the Zagros highland from the north-east, and about 1400 B.C. gave Indo-european names to Mitannian kings and gods in Northern Mesopotamia. But Darius, at the end of the sixth century, still found it convenient to publish his proclamation at Behistun in the old language of highland Elam, as well as in Persian and Babylonian. The Mountain-zone was by no means wholly Iranian yet.

Farther east still, evidence fails, till we come to peninsular India, where the Dravidian languages of the south maintain themselves in face of the persistent spread of Aryan-speaking peoples from the north, and the former extent of Dravidian speech is shown by the survival of Brahui in Baluchistan. From Burma to Tibet, south-east Asiatic languages are established similarly, with the Kolarian group (beyond the lower Ganges) as an isolated link with Malay and Polynesian. North and west of Tibet and China, the vast Ural-Altaic family, represented in turn by Tatar and Turkish, Finnish and Hungarian, Samoyed and Lapp, have alone been not merely persistent, but aggressive against Indo-european-speaking folk, within historic times, as the Arab has been aggressive around the Southern Flatland. Some have even seen reason to look for primeval similarities between various Indo-european languages and Finnish, as well as for traces of Finnish outliers as far south as Asia Minor and Crete; not however with much success, though the historic

instance of Hungarian shows that under favourable circumstances Finnish-speaking folk may do what Turks and Tatars have done repeatedly.

Somewhere within this immense field of its expansion, between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, Arabia and North India, Tibet and the Arctic Ocean, Indo-european speech came into being and spread. And everywhere, with Indo-european languages, have spread also a similar mode of life, pastoral and agricultural together, close-knit patriarchal society, a primitive assemblage of nature-powers with a more or less paternal sky-god predominant but nowise omnipotent, and an outlook on nature and on other men fundamentally rational and humane.

Geographical Conditions for the Indo-european 'Home'.

It has been noted already that the perplexing interrelations between Indo-european languages preclude all attempt to construct a 'family tree' of their affinities, and make it difficult even to describe the eastern Indo-iranian group as less distantly connected than the rest with the 'common source'. More appropriate, though far from adequate, are the metaphors of 'waves' spreading from a centre, or 'radial' divergences: and it has become clearer, especially since Ratzel's examination of the problem in 1901 from the purely geographical standpoint, that there was not strictly speaking a 'centre' of dispersal at all; but rather a number of marginal outflows from a geographical region of considerable size, but easily traversable in all (or most) directions, so that intercourse of numerous tribally organized groups was perhaps even habitual, and intermixture not precluded, seeing that tribes with similar culture often obtain their wives from outside.

Such intercourse is only practicable for human communities on open steppe, and not at all so easy, even there, as is sometimes imagined, simply because the geographical conditions are never quite uniform at different latitudes, or at greater or less distance from ocean or mountains. The obvious contrasts between the Northern and the Southern Flatlands, and between either of them and the 'prairie' of North America, are sufficient to

illustrate this. Moreover, the Eurasian Flatland is of quite irregular shape, and parts of it, geographically, are discontinuous with the rest. Its two main regions, east and west of the Caspian, are connected by a comparatively narrow corridor between the Volga delta and the wide southern foot-hills of the Urals; and this corridor has varied in width according as the Caspian basin has been flooded with more or less water; moreover, in the wetter periods, the foot-hill forests have encroached on the grassland margin. In dry periods, on the contrary—for example, in modern times—the fringing forests have become discontinuous, opening wide avenues north-eastward into western Siberia and to the south-east into eastern Iran. Westward, in the same way, the low featureless land from the Gulf of Odessa to the Baltic extends, at its driest, uninterrupted except by the Polish sand-dunes, from the Gulf of Finland to the Moravian Gate, and is continuous, through that Gate, with the middle basin of the Danube, as well as by the Alt valley through the Carpathians. But when the highland forests descend and close those avenues, they encroach also on Galicia and Moravia, outside the Carpathians till they meet the fringe of their northern counterpart, making the Niemen valley impassable; and when there is rainfall enough for all that, the Pripet marshes and the Masurian lakeland are drowned, and the rivers on either hand dangerously swollen. Thus those other two regions of open country, the Hungarian plain and the north German lowland bordering the Baltic, have sometimes been self-contained, sometimes appendages of one vast area, which at its widest included Iran and western Siberia, and through Iran had access even to the Punjab.

Another feature of the Eurasian Flatland contrasts it with the Southern, and brings its north margin into comparison with that of the American prairie. Whereas on its south side the Mountain-zone sinks more or less abruptly into the level, and there is rapid change from upland forest to hot steppe, on the north it is climate rather than configuration which determines the transition, which is gradual, through parkland with glades of open pasture, according to soil, aspect, and local water-

supply. In this direction therefore it has always been easy for nomad pastorals to penetrate far into woodland without serious disturbance of their habits, and on the other hand to settle down there to sedentary agriculture, if they pleased, without forfeiting ability to move on afterwards. Most important of all, on this edge of the grassland they had access to timber, and so could (and did) supplement other means of transport by constructing wheeled vehicles, bridging streams, building ferries and fishing-boats, without prejudice to their pastoral mode of life. At one point on the southern margin the same more gradual transition occurs, namely at the far east end, where the head waters of the Murghab and Heri-rud emerge from between the mountain folds, and great lines of traffic diverging from Merv to Mashed and Herat give access both to western Iran through Chorasan, and though Scistan to the Indus valley.

Theories and Methods.

In the first generation of Indo-european studies the notion that Sanskrit was philologically closest to the 'common source' led to the belief that the Aryan invaders of India had travelled the least distance from the linguistic 'home'. But the alternative, that the 'home' was in Europe, though ridiculed when it was first propounded by Latham in 1851, came to be held almost universally in Germany, and with growing persistency in that extreme form which places the 'cradle' in lands now Scandinavian around the Baltic. Between these extremes, linguistic arguments have been used also in favour (1) of the South Russian section of the steppe, (2) of the Hungarian plain, and (3) of the central plateau of Asia Minor.

Much use has been made, in this connexion, of Indo-european names for plants and animals, of which the geographical distribution now is approximately known, and especially for certain trees such as *beech* and *willow*. But recent study of the changes of climate within early human times makes it certain that the areas covered by these trees, and other types of vegetation, have varied greatly under milder or austerer conditions. There is the further ambiguity that sometimes the same word

has come to mean different trees in different languages; for example, *fagus* in Latin means a beech, but its equivalent *phêgos* in Greek means an oak. More careful observation, too, has corrected misapprehensions as to the geographical range of the eel, bee, tortoise, and squirrel, by the supposed absence or presence of which it had been proposed to identify the 'home' with certain regions.

More trustworthy, so far as they go, are conclusions, based on the earliest recorded appearances of the principal Indo-european-speaking peoples together with the affinities of their languages, as to the directions in which they appear to have been moving: for it is now agreed that most, if not all of them, had already moved from even their proximate 'homes' when they are first perceptible historically. As will be seen, however, it is only in regard to the *satem*-group that this evidence takes us far: the *centum* languages appear so late, and for the most part so far from any possible 'home', that much of their career is left to be imagined.

Finally there is the collateral and quite independent evidence of early cultures, ascertained archaeologically; already a valuable test of linguistic arguments, when the testimony of material relics is forthcoming; but still defective in regard to important districts, and for certain periods in districts otherwise fairly well explored. Though this kind of evidence seldom tells anything about ideas, beliefs, or institutions, except so far as they find expression in tombs, images of the gods, or some other kind of material equipment, such as a throne or a sceptre, it is often sufficiently copious to register accurately a geographical distribution, or an historical crisis, such as the destruction of a town or the opening or closing of a trade route.

Aryan speech in North-west India.

The great south-easterly group of Indo-european languages, in which the principal early examples are Old Persian and Sanskrit, illustrates directly, in the subject-matter of its ancient literatures, phases of culture which can only be reconstructed from fragmentary evidence elsewhere. These early documents

themselves are of uncertain age, and are handed down to us in late compilations and still later manuscripts. But the Vedic hymns and other religious texts of ancient India seem to belong to the centuries about 1500 B.C., and contain references to conditions of life different from those of the first historical settlements of those who used them, in India itself. From the close resemblances between the Sanskrit of the Vedas, and the Zend of the early Gatha hymns included in the Avesta—which itself is almost indistinguishable from the Old Persian of the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes about 500 B.C.—it is certain that those who spoke these two languages had once been one folk. And as the folk-memory of the Vedas brings the Aryans into north-western India from the Mountain-zone, it seems probable that the separation occurred somewhere within the plateau of Iran. Since, moreover, this plateau itself is separated from all other regions where Indo-european languages have been spoken by a considerable belt of mountainous country, it follows that those who spoke Old Persian had also had to traverse such country, though only once, whereas the Vedic Aryans must have done so twice before they reached the Punjab.

Now in general, nothing more completely disorganizes and transforms social structure than transference into strongly contrasted surroundings. A conspicuous example is the constant temptation to Israel, a desert-bred people out of Arabia, to 'mingle among the heathen and learn their works' in the 'land of corn, wine, and oil', of 'milk and honey', west of Jordan. Only a very close-knit society, such as the patriarchal families, clans, and tribes of Israel, was competent to maintain itself unchanged even in essentials.

From the common vocabulary of Indo-european languages it is certain that those among whom this type of speech originated were pastoral people, who also practised simple forms of cereal agriculture. In addition to horned cattle, they owned domesticated horses; in addition to hafted tools, some sort of plough, and other wooden structures, they had wheeled carts, both ox-drawn, for transport of logs and other loads, and horse-drawn, for fighting. Wheeled vehicles still further enhanced the

mobility conferred by the horse. But except on quite open steppe, wheels are not much use without roads; and the making of such ways through forest, and between cultivated fields, goes back very far among these peoples, guiding their behaviour by the conception of a strict 'way' of conduct, as well as their actual movements across country. Longer views than the annual cycle of the farmer came also naturally among people who were foresters as well, who conserved and observed the trees till they were fit for felling, sang hymns to them when the time came, to make the stock sprout again, and about them as they carted the timber away for use. The wood-worker stood high among craftsmen, especially as his was the skilled hand to make fire and provide fragrant fuel for sacrifices, as well as implements, bows and other weapons, dwellings, vehicles, and bridges over streams. It is necessary to insist on this forest experience, because the popular picture of the primitive Aryan as a pastoral and cultivator overlooks it, and also because this peculiar combination of skill made adaptation possible to an unusually wide variety of surroundings.

The more rugged the country, and the more sub-tropical and continental the climate, the greater is the contrast, on the same mountain side, between the vegetation above and below; jungle moist and unhealthy along the valley bottoms, hardwoods and then conifers on the ridges, with glades of greensward, clean springs, fresh winds, bright sunshine tempered with cloud at most seasons, and comparative immunity from beasts of prey and bad men. For men on the move, the high road was the safer; you could see where you were going, your watchfires caught a steady breeze, and the 'tree of the gods' (*deva-dharu*, our 'deodara') gave shade without obstructing the pasture.

Through such country congenial communities can spread, propagate, and exploit irresistibly, once through the passes; thinning and clearing the forest downhill into broader and more fertile valleys, and multiplying as opportunity and equipment grew. Each 'Aryan home' (*Āryā-varta*) was thus bounded by converging tributaries, whose junction called a halt, and determined the site of a permanent head-quarters (*pur*). Some of these

have remained, through the ages, important settlements and centres of intercourse. Sometimes, as in Kashmir, converging movements met in the centre of a basin of drainage. But when Aryan folk descended so, they found Nature less wholesome, convenient, and friendly. To the kindly powers of sun, sky, clouds, trees, clear springs and cleansing fire, whom the highlanders worshipped and loved, were added fiercer deities of jungle, violence, and disease, to be propitiated as devoutly as they were hated and feared, because misunderstood. There were men too, 'noseless', flat-faced, of dark colour, foul habits, and hostile behaviour. To Aryan folk, who are represented as normally fair, cleanliness came next to godliness; black men could hardly be good men, though they were sometimes found to be useful, in peace as well as in war; and social distinctions came to be expressed in terms of 'colour' (*varna*) as well as of occupation or 'function' (*karma*). As a recognition of natural differences such as occur among animals and plants, and as an aid to social order, and good breeding in the literal sense, this was reasonable, and in any case was in accord with traditional reliance on the orderliness and reasonableness of things, and hereditary differences of temper, ability, and training, among Aryan folk themselves. For Aryan migrations were multiple and distinct in date, in distribution, and in quality; and sometimes Aryan met Aryan in this strange land, and after hard fighting the best man won and became master of the next best 'colour'. It was only gradually that this colour-scheme, with its notion of ceremonial (or rather, magical) purity, stiffened into a caste system, culminating in priestly monopoly of consideration, holiness, and power, but descending also to include various sorts of dark 'untouchables'.

It is unfortunate that no indigenous literature exists to interpret these folk as they appeared to non-Aryans in India, or to give authentic picture of pre-Aryan society. There is no doubt that, whatever its absolute age, the 'painted ware' culture of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and other ancient sites in the Indus basin (p. 119), is earlier than the traditional Aryan conquest, and it is probable that Aryan invaders destroyed it. Aboriginal

Dasyus are described in Aryan folk-memory as rich in gold and jewels, in horses and chariots as well as cattle, and as living in stone forts. Though they neither offered fire-sacrifices, nor sang hymns, nor worshipped Aryan *devas*, they were evidently civilized and powerful; and they had ports on the ocean below the Western Ghats, whence there was trade with other countries oversea. Sometimes Aryan women were given in marriage to native chiefs, and dynastic or political alliances were made. In the *Rāmāyana* epic, we have glimpses of raids and counter-raids into a country of hostile 'demons' and of help given to an Aryan leader by 'monkey-people' who knew its ways. In the *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, Aryan dynasties and their peoples fall out among themselves in the 'middle land' between Jumna and Ganges, and the great battle is fought in the historic neighbourhood of Delhi.

Iranians in Media and Persia.

The great Iranian plateau is bounded to south-west by the multiple folds and ridges of the Zagros range, which overlook Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, as the Suleiman mountains overlook the Indus valley and the Punjab (p. 92). But whereas the Aryan invaders of India overwhelmed and destroyed utterly the lowland civilization represented by the deeply stratified sites at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, no such catastrophe befell the cities of Babylonia. There was, however, a long period, approximately contemporary with the Aryan invasions, when Babylonia lay paralysed under alien and apparently barbaric rule, from the Kassite invasion about 1760 B.C. till the revolt and renaissance about 1200 B.C., which dispelled these conquerors almost as suddenly as they had come.

The Kassites, Mitanni, and Hyksos.

Who the Kassites were is uncertain. Their language is neither Semitic nor Sumerian nor Aryan. But in Babylonian documents their sun-god is Suriash, recalling the Aryan Surya; their storm-god Murattush, like Maruta; their wind-god is Buriash like the Greek Boreas; and 'god' in general is *bogash*,

recalling the slavonic *bogu*, and our own 'bogey'. Some of their kings, too, bear names including Indo-european elements. This might well happen, if Indo-european adventurers, like Rama in India, had led aboriginal levies out of the highland, losing their own mother-tongue in the process, like the Scandinavian adventurers who invaded England out of Normandy talking a dialect of French. More significant still, the horse, though not unknown to the Babylonians (who commonly used asses, p. 106), was as new and fearsome an instrument of war as the tank in our own days.

When northern Mesopotamia comes into history about 1500 B.C. as a neighbour of Egypt's Syrian protectorate, the dominant state, Mitanni, is ruled by similar people, with an unrecognizable language, but Aryan numerals, Aryan names for their chiefs, and gods bearing well-known Aryan names, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and the twin Nasatyas. They too used the horse, and their fighting-men (*marianna*) may represent the Sanskrit 'young warriors' (*māryā*). Farther West, about the same time, chiefs in Syria and Palestine have Aryan names, and in Egypt those 'Hyksos' foreigners who had invaded Delta and Valley about 1800 B.C. and were expelled about 1600 B.C., seem to have introduced, there also, the use of the horse and the war-chariot. In view of these facts in Syria and Egypt, we need not hesitate to regard the Mitanni régime in Mesopotamia as a connecting link between the Hyksos and the Kassites, and to view the whole sequence of events as a western counterpart of the Aryan invasion of India.

The Hittites in Asia Minor.

It is a further question, whether the Hittite conquest of Asia Minor is related to this Indo-european expansion out of Iran. About 1950 B.C. a great Hittite raid reached Babylon, and the pedigree of its leader Mursil goes back five generations in the archives of the Hittite capital at Boghaz-keui in Cappadocia. In these archives, together with Babylonian, Mitannian, and several languages which seem to belong to regions in Asia Minor itself, Hittite official documents are written in what is described

as the 'scribes' language'; it appears to be grammatically Indo-european, but much corrupted by use among alien folk. It has been natural to suggest that this Hittite régime in Asia Minor resulted from a similar movement from the east, through Mitannian Mesopotamia and north Syria. But the date and direction of the Hittite raid on Babylon makes it more likely that these invaders had entered Asia Minor from the north-west, through the Marmara region, as the Phrygians certainly did who in turn overwhelmed them about 1200 B.C. (p. 204), and likewise the Gauls who founded Galatia about 275 B.C. (p. 223). And the 'scribes' language' belongs, not to the eastern division of Indo-european languages but to the western; and it is therefore in connexion with these (p. 210) that it has its real significance.

The Medes.

But the Babylonian renaissance about 1200 B.C., followed by the first series of Assyrian conquests about 1150 B.C., dispelled Indo-european intruders west of the Zagros mountains, and south of the Taurus frontage of Asia Minor, except a few chiefs in north Syria who still bore Iranian names: and it is not till the second Assyrian empire was in course of formation, that there is another glimpse of what was going on within the highlands. From the mountain-campaign of Shalmaneser II in 836 B.C. onwards, the Medes caused frequent anxiety on the Assyrian frontier; in 715 B.C. Sargon penetrated right through the highland, and received homage (among other chiefs) from one Daiakku, who seems to be the Deiokes of Herodotus; and in the next half century a Median kingdom was arising, with many vassals, and Ecbatana in these northern highlands as its capital.

The Persians.

The dissolution, about 640 B.C., of the old Elamite régime, in the southern half of the highlands, set free unawares a new military and political force, the loose confederacy of tribes who occupied the district of Anshan, known to Greek geographers as Persis, and to modern as Farsistan, and populated by about half a million people. Half a century after Sargon's reference to

Deiokes the Mede, Assurbanipal similarly mentions among princes in Elam a Cyrus who, from his date, should be the grandfather of the founder of the Persian Empire. Persis was only one natural division of the Zagros mountains, and until the revolt of Cyrus about 560 B.C. had been a vassal of the Medes. Its political centre the Greeks called Persepolis, but the family of Cyrus came from Pasargadae; and after the conquest of the Mesopotamian lowland, its administration was based on the old Elamite capital at Susa in the foot-hills. In the next generation, Darius, the reorganizer of the wide conquests of Cyrus, published his proclamations in colloquial Persian, translated (as noted already) into the languages of Babylon and Elam. This 'Old Persian' language (p. 194) is practically identical with that of the oldest hymns (*gathas*) in that *Avesta* literature, which stands to the Zoroastrian religion of the Persians as the *Vedas* to that of Aryan India.

It was between 550 and 540 B.C. that Cyrus and his highlanders broke loose from Anshan on an astonished world, and overcame first their Median overlord, then all the mountain-zone westwards to the Aegean and the Marmara; then Babylon with all Mesopotamia and Syria; then Egypt, Nubia, and the Oases, under Cambyses; and Thrace and northern India under Darius, all before 510 B.C. Another generation later, Herodotus described the Persia of his own day, probably from eye-witness, and certainly from personal acquaintance with Persians in the provinces, where he travelled widely. Of ten principal groups of tribes, four were nomad, the rest sedentary and agricultural; there was still unreclaimed country at hand, and a great clan, like that of Cyrus himself, had much of its wealth in cattle, sheep, and goats. Each clan and family was governed by its head-man and a council of elders, with power of life and death; even as all Persia obeyed the head of the Achaemenid house, once invested with the robe of Cyrus at Pasargadae, and acclaimed by the whole people. The king was advised by the Council of Seven among whom he was chief. Government devolved feudally from the court to the provinces; the Persian monarch was indeed a 'king of kings', and every Persian

'honoured most the king, then his kinsmen, and least those remotest from him', grading his salutations accordingly. Abundance of offspring was prized almost as highly as personal prowess, and polygamy was supplemented by concubinage, as in most patriarchal societies. It was an aristocracy of grave manners and simple habits, which tolerated other people's ways and beliefs, and gradually adopted some of them; but Persian lads, from five years old to twenty, were taught only this, 'to ride and to shoot, and to tell the truth'. To be in debt was as disgraceful as falsehood; things unlawful were unmentioned; there were strict rules about contagious disease, and contamination of running water. Persians were moderate in food and drink; but wine was taken deliberately to aid counsel, as *soma* was drunk ceremonially in India. There were neither temples, altars, nor images; meat-offerings were made on hill-tops 'in a clean place', to the vault of heaven, the sun and moon, earth, water, winds, and fire. There was also a deity of life and love, whom Herodotus calls Mitra but confuses with the 'Great Mother' of Western Asia. Already Persians were naming children after him, but it was only later that the cult of Mithra became almost a great religion. The celebrant prayed 'not for himself but for the king and all Persians, of whom he is one', and afterwards reclaimed his offerings for domestic use. The only formality was a hymn sung by a priest. These priests were a peculiar people, who exposed their dead, killed crawling and flying things, worked spells against storm and other evils, and could on occasion conspire politically. The name *magoi* which Herodotus gives them survives when we speak of 'magic' in contrast with religion. Like the *atharvans* of India, these *magoi* seem to betoken some 'mingling with the heathen' and with older cultures; and indeed there are *athrivans* in the Zoroastrian texts. One characteristic trait Herodotus notes, 'of all days a Persian honours his birthday', and from later glimpses of Zoroastrian belief, we can see why this was so.

Iranian and Aryan Religion.

From the same ingenuous worship of the forces of nature,

great and small, Aryans in India, and their *Airya* kinsmen in Iran, had moved in opposite directions towards a philosophy and a creed. Confronted with fierce climate and intractable forest and jungle, and stimulated by tropical sun and endemic fevers to exalted trains of reasoning and fancy, Indian thinkers strove to find in mystical pantheism that 'being' which lies behind appearances, and to attain to union with it by discarding earthly relation with external things. In Iran—where in winter and summer alike the sun's light and warmth are the daily miracle of nature and central experience of life, but where nevertheless it is not often too hot to think with a view to action—the individual is never absolved from intercourse with the outer world, while he is always in communion with a power creative and beneficent, acting among and through the natural order of events. For man too, by invincible analogy, there is no mystery in conduct, but a positive order, with active secular duties clearly apparent: goodness and truth are ends, desirable in themselves, and attainable by fair means—right use of Nature's abundance, and co-operation with congenial men.

In external nature, the chief force is the sun-god *Ahuramazda* (Ormuzd), whose creative energy is reinforced by all beneficent elements, *yezd*, and especially by his forerunner *Mithra*, the morning star; every man too has his guardian-spirit, *fravashi*, like the *genius* of a primitive Roman. But in Iranian nature there are also destructive agencies operated by mischievous *daēvas*, who subserve and reinforce the chief power for evil *Angromanyas* (Ahriman). All these were originally mere nature-powers like the *devas* of India, capable of either good or harm; but in Iran they are contrasted with the kindly helpers of Ormuzd. Thus in the history of nature and society, in future prospect, and (above all) *now*, there is struggle and balance between good and evil: but a buoyant optimism sanctions the Persian's conviction that *good can win*. Good can only win, however—as every highland farmer and herdsman knows—if all good things work together for good. Man, above all, is an essential, indispensable assistant to the God of Good, in virtue of his own Good Will. In Iran, man did not (as in Babylonian magical

theocracy) merely *use* deities, as best he knew how, to ward off evil and do good to himself: here, rather, every good act, on man's part, positively helps the God of Good in his struggle with the world's Evil. Hence the Persian householder's prayer 'not for himself, but for the king and all Persians, of whom he himself is one'. Hence too the simple ideal of Persian education, 'to ride and to shoot and to tell the truth'; to leave wild nature better ordered than he found it—our word for *paradise* is the Persian for well-ordered parkland, a garden planted for the Lord;—above all, to leave the people of Persia better subjects of the 'king of kings'. The product was a nation of boy scouts, happy warriors, wise and tolerant administrators. This naturally puzzled and amused the rationalized and commercialized Greeks; and Cyrus, on his part, had no use (they said) for men who 'had a place where they met daily to cheat each other'. The tragic result of this initial misunderstanding between two of the world's most gifted peoples was two centuries of war, intrigue, and deadlock, until Persian grit and integrity had been sapped by alien vices, and a Greek prince, bred to 'ride and shoot and tell the truth' in Macedon, made himself 'king of kings'.

Zoroaster.

This religious, moral, and philosophical interpretation of older nature-worship and patriarchal habits of life was attributed by the Persians themselves to a personal teacher and reformer, Zoroaster, whose date is disputed, but whose historical character seems certain. By some he is associated with the historical kings Phraortes and Hystaspes (about 635–583 B.C.), within that period of disturbance of which the central fact is the fall of Nineveh and the partition of Assyrian dominions between the Medes and Babylon. Others assign him to considerably earlier periods, about 700 B.C., or even 1000 B.C. In any case, his career, and probably his home, were in eastern Iran, and his teaching spread to the west. It has been suggested that the discrepancies between Aryan and Iranian meanings of *deva* (*daiva*), *asuras* (*ahuras*), and other mythological terms, may have resulted from some schism which drove Aryans eastward and

Iranians to the west from a common home around Nishapur. But all this must be subsequent to those earlier movements from one region of Iran to another, to which (as well as to successive dispersals) there are vague references in the *Vendidad*. Of these the most significant is the tradition that the earliest Iranian migration was from a colder region to the country round Bokhara and Merv, still wholly north of the passes leading to the north-eastern plateau of Iran.

Comparing Aryan and Iranian peoples in the light of such legends—which among pastoral and patriarchal people are easily transmitted for many generations—it is possible to form an estimate of their spread and its significance, which is of the highest value as a clue to events farther north and farther west.

The Northern Iranians.

The peoples, whose invasion of Asia Minor from the north-west shattered the Hittite Empire about 1200 B.C., and temporarily devastated Syria and Palestine, remained in occupation of the plateau of Asia Minor in historic times. The Assyrians, who thrust them back to the Euphrates about 1150 B.C., knew them later as Muski and the Hebrews as Meshech; the Greeks, though they recognized the name Moschoi, called the plateau-folk Phrygians, and had stories about their great king Midas, whom the Assyrians called Mita. In western Asia Minor, however, Phrygian ascendancy ceased with the rise of Lydia about 680 B.C. Of the Phrygians of his own day Herodotus has only to record that they were 'richest in sheep and in grain-crops' of all the peoples he knew. From scanty remains, their language seems to have been of the same eastern group of Indo-european as Iranian and Aryan; and the better-known Armenian language, which replaced a different speech between the ninth and the seventh century, so far confirms Herodotus' statement that the Armenians were 'colonists of the Phrygians', and consequently came from the west.

There were also scattered tribes of Phrygian stock who had never entered Asia Minor, but turned aside into Macedonia; and Greek legend made Pelops, the grandfather of Agamemnon,

a Phrygian adventurer in western Peloponnese, in the generation of 1260 B.C. This was a period when other such 'heroes', who claimed to be 'divine born', and some of whose names do not seem to be Greek, were moving southwards within peninsular Greece and creating for themselves those baronies which, feudally subject to the Pelopid house, fought the Trojan War in the generation of 1200 B.C. against Phrygian cousins on the Asiatic side of the strait. Probably such 'hero' chieftains from the Aegean were among the 'Sea-Raiders' who had been harrying the coast of Libya, the Delta, and Syria, and were defeated along with the 'Land Raiders' by Ramesses III (p. 163).

Of the life of these 'divine-born' adventurers, we have vivid memories in the Homeric poems, which, written in an early but composite dialect of Greek—probably the colloquial speech of their native dependants—reveal a chivalrous, impetuous aristocracy of recent conquerors, whose narrow circle of well-armed 'companions' stands apart from the motley array of local levies who hate the wars and voyages which they have to share with their lords. At home, these chiefs are cattle-ranchers and horse-breeders rather than cultivators; they love their horses and hounds, and in light cars they drive to war and run races. Homeric society, though patriarchal, has a high place for the mistress of the house, who is sometimes the heiress of some older dynasty. But life is simple; queens spin and weave, and their daughters wash the men's clothes. War-captives are enslaved and sold, but are well treated, and may become intimate with their owners. Domestic life centres round the great living-room of the house, with portico opening on to the yard, and louvre-roof on timber shafts above a central hearth. Men live on bread and beef, drink much wine, and grow olives and occasionally other tree-fruits. They make lavish use of gold and silver; bronze is in general use, but iron a rarity. For works of art and objects of luxury, they depend on foreign traders and their own forays. Their gods are fully human, but with traces of origin as nature-powers, 'cloud-compelling', 'high-thundering', 'far-darting'. They are worshipped with burnt offerings and the prayers of the chiefs themselves; though there are holy places with a

priest, temples and images are hardly known; the gods live above the clouds on a mountain peak, but come down among men and speak with them, openly or in disguise. The dead are burned, as in India and early Persia, and their ashes are covered by a mound. The points of resemblance with Indo-iranian society, and of contrast both with later Greek life and with what we know of that Minoan culture (p. 160) that preceded the 'heroic', are obvious, even if Minoan luxury gilds the picture, and if the ruder traits of 'heroic' behaviour have been softened in telling the story among Greeks. What is remarkable is that so different a state of society should have been so wholly accepted as the canon of actual behaviour. In this sense indeed Homer may be called the 'Bible' of the Greeks.

But in historic times the short-lived dynasties of the 'divine-born' were remembered only by epic tradition and the legends of venerable families reputed to be their descendants; the Phrygian settlements in Europe had been almost obliterated by the people whom the Greeks called Thracians, from Aegean coast to Lower Danube, from the Black Sea to the Struma and Morava valleys; and beyond the Marmara too, the Bithynians were known to be 'Thracians in Asia' and recently arrived. Thracian speech has almost perished, but certainly resembled Phrygian, and some personal names were identical. Of fifth-century Thracians, Herodotus gives a lively account. There were many tribes, with caste-distinction between agricultural peasantry and a leisured aristocracy of tattooed warriors, under 'divine-born' kings. They buried their dead under earthen mounds, sometimes cremating them, and celebrated funeral games like those attributed to Pelops the Phrygian at Olympia and celebrated by the 'divine-born' Achilles for Patroclus. In one of these peoples the widow was killed at the tomb; in another, human victims were charged with messages to another world, and death was regarded as a 'release from evil'.

Cimmerians and Scythians.

North of Thrace, on the steppe beyond the Danube, we reach

the advance-guard of the great Scythian people, which had occupied the south Russian grassland from beyond the Don about 700 B.C. When Greek adventurers reached the north shore of the Black Sea, they found there a complicated state of affairs. Numerous more or less sedentary and agricultural peoples, bounded by rivers, marshes, or woodland, were under the general dominion of recently established conquerors, nomad pastoral, but some at least similarly restricted to definite territories. The Greeks applied to the whole country between Danube and Don the name Scythia, and the whole of its vast population they called Scythians, while insisting that genuine Scyths were few. East of the Don lived Sarmatians, a distinct people, with similar habits, hostile to the Scythians, on whom later they began to press severely, eventually conquering them in the second century B.C. The Sarmatians certainly spoke an Iranian language, and probably the Scythians too; but the few known Scythian words are unintelligible, and the dominant horde may have been of some other nomad stock. This is indicated also by the discrepancy between Greek descriptions of Scythians as unlike other folk, beardless and fat, and works of Graeco-Scythian art depicting handsome, active, bearded men, resembling Persians in profile as well as in dress. If there was a Mongol element in a people mainly Northern or Alpine, this contrast of physique would be explained; contemporary Greek *terra-cottas* include Mongol types, and Greek stories of Amazons farther east, looking like women but riding and fighting like men, point the same way.

The Scythian conquerors were said to have arrived from beyond the Don about 700 B.C., in consequence of other movements farther east: and in fact about 800 B.C. the nomad Hiung-nu had been expelled from China, and Assyria began to suffer from nomad raids from north and east about the time of the Scythian invasion. From the steppe west of the Don they expelled the Cimmerians, partly westward across the lower Danube (whence with Thracian help they invaded western Asia Minor and did much damage there between 700 and 650 B.C.); partly eastward through the Koban country and

Caucasus, Scythian hordes themselves following, and devastating the Assyrian empire as far as Palestine for more than a generation. Some Cimmerians later made common cause with the Medes; and some Scythians settled down as vassals of the Medes and later of Persia. Another Cimmerian remnant gave its name to the Crimea, and lasted there long. About a century later there was another inroad from the steppe, through Sogdiana far to the east; but whether these Massagetae were Iranian is not certain. The fair-haired chiefs of the Alani of the fourth century A.D. were believed to be their descendants. There is also archaeological evidence that the Scythian conquests included Transylvania, and that there were raids as far as northern Hungary; another into Thrace reached the Marmara shores about 500 B.C.

The Cimmerian predecessors of the Scyths were certainly of east Indo-european speech, and seem to have been long in occupation of the steppe, since there is no evidence of any break in culture there from about 1600 B.C. Chiefs with Iranian names occur in Thrace, but not before the appearance of the Scythians; they are, therefore, not certainly due to Cimmerian intruders. Now, if Thrace was thus early overrun by an east Indo-european people, this explains the presence before 1200 B.C. of Phrygian invaders with an 'eastern' language in Asia Minor, of Phrygian adventurers in Greece, and Phrygian remnants in Macedonia later (p. 204). But it is difficult to distinguish Cimmerians from Thracians, except geographically, and probably Cimmerians, Thracians, and Phrygians were loosely connected within the same family of peoples.

Beyond the Danube, but west of Scythia, and extending so far westward as to be neighbours of the Veneti (pp. 214-15), Herodotus knows of the Sigynnae, who drive wheeled cars with swift shaggy ponies, wear 'Median dress', and say that they are 'colonists of the Medes'. They should be an advance-guard of Iranian-speaking folk; and the Agathyrsi, westerly neighbours of the Scythians, luxurious, decked with gold, and practising some form of group-marriage, resemble Thracians otherwise. All this corresponds very well with archaeological evidence

from Transylvania, where a long-established pacific people was conquered about 700 B.C. by nomad raiders from the steppe; the many hoards of gold objects which they succeeded in burying (which are a principal source of our knowledge) show by their fashions that wealth and material culture had been coming from the Venetic centres round the Adriatic; but this ancient connexion was broken by the Scythian conquest.

The historical significance of these northern movements is that they reveal a wide westward spread of peoples akin to the Iranians, perhaps from the same cradleland round Bokhara and Merv, but certainly north of the Mountain-zone and the Caspian. The Massagetae, whose invasion of eastern Iran about 530 B.C. cost Cyrus his life, may be a belated and forwarderred aftermath, on the same avenue as the original Iranians themselves, and as the Parthians, under Scythian leadership, three centuries later; and it is not surprising to hear of an important group of tribes on the eastern steppe who bore the name of *Arioi*.

It has been necessary to complete the survey of this eastern group of peoples first, both because it is here alone that we have their own folk-memory of early movements, and because it is only when these movements are understood and discounted, that the more difficult problem of the western Indo-europeans can be solved, or even clearly stated.

The Western Group of Indo-european Languages.

It has already been noted (p. 187) that in the Turfan and Khotan oases of the far-off Tarim basin in central Asia, inscriptions of the eighth century A.D. preserve in two varieties a west Indo-european language to which the name Tocharish has been given, from a people of that region known to Indian geographers as *Tukhāra*, to Chinese as *Tu-hu-la*, and to Greek as *Tocharoi*. How, when, and by whom this language was established here is unknown; and hitherto nothing is known of the antiquities of the region.

We have seen also already (p. 198) that the founders of the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor conserved for official uses a

'scribes' language', of west Indo-european type, but much corrupted and disfigured. As this Hittite régime came into being within the same obscure period as that of the Kassites, Mitanni-folk, and Hyksos, whose leaders at least, and gods, had east Indo-european names, it is unlikely that its founders entered Asia Minor from the east; and the alternative is that they came from the north-west, out of Europe. Approximate dates suggested by their own royal pedigree, and by their raid on Babylon about 1950 B.C., confirm the impression that the destruction of the 'burnt city' at Hissarlik, which is assigned on archaeological grounds to the same period, about 2000 B.C., was an incident of this invasion; especially as it is in the burnt layer that perforated battle-axes of stone become suddenly common. It is the familiar story of victory due to the 'superior weapon'. Can we identify the people who wielded it?

It might be argued that the geographical distribution of perforated axes proves little as to the movements of their possessors: that axes may be traded, as well as lost on a raid. But the materials are significant, as well as the types. If they were traded from a few centres, a few materials should predominate; but the stones are as various as the details of form, in complete contrast with such examples of traded materials as the butter-coloured flints of Grand-Pressigny, widely distributed in western Europe, and the striped flints of Galicia which reached the Baltic coasts. Moreover, the spread of the perforated battle-axe within the Marmara region is no mere local occurrence, but one of the great cultural crises of prehistoric Europe.

Before following this archaeological clue, however, account should be taken of the other marginal regions where varieties of west Indo-european speech became established; of the circumstances of their introduction; and of the modes of life, and outlook on the world, which are found associated with them. It will then be easier to appreciate the arguments by which it is attempted to trace them respectively back towards a common cradle-land.

The Origins of the Greek People.

The geographical distribution of the principal groups of Greek dialects, interpreted by the traditional history, so far as it goes, suggests the following reconstruction of origins for the Greek people. The Dorian dialects only became separated from the Western group when certain highlanders descended into Peloponnese about 1100 B.C., and established themselves there as conquest aristocracies; the same movement intruded other Western dialects into Phocis and other parts of east central Greece, separating the Aeolic-speaking districts Thessaly and Boeotia. Before this 'coming of the Dorians' north Greece in general had spoken Aeolic, and Peloponnese the dialect which was conserved only in Arcadia, and oversea in Pamphylia and Cyprus, but was probably also once spoken in Crete, where tradition makes Greek-speaking folk arrive about 1300 B.C., but where eventual Dorian settlers extinguished all but a few traces of it. In mainland Greece, both Aeolic and Arcadian seem to have become established between 1400 and 1350 B.C.; Ionic, upon whose province these dialects converged as they spread, eventually surviving in Attica, Euboea, and the islands. Ionic seems from its greater vowel-changes to have been longer in contact with the high culture and probably Asianic speech (p. 188) of Minoan peoples in the south Aegean, whose Cretan colonists reached Argolis about 1700 B.C., while Cycladic settlements on the Isthmus, in Attica, and in Euboea were considerably earlier. Ionian folk-memory went back in Attica nearly to 2000 B.C., with traditions of lost territories to north and south. Beyond that, there is nothing on either the linguistic or the literary side. Archaeologically, however, we may go one stage further back.

It will be remembered (p. 157) that the earliest material culture of mainland Greece was composite, and that the principal ingredients were (1) the primitive 'gourd-ware' culture of Asia Minor, expanding round the north shore of the Archipelago, (2) southward elements of the Danubian culture which was itself ultimately derived from the same Asiatic source, (3)

sporadic settlements of immigrants from the 'painted-ware' region between Lower Danube and Dnieper, best and longest represented in the open plains of Thessaly, where the geographical conditions most nearly resemble those of the northern steppe. As similar conditions exist in the central plateau of Asia Minor, and as one of the widely distributed pot-fabrics there is a 'painted ware', it might be argued that Indo-european speech was introduced, both into Asia Minor and into peninsular Greece, by those who brought these 'painted-ware' cultures.

But though in Asia Minor the chronology of the pot-fabrics is still obscure, it is at all events certain that the people who destroyed the 'burnt city' at Hissarlik did not bring 'painted-ware' culture and did bring perforated battle-axes. Now it has been already noted (p. 155) that when the 'painted-ware' culture of Ukraine and Roumania came to its sudden end, the cause was an advance, from beyond the Dnieper, of people who used such battle-axes; they also buried their dead under earthen mounds, coloured their remains with ochre, and furnished them with 'cord-ornamented' pottery. The movements of these 'battle-axe' people will have to be discussed more fully later (p. 232). For the present argument it is sufficient to note that in Macedonia and mainland Greece (where archaeological evidence for relative dates is more definite) the spread of the 'painted-ware' people occurred so much earlier that it is quite unconnected with the movement which brought Indo-european speech, and also perforated battle-axes, into Asia Minor, or with any contemporary introduction of Indo-european speech into Greece. Further, the failure of the bearers of 'painted-ware' culture to establish themselves permanently either in Greece, or in Macedonia, or in Transylvania or Galicia, or any other region bordering on their grassland home, make it unlikely that they were the propagators of so pervasive an instrument of civilization as Indo-european speech.

The fate of the 'painted-ware' people in fact does not concern us. That they are the marginal sedentary counterparts of a very widespread and essentially nomad population seems certain

from their character and distribution; also that they were capable of resuming a migratory existence and finding new homes over great distances. But there is at present nothing to connect them with Indo-european speech. They belong to an older world, of whose languages we know nothing over almost the whole of their vast habitat.

It was, however, about 2000 B.C. or a little later that a quite fresh element, namely the 'Minyan' or 'grey-ware' culture, appears, suddenly, at Orchomenos and other sites in middle Greece, and spreads rapidly and forcibly both northwards into Thessaly (where it superseded a long-established 'painted-ware' régime (p. 159)), and southwards into Peloponnese, to assume there fresh local forms and to combine with colonial Minoans from Crete to create the vigorous and splendid civilization of Mycenae, and other mainland centres, as far north as Thessaly, and as far west as the Ionian islands. The origin of this 'grey-ware' culture is still obscure. Its nearest counterparts dominate the early bronze age of Macedonia, and influence the restored Hissarlik after the burning of the Second City, also about 2000 B.C. If, as has been already suggested (p. 210), that catastrophe was an incident of the arrival of the founders of the Hittite régime, with its west Indo-european official language, these new elements which appear so nearly at the same time in Macedon, and the 'grey-ware' people in Middle Greece, may be regarded as Indo-european speakers likewise.

The ways into peninsular Greece are, however, as difficult and obstructed as the great avenue through Thrace and the Marmara region into Asia Minor is open and easy. Consequently immigrants, however coherent and strongly organized at the outset, are likely to have become more severely disintegrated in Greece than in Asia: this indeed is precisely what happened on two historical occasions, the inroads of the Phrygians and of the Gauls. But while the Hittite conquerors, gaining an empire, became, like the Persians and the Turks, a governing class, and let their 'own' language degenerate into a 'scribes' jargon, small Indo-european clans secluded in the primitive conditions of Macedonian and Hellenic highlands kept their patriarchal

structure, their simple observance of personified nature-powers, and the full grammatical outfit of their speech; losing only (as was to be expected) a large part of their vocabulary, but gradually replenishing it, as they made touch with the Minoanized coast-lands farther south, with the numerous loan-words peculiar to classical Greek. In a region so subdivided and insulated it was to be expected also that their language should fall apart into well-marked groups of dialects, and that those who spoke these dialects should make their way southward, by different routes and on different occasions, into different districts of Aegean seaboard.

Languages of the Adriatic.

Though Greek dialects more or less distinct were spoken on the Aegean side of the peninsula as far north as Macedonia, on the Adriatic side they gave place (in classical as in modern times) to another language in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Ambracia (Arta). In the fifth century B.C. traders coming south 'first met Greeks at Dodona'. In classical times the alien language was Illyrian, dialects of which were spoken as far north as the head of the Adriatic, and by the Veneti in the valley of the Adige; and the place-names show that there was similar speech, Messapian and Iapygian, oversea, in south-eastern Italy. Of this Illyrian family very little is known. It would be natural to regard modern Albanian as its derivative as well as its successor. But Albanian belongs to the *satem*-group, whereas Messapian and Venetic seem to have been western; it is therefore more probably the result of some intrusion; but whether its source was Phrygian, Scythian, or Slavonic, it is not now possible to decide; for Illyria was almost completely repopulated by Gauls in the great movement which brought them to Delphi and founded Asiatic Galatia. Also, whereas Macedonia received very little that was fresh from the North during the early Iron Age except quite at its beginning, Illyria was deeply penetrated by the second phase of Hallstatt culture (about 800 B.C.), and even transmitted Hallstatt elements into Greece. Probably, therefore, any Illyrian counterpart of Venetic and Messapian

had been widely replaced by Celtic, long before the Romans in turn disorganized the Illyrian tribes of their day.

Language and Peoples of Italy.

In Italy no folk-memory survives of the coming of Indo-european speech. Neither in Sicily nor even among the highland Ligurians did any other type of language survive to be recorded in historic times, though some strange place-names remain. North of the Apennines almost all trace of earlier languages was swept away by the Gauls before the end of the fifth century, except a few local dialects in the Alpine valleys, and Venetic between the Adige and the Adriatic. South of the Apennines, Italic languages similarly obliterated everything except the Messapian speech of Apulia, and Etruscan, intruding later from the coast, obliterated in turn Italic speech between the Arno and the upper Tiber. Of these Italic languages, Latin and Faliscan, in the coast-plain around the lower Tiber, retain *q*-sounds, and their tribe-names mostly end in *-ci* as in *Hernici*, *Falisci*. The Sabines and the numerous tribes of the central highland replace *q* by *p*; their tribe-names end in *-ni*, and they seem to have given similar names to lowland neighbours, *Romani* and *Latini*. The boundary between the two groups lay in historic times along the Tiber as far down as its junction with the Anio; then skirted the foot-hills south-eastward; but before these hills reach the coast at Circeii, the Pomptine marshland, in spite of the *-ci* name of the Volsci, seems to have been overrun by highlanders. But as Ferentinum and Tarracina are the outermost of the *-ni* place-names, this encroachment was recent.

Whereas, in Greece, immigrants from the north had to traverse in small communities some two hundred miles of small-featured highland, avenues into peninsular Italy from the Middle Danube are easy and the watershed passes short: the Apennine barrier also nowhere consists of more than one dividing ridge. Within the peninsula, too, except in the more rugged parts of the central highland, the natural districts are large and fairly well connected. In the Po valley, the physical

conditions of a *terramara* settlement (p. 174) enforced a strict social order, and made organized colonization the remedy for inevitable overcrowding. The traditional explanation of the Sabellian occupation of the highlands by the dedicated offspring of a 'sacred spring'—men and cattle alike—and the procedure for establishing a Roman colony are vivid examples of such propagation. Within these close-knit communities, the patriarchal family, and the *gens* and the *curia* composed of such families more or less directly blood-related, maintained their primitive structure and habits far into historic times. The Roman *paterfamilias*, like the Persian house-father, had power of life and death over his household; the Roman *matrona*, though legally 'in the hand' of her husband after marriage, as she had been 'in the hand' of her father before, had her own high social position, private responsibilities, and even her own worship of the 'Good Goddess' shared by women alone. The marriage formula, *ubi tu Caius, ego Gaia*, links Italic 'consorts' with the Vedic pair of 'house-rulers'.

Italic economy was the simple combination of cattle-keeping with grain-agriculture, characteristic of Indo-European societies. Wealth (*pecunia*) was reckoned in cattle (*pecus*), which included sheep and goats as well as oxen, and made the large use of pigs that the forests of oak, chestnut, and beech invited; at certain sacrifices (*suovetaurilia*) pig, sheep, and ox were offered together. The sacred geese, whose warning cry saved Rome, are a memory of the old marsh-life of the Po valley, like the 'bridge-building' function of the highest priest (*pontifex*), the pile-built *pons sublicius* over the Tiber at Rome, the reserved space (*templum*) for worship and divination within the settlement, the simple but effective defences (*vallum*) of ditch, earthen mound, and palisade; perhaps also the four-square planning of each block of tenements (*insula*).

Though the Romans, and apparently other Italic communities observed certain greater powers, sufficiently like some of the Olympian gods of Greece to be identified or confused with them in later days, the greater part of their religious beliefs were concerned with innumerable aspects (rather than personifica-

tions) of natural order and also of human life. While Vertumnus guided the fickle wind, Priapus made gardens thrive, and Epona looked after the horses; Janus guarded the street door and the town gate, Vesta the hearth, and the Penates the store-cupboard. Each was worshipped, as was their due, by the *pater familias* with proper aid from each member of the *familia*. As in Persia, each man and woman had a guardian *genius*; and, similarly, each function of daily and seasonal routine, harvest, vintage, and seed-time, had its ceremonial and magical hallowing, in *Cerealia*, *Vinalia*, *Saturnalia*. A loose trinity of more personal deities, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, presided over public affairs: Juno, Minerva, and Ceres were vaguely goddesses, but not the consorts of any god. Among Italic peoples there had come neither Brahman nor Magian, to reduce such beliefs and observances to a system; no Zoroaster, no Homer, no Moses. Easily and without grave crisis, in their higher affairs as in their daily round, very primitive peoples had felt, rather than found, their way somehow into this farmer's paradise, the *terra di lavoro*.

Can we now trace back the people who spoke these languages, with the help of archaeological evidence? (p. 173). East of the Tiber valley, and of Rimini where the Apennines reach the Adriatic shore, the primitive custom of earth-burial remained universal until historic times. West of this line, cremation was as universal, among four peoples of related culture: the *terra-mara*-people between the Po-marshes and the Apennines; the Villanova-peoples on dry ground round Bologna and elsewhere along the north slope of the Apennines, widely settled also south of the Apennines to the west coast between Arno and Tiber and south of the Tiber as far as the Alban Hills; the Veneti and kindred peoples between the eastern Alps, the head of the Adriatic, and the valley of the Adige; and a group of more scattered communities best represented round Lake Como (but found also sparsely among the Ligurian population of the upper Po valley) which continued to practise inhumation.

It is generally agreed that all these cremating peoples came, as their general culture indicates, from beyond the eastern

Alps, and long continued to develop their principal crafts in close intercourse with the Middle Danube. The Villanovans appear round Bologna, the Veneti at Este, and their counterparts round Como, in or about the eleventh century B.C. The *terramara*-people had been established some hundreds of years earlier, and disappear suddenly about the same time as the Villanovans appear. There has therefore naturally been controversy, whether the Villanovans were the direct successors of the *terramara*-people, merely transferred to dry-land surroundings, or were a fresh body of new-comers from beyond the passes, as some elements in their earlier culture suggest. Similar questions arise also as to the relation of the cultures of Este and Como to the *terramara* régime. But whether there was continuity of population or no, certainly some very strong fresh influence must be presumed, to account for so complete a shift of abode and habit of life, and for the changes in industries and arts which accompany it.

Before the establishment of the *terramara* settlements, no important crisis had occurred in the culture of northern Italy since the coming of the 'bell-beaker' folk (p. 171), and the introduction of metal-working, which was probably due to them, but certainly did not lead to disturbance of peoples or settlements. Either, then, Indo-european speech must have been in use here for a very long period—and there are some who seem prepared to accept this alternative—or its introduction must be due to one or other of the cremating peoples.

In this connexion, the relation between the *terramara* people and the Villanovans has obviously further importance. Were there, that is to say, two separate and successive immigrations, one about 1000 B.C., the other considerably earlier? or only one, at that earlier date? And if two, which of these invaders brought Indo-european speech?

The problem is complicated by the distinction between Italic dialects such as Latin and its neighbour Faliscan, which retain *q* unchanged, and the numerous Sabellian dialects in the central highlands, which substitute *p*, like some of the Celtic languages. For it happens that Latin and Faliscan were spoken within the

region where cremation was practised, whereas the Sabellian highlands lay outside it. That dialects akin to Latin were once spoken elsewhere in the cremation-area is probable, but cannot be proved, because in historic times Etruscan was spoken from the Tuscan shore to the Apennines, and Celtic from the Apennines to the frontiers of the Veneti. As, however, the Veneti spoke a language related to Italic (as well as to the Illyrian language beyond the Adriatic) and do not seem to have replaced *q* by *p*, similar speech may reasonably be supposed to have been in earlier use in the Celtic and Etruscan districts. Traces of Indo-european names for places and persons in the Ligurian province to the westward may be ascribed wholly or in part to the scattered settlements of Como-people.

But the distribution of *p*-using dialects through so large a part of the inhumation area still needs explanation. Roman tradition ascribed the whole spread of Sabellian tribes through the central highland to the initiative of their own neighbours the Sabines, up the Tiber valley; and certainly throughout the centuries from 1000 B.C. to 700 B.C., when Villanovan culture was spreading from the Apennine passes to its southern limit in Latium, those highland districts not only retained their custom of burial, but were remarkably indifferent to every element of Villanovan culture, and at the same time actively receptive of arts and crafts from across the Adriatic and around its head. That the highlanders of Umbria and Picenum also spoke at this time a language from overseas, like the lowland Messapians farther south, is probable, but positive evidence is very slight. It is, however, not necessary to assume that Sabellian speech was introduced here before the quite late expansion of the Sabines, which took the cremation-peoples in flank, and filled the highland with new clans.

It remains still to discover the cause of this Sabine expansion, which was to produce such profound effects on the distribution of languages, cultures, and eventually of political power in middle Italy. The recurrence of precisely the same substitution of *p* for *q* in certain Celtic languages, including that of the Gauls who occupied most of the Po valley in the fifth and late sixth

centuries, offers a clue. For whereas the Villanovan expansion took place before the coming of the Etruscans into Etruria, the Cisalpine Gauls found Etruscans strongly posted in front of the Apennine passes, and further movement southward had to be by another route. The Senones made permanent settlement between Adriatic and Apennine, as far as Ancona, in what the Romans knew as the *Ager Gallicus*; and as this district has direct access to the upper Tiber over the pass followed afterwards by the Flaminian Way, the whole Sabine frontage of the central highlands lay open to Gallic adventure. It has been observed that in the Sabellian imprecations found at Iguvium, in the head-waters of the Tiber, the list of enemy peoples does not include Gauls, though their frontier lay but a few miles up stream; and it must be noted also that it was by this same avenue that the Gaulish raid reached Rome in 390 B.C.

As Gaulish tribe-names in *-ni*, such as *Clenomani*, are not uncommon, this feature of the Sabellians of middle Italy may also be of Celtic origin.

Italic and Celtic Origins.

From the character of their material culture, so closely resembling that of the Middle Danube early in the bronze age, it is certain that the creators of the *terramara* settlements came from that region. Similar settlements—some actually lake-dwellings, others timber-framed on dry ground, others again released (like the Villanovan culture) from these traditional limitations—are found distributed along the whole northern frontage of the Alps; examples are Altheim in Upper Bavaria, Aichbühl in Switzerland, and the settlements of Michelsberg type along the Upper Rhine. Their spread seems to have been occurring about 2000 B.C., an epoch which we have frequent occasion to note as one of profound disturbances. To trace the fortunes of these folk of the Alpine foot-hills, and of their contemporaries in the main avenue of the Upper Danube, would exceed the limits of this survey. It is sufficient here to note that whatever correlation has been effected here, between Danubian cultures and Italic languages, presumably has its counterpart

north of the Alps in respect to the Celtic languages which predominate there, and eventually west of the Rhine.

Germanic Peoples in Central Europe.

It was not on the Rhine, but by the north-eastern avenue into the Po valley, that civilized men first made the acquaintance of Teutons, associated with Cimbri as invaders from somewhere farther east. Of the Cimbri a little more is known. Between 113 B.C., when they attempted to enter Italy from the north-east, and their destruction at Aix in Provence in 103, they harried central and western Europe from Bohemia to Spain, living and travelling in wagons, like the Sarmatians of the trans-Carpathian steppe, who were certainly Iranian; and much has been written to show that the Cimbri were belated Cimmerians. But while the Teutoni may have been Teutonic, their associates, the Tigurini and Ambrones, were certainly Gauls. Two generations later, in 58 B.C., it was an inroad similarly invited by malcontent Gauls that confronted Rome with the problem of a Rhine-frontier already transgressed in several places, and of a 'Belgic' Gaul recently conquered and partly occupied by 'Germans'. Cimbri survived later in Jutland, where perhaps Himber-yssel preserves their name, and Thyths-yssel that of the Teutoni.

Caesar briefly describes 'German' tribes as quite different from Gauls, 'not fond of agriculture', eating milk, cheese, and flesh, organized in tribes and clans, precariously cultivating territory for one year at a time, and then moving on at the bidding of their chief. Much of their country was evidently unoccupied. The *Germania* of Tacitus, about A.D. 98, confirms this, and adds instructive details. Physically the Germans are large-built, ruddy, and blue-eyed. Their wealth is in cattle, they sacrifice white horses, which have a ceremonial car, and give omens; ordinary horses are ridden to war. Their deities inhabit groves, but have no images; most of them are male, and some resemble Roman objects of worship, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Hercules, and the Heavenly Twins; but there is an Earth-Mother, and another Goddess in some way resembling Isis. In

one distant sanctuary a goddess has an ox-car, iron is taboo, and there are human sacrifices. Germans have no cities, and their villages, timber-built and whitewashed, are sparse and widely separated. They eat game and wild fruits as well as meat and milk-products; but the southern observer noted the short-horn cattle, and lack of orchards. They brew beer, and, like the Persians, value drink as an aid to counsel. They burn their dead, with horse and weapons, and cover the grave with a mound. Chiefs are hereditary, war-leaders elected; priests have judicial and even political functions, conducting the mass-meeting, besides which there is a council of elders. Local affairs are regulated by a chief and a hundred-court. Women practice agriculture, and high prices are paid for brides; but their domestic status is high, and their advice and encouragement are valued.

Some German tribes, especially in the forested highlands, were war-like, adventurous, owners of serfs and slaves; others in the northern plain were peaceable, honest, dull, and the victims of conquest and oppression. The Gothini in the central highland spoke Gaulish and worked iron-mines; on the Baltic shore amber was collected and traded, but not used; in the south, silver coins were coming into use, from the Venetic tribes about the head of the Adriatic. But those other 'Venedi', wholly east of the German home-lands, seem to have been Wends, like the Sclavonians who harried the easternmost Germans, and resembled the Bastarnae of the steppe.

In all this, the points of resemblance with Aryan and Iranian society are obvious. But the German peoples had been through the harder training of an austere climate among forests and swamp, and a long period of insecurity and violence, which had militarized their institutions and even their womenfolk. They were being pressed westward by Iranians off the steppe, and by Wends and Slavs; to the north-east lay people who had little iron and 'used clubs', perhaps a glimpse of the Baltic 'battle-axe' cultures; further off still are the Finns, in a bone-age misery almost Tasmanian, and others, fur-gloved and fur-shod, 'whose face only is human'. Northward, in isles and promontories, the stricter rule of the chiefs over abject commoners suggests Viking

thralldom, and adventurers isolated among savages. Southward, more cultured Illyrians and Gaulish peoples held the Germans at bay along the Danube, eventually with Roman help; and there were Celtic communities here and there, such as the Gothini, as there were coming to be Germans among the Gauls. Only westward across the Rhine was there outlet for adventurers who loved plunder better than ploughing, and from whom was hid the mineral wealth of their fatherland; for where there was iron, the language was Gaulish, a survival of Hallstatt conditions.

This picture of central Europe within a century of the Christian Era prepares us for the sequel, when Roman frontier defences, so skilfully planned, so pertinaciously held, gave way at last, and German peoples repeated, for a period of five hundred years, over a like range of territory, the conquests and settlements of the Celts.

Celtic Peoples.

It is more difficult to form a clear picture of Celtic-speaking folk, from ancient descriptions, than of the Germans. Vaguely seen afar from Greek lands in the fifth century B.C., transalpine Europe seemed full of 'Celts' as far as the Pyrenees. Into the Po valley 'Gauls' had poured in great numbers early in the sixth century, apparently both from the Danube basin and from the Rhine: some of these 'Cisalpine' Gauls bear the same names as occur among the tribes between Rhine, Rhône, and Ocean. A similar movement about 400 B.C. forced the Apennine barrier, burned Rome, and spent itself in the highlands and the south, furnishing mercenaries to Greek cities such as Tarentum and Syracuse, and even to Carthage. Alexander's farthest reconnaissance beyond Illyria brought him face to face with Gauls; and a generation later a mixed Gaulish and Illyrian invasion harried Macedon and Thessaly, reaching Delphi in 279 B.C., while the main body swept on through Thrace and the Marmara region, and ravaged Asia Minor as far as the Taurus, eventually occupying the 'Galatian' districts of the plateau, which had before been Phrygian. Probably the 'Celto-Scythians' north of

the Black Sea result from this or a similar movement; but the phrase is used vaguely, of ill-explored country, and the survival of Tocharish (p. 209) much farther afield shows how western nomads and adventurers could wander. Westward, too, there were 'Celt-Iberians' throughout northern Spain, though even north of the Pyrenees Aquitania as far as the Garonne was not Gaulish, nor were the Ligurians of Savoy. Farther north, it was long before Gauls and Germans were clearly distinguished by Roman writers, as we have seen. The physical contrast of both with Mediterranean visitors blurred the differences of language and culture between them; and while there were Gaulish place-names in the Danube valley and in Westphalia, Ariovistus was by no means the first German to cross the Rhine.

The marked contrast noted by Caesar throughout Gaul between aristocracies and commoners confirms and extends this impression, that there had been wholesale migration and conquest in the recent past, and archaeological evidence amply corroborates it.¹ Taking all sources of information into account, we may safely assign the whole of the La-Tène phase of the Iron Age, in central and western Europe, to Gaulish or Celtic-speaking peoples, and probably much of the earlier Hallstatt culture. Beyond that, the linguistic equivalent of the splendid Bronze Age culture of Hungary remains difficult to assign, because so much of it is common to the northern coast-plain and Scandinavia; but it is difficult to suppose that the transition from this to the first Iron Age, so gradual in many respects, was accompanied with any serious replacement of population. It was a period, rather, of peace and easy intercourse, irrespective of language or allegiance, and the sources of its culture lay to the south-east.

On the other hand, the Lausitz culture (p. 239), spreading from its Bohemian cradle-land, and dominating rather than superseding what it found in the Danubian regions, in the central highland, and in the northern coast-plain, presents points of likeness to the distribution of that great group of German tribes whom Caesar and Tacitus call the Suevi, with their

¹ See R. E. Mortimer Wheeler's Essay, Vol. II.

numerous subdivisions and dependants, and traditional centre of origin between Oder and upper Elbe. South of the 'Hercynian Forest' (which is the Roman geographers' name for the central highland) a great Gaulish tribe, the Volcae, may have provided Germans with the general name *Wälsch*, which they applied to all those southern neighbours whom the Greeks called *Keltae* or *Galatae*, and the Romans *Galli*. Other Danubian Gauls seem to have occupied Bohemia, which takes its name *Boiohaemum* from the Boii, some of whom went south into the Po valley, and others into Asiatic Galatia: probably their conquest of Bohemia was part of the same movement.

Origins of the Slav and Baltic Peoples.

Latest of all the greater Indo-european groups, to be mentioned in literary sources, is that which includes the Slavs and the Baltic peoples—Prussians, Lithuanians, and Letts. In the first century A.D. Pliny and Tacitus refer to *Venedi* (*Veneti*, *Wends*): Ptolemy places them along the Vistula. About A.D. 550 Jordanes describes *Slaveni* and *Antes* (perhaps *Wends* again) together with *Venetae* between the Vistula, the Dniester, the Danube delta, and the Dnieper. Procopius knows of Slavs in Brandenburg in 512, and by 584 they had overrun Greece. Where they are first described, they lay between the related Baltic peoples and the Scythians of the steppe, in country partly wooded but chiefly marsh. Within this homeland are ochre-graves, cist-graves with cremation, and urn-fields such as are abundant farther west. The older the graves the more purely 'northern' are their occupants; and as the whole region lay on the border of two distinct provinces of 'battle-axe' culture, at the beginning of its archaeological record, yet had never been overrun either by the mixed northern tribes from the west, or from the south-east by Scythians, it may be inferred that, as the Slav and Baltic languages are fundamentally of east Indo-european type, they are descended from a north-westerly counterpart of the Thracian and Phrygian movement to the south-west. Only whereas the Thracians penetrated into mountainous though fairly habitable regions, and the Phrygians

found another steppe in Asia Minor, with its margin of cornland and sheepwalk, the ancestors of the Slavs and Baltic peoples found themselves penned in between Germans, Scythians, and Finns, in the most inhospitable backwood of Europe; and, further, were for centuries subject, like a large part of the Scythians, to the conquests and dominion of the Goths, from the northern coast-plain. It was, however, in the course of the Gothic domination, and partly as a result of its devastations, that Slav tribes were able to extend their occupation into better lands. These their arduous experiences enabled them to cultivate thriftily, like the modern Scots, and to encroach persistently on less industrious neighbours. This slow, steady, almost imperceptible spread has been characteristic of Slav history throughout, and their gradual change of physique from 'northern', in the earliest graves of their cradle-land, to more or less 'alpine' in historic times results from persistent absorption of previous occupants.

'Nordic' Indo-europeans, and the Theory of Scandinavian Origin.

We have now surveyed all the principal groups of Indo-european-speaking peoples in Europe, as they first appeared on the border of historic civilization; and we have been brought round at last to the Slavs and Baltic peoples, on the northern flank of that east Indo-european group with which we began, and of which the proximate cradle at all events is the eastern half of the northern grassland, between the Caspian Sea and the high plateaux of central Asia and Iran. Somewhere west of this, then, lay the 'home' or 'homes' of the west Indo-european group. How far is it possible to trace and define their place of origin more closely?

Many philologists and archaeologists, especially in central Europe, had formerly been brought by their respective lines of inquiry to the belief that the distribution and migrations of early types of culture in continental Europe were consistent with the theory that Indo-european speech originated in Scandinavia, or round the shores of the Baltic. Briefly, their argument has been as follows:

The earliest human occupants of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were the maritime fishers and shell-gatherers of the kitchen-middens' and the platform-builders of Maglemose and other fresh-water lakes and morasses, secluded from the south by dense forest, and perpetuating the miserable existence of a hunting remnant under pluvial conditions. Among these aborigines came the seafaring builders of rude-stone monuments; it is generally agreed, by way of the Atlantic coasts. As the megalith-builders had hoe-agriculture and cattle, at home in the south, they may be presumed to have introduced these elements of culture, and also those views and practices in regard to the dead, of which cromlechs and passage-graves are the expression. It is agreed also that Scandinavian and Baltic-coast peoples, thus civilized, spread, both coastwise and up-stream, over the north German plain, as far as Silesia and Galicia, where they replaced or conquered peoples of Danubian culture (p. 155). At Nosswitz a 'northern' village overlies a 'Danubian' settlement; at Jordansmühl, also in Silesia, the same cemetery includes both kinds of graves.

That this stage was not reached very early is clear from the 'Danubian' remains, which are only of the 'second' stage of that culture (p. 155): and a first difficulty arises here from the very high dates to which 'northern' remains in general must be assigned, if they are to be ancestral to the cultures which it has been proposed to derive from them in central and south-eastern Europe.

It has had also to be supposed that the slab-lined graves for separate interments, each covered by a mound—which have a much wider distribution than the communal 'megalithic' burial-chambers—are derived from them, in accord with some change of belief; and also that certain fashions of 'cord-ornamented' pottery, and other objects such as necklaces of perforated teeth, and in particular the battle-axes of perforated stone, came into being, locally and spontaneously, on the Baltic coast-lands: for it is admitted that none of these were brought up the Atlantic seaboard. It is this distinct culture of the 'battle-axe' people over which there has been keenest controversy.

Now in the interior of Jutland these 'separate graves', with their 'cord-ornamented' pottery and battle-axes, lie apart from the contemporary 'passage-graves' of the coast, and seem to have checked their spread. If the battle-axe people were aboriginals, how did they acquire or develop their peculiarities? Further, how are these people in Jutland related to folk of similar culture in south Sweden, Thuringia, and Finland? For those regional varieties of battle-axe, in particular, are not explained by adaptations of Jutland forms, but appear all to have been independently and locally specialized from remoter prototypes. Further, the subsequent wide spread of battle-axe folk, the supersession, even in north Germany and Sweden, of megalith-builders and aboriginals alike, by this aggressive culture, and the frequent, though not invariable, association of 'northern' types of man with battle-axe sites and graves, makes it certain that we have to do with a widespread movement of peoples, enabled by their superior weapon, and the distinctive organization indicated by their individual graves, to dominate and exploit others. What is not at first sight clear is how this very well-marked breed, with its long limbs, long skulls, and long faces, came to be in Jutland, or Sweden, or Finland, or Thuringia at all; and if it spread outwards from Jutland, why the battle-axe culture took the routes that it did. For while the directer ways up the Elbe and the Saale were still unexplored, battle-axe folk like those of Silcsia had passed through Moravia into the head-waters of the Elbe from the east; others reached the eastern Alps, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Neuchatel, Geneva, and the lake dwellings; others again penetrated into North Italy, among the *terramara* folk. For all this, they are presumed to have wandered round two or even three sides of the Saxon and Bohemian highlands. Rather later, burial-mounds with cists, 'cord-ornamented' pottery, and battle-axes appear in the Rhine valley among the quite different settlements of the Michelsburg culture. Hence, in turn, mixed with broader-built folk, they moved downstream and oversea into Britain, bringing 'round-barrow' burial with them: in the Netherlands they made an end of the old megalith-builders. A similar

movement eastward from Jutland, but passing farther north, has been proposed, to account for the Fatyanovo culture of the upper Volga, with its slab-lined graves, battle-axes resembling Danish types, and Swedish-looking pottery: and as there are connecting links in Finland and East Prussia, later Viking adventures again afford a close analogy.

Difficulties in the Theory of Northern Origin.

But all these distributions, though not incompatible with expansion from the far north-west, would be more easily and coherently explained if the source were further east. Moreover, the initial difficulty of accounting for the spontaneous generation of either 'northern' man, or perforated battle-axes, or cord-ornamented pottery, or necklaces of perforated teeth, in the far north-west, is appreciably increased by the presence of very numerous cist-graves covered by mounds, over a wide region of the grassland between the Caucasus, the Caspian and Volga, and the lower course of the Don. These *kurgan* burials are of many periods, the sequence of which is well established by the contents of the graves. That they go back very far is inferred from the close coincidence of their earlier distribution with that of a 'microlith' culture, elsewhere one of the latest phases of the old hunting and food-collecting régime (p. 101). Moreover, like the people of this and even earlier ages, the *kurgan* folk covered their dead with red ochre, probably a pathetic attempt to conserve the life of the deceased with a substitute for blood. The occupants of the 'ochre-graves' are tall and long-headed, with low forehead and prominent brow-ridges, narrow nose, and upright profile. They were pastoral folk, but also grew grain, which was placed with flesh-food on the graves. They seem to have been nomad, for while no settlements have been found, a clay model of a hut on wheels has been discovered in one of their graves. East of the Sea of Azov, burial-mounds of enormous size, and richly furnished, contain objects sufficiently resembling Sumerian metal-work to be dated about 2500 B.C.; and these are certainly far from the beginning of the series. Once again, if this steppe culture is to be derived from that of

the Baltic coast-plain, very high antiquity has to be assigned to the latter.

Farther north, the contents of the chambered mounds become poorer; metal objects become rare; ovoid stone mace-heads however, of Mesopotamian forms, are frequent, and perforated axes of stone; and the pots cease to copy Sumerian wheel-made forms, and resemble more closely the 'cord-ornamented' wares of Europe. Up the Volga, even the poorer *kurgans* become rarer, but they reach the margins of the Fatyanovo culture (p. 229) and exchange its products with their own.

What is most significant is the distribution of the perforated axes and hammer-axes in stone, from the Caucasus and Hissarlik to Jutland, and especially the close similarity of certain types. Nor is this all. The pottery of the stone-lined graves in the Koban country is of the same style and technique as the 'globular amphorae' of Pomerania, Galicia, and the Elbe and Saale basins; the 'cord-ornamented' ware is closely similar in Thuringia and in Jutland; the mode of interment in contracted posture under a mound is uniform; and the physical type of the 'ochre-grave' people is approximately the same as in these early graves in Thuringia. The persistence of mound-burial into medieval times in many parts of Russia indicates that the culture to which this custom belongs is deep-seated here.

As it is not at present possible to date accurately either the earlier 'ochre-graves', or the separate cists of Jutland, priority cannot be proved directly. Metal battle-axes cast with a shaft-hole were in use at Kish and Ur so early, and remained so characteristic there, that they offer no precise point of departure either for perforated axes of stone, or for the similar and certainly much later battle-axes of copper in Hungary. They do, however, make it improbable that the copper axes of the north were copied from local stone types, and likely that they began as improvised substitutes for copper axes of Sumerian origin, in a region to which these were certainly being traded, namely, the steppe-margin north of Caucasus. For if the perforated-stone weapon had been invented independently twice, in the Caucasus and in Jutland, there is no reason why it should not have been

invented again also in the Mediterranean cultures, where in fact it is not found, except along a few recognized avenues from the north. The argument for the dependence of the Hungarian and also the Scandinavian battle-axes on the steppe-types and their Sumerian models is thus a serious one; and there are intermediate links across the long intervals from both of these cultures to the demonstrated source north of the Caucasus.

Alternative Theory of Eastern Origin.

After stating the theory of a northern origin, which is supported by much weight of authority, and formulating certain difficulties which it raises, it is proper to submit an alternative and more comprehensive survey of this difficult question as a whole, tracing the course of events backwards from the margin of historic times.

About 700 B.C. the Scythians, an 'east Indo-european', if not specifically Iranian people, spread westwards across the Don, overran the whole steppe, penetrated the Carpathians, and disorganized an ancient and prosperous culture in Transylvania, throwing forward advance-parties even farther west, into the Hungarian plain. The Cimmerians, and other northerly peoples of the Thracian group, thus attacked, moved partly south-eastward through Caucasus into Armenia and beyond, partly south-westward into Thrace, and so through the Marmara region into western Asia Minor. It can hardly be overlooked that the easiest line of retreat from Transylvania was westward, into the Danube valley; that such a movement could not have occurred on any large scale without displacing the inhabitants of that region; and that in fact from the beginning of the seventh century onwards such a movement occurred, namely, the irruption of the Gauls into north-eastern Italy, disorganizing in turn the highly civilized Veneti, whose characteristic craftsmanship gives place about 500 B.C. to a style mainly founded on Etruscan and Ionian Greek models. As the devastation of Transylvania occurred at the close of the first period of the Italo-Hallstatt culture,¹ and an earlier crisis, presumably due to Cimmerian and Thracian pressure, separates the fourth and fifth

¹ See R. E. Mortimer Wheeler's Essay, Vol. II.

periods of the Hungarian Bronze Age (about 1000 B.C.), all this series of events is approximately dated archæologically. It has historical significance, not only as establishing for a long period these 'eastern' peoples and languages so far to the west, but because this in turn provides a secure starting-point for our inquiry:—What was the distribution of culture and speech, on the grassland and beyond it, before this crisis?

Steppe Culture, Mound-burials, and Battle-axes.

To this question the answer is in essentials simple. West of the Dnieper over the whole of the steppe, across the Carpathians into Siebenburgen, and along their foot-hills north-westward through Galicia into Moravia, the ancient 'painted-ware' culture (p. 115) had flourished, until it was destroyed by the westward expansion of the people whose burial-mounds, with ochre-covered skeletons, perforated battle-axes, and 'cord-ornamented' pottery had already characterized for long the wide region between the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Dniester. Out on this grassland, these tribes were necessarily nomad, and their culture lowly. But nearer the Caucasus the rainfall has always been greater, the streams more constant, woodland and especially fruit-bearing trees abundant; and in the Caucasus itself, and beyond it, were some of the earliest sources of copper, silver, and in later ages also of iron. Here at Maikop in the foot-hills, and elsewhere, stately chamber tombs under larger mounds with rich equipment including many slaughtered men and horses, mark the head-quarters of chiefs who were rich and powerful, however barbaric. The place assigned to their horses, in life as in death, marks them as steppe-folk who have mastered the foot-hills, and probably held and exploited the passes, through which came products of a very early metal-using culture which was in touch with Sumeria and predynastic Egypt, but of which the centre, somewhere within the Mountain-zone, is not yet known. At Maikop the burial is in a large chamber lined with wood and richly furnished with vessels of gold and silver, and copper weapons. Some of the silver vessels are engraved with landscape and animals, includ-

ng lion, bear, and wild horse, probably therefore of local design, from some district where forest passes over into steppe. The age of these designs has been disputed, but recent discoveries at Kish and other Sumerian sites makes it probable that they should be dated about 2500 B.C. As similar engraved work, in a similar foot-hill burial-mound, has been found at Asterabad beyond the Caspian, the conditions were apparently the same along the whole south margin of the grass-land. At Maikop, and in other rich burials, copper eyelet-pins, lance-heads, perforated axe-heads, and concave chisels, all of Mesopotamian types, are mixed with flint arrow-heads, and copper vessels with globular pots 'cord-ornamented' like those of Galicia, Pomerania, and Saxony, as well as of 'ochre-graves' on the steppe.

Among other objects of copper from beyond Caucasus came to these foot-hill chiefs a terrible weapon, a long-bladed axe of which the butt had once been lapped round the shaft, and then this securest of haftings had been perpetuated in a solid casting, into which the handle was firmly thrust through a shaft-hole. Among nomad users, the back of this perforated butt-end served as a hammer to drive tent-pegs or split logs, or as a fighting mace. It was a further improvement to give the weapon double usefulness by casting beyond the shaft-hole an intentional hammer-face, or a second axe-blade, or a transverse adze.

Not every one, even near the source of supply, could afford such master-weapons; but they were imitated, sometimes very closely, in hard stone, and simpler forms became quite common. They cannot, however, anywhere be regarded as independent of those metallic models, which are sometimes found in company with quite primitive-looking examples in stone. In districts more remote from the sources of supply and inspiration, and offering various sorts of material for such imitations in stone, it need not surprise us that the perforated axes assume very different local forms, 'facetted', 'polygonal', 'boat-shaped', 'rhomboidal', and the like, the distributions of which intercross in a perplexing way suggestive of nothing so much as the erratic movements of marauding nomads. To the upper waters of the Volga, however, to Finland along the Baltic shore, and to

Jutland by way of Galicia, Silesia, and the north German plain, there are fairly well-marked lines of drift, only partly confused by reverse movements of some of the more specialized types.

Frequently, perforated axes are found in the 'separate graves', which likewise vary locally, but retain general resemblance to the simpler and older ones of south Russia. These also are widely distributed, as far as the Fatyanovo sites on the upper Volga, and Jutland in the west.

The pottery of the 'separate graves' is also characteristic, round-bodied, without handles or spouts, and decorated with impressions of cords, straight or closely twisted. By comparing the local varieties of this 'cord-ornamented' ware, it has been established recently that the fashion originated and attained a certain maturity on the south Russian steppe, and then spread in two main directions, one more northerly, through Poland and the north German plain into Thuringia and Jutland, the other westerly through central Europe. These 'separate' graves of north-west Europe have also in common with south Russia peculiar hammer-headed pins, cylindrical beads of bone, and other ornaments. In the Danish graves the skeletons are not ochre-stained as in Russia, but this custom recurs sporadically in north Germany and in the Elbe-Saale basin.

From this manifold evidence it is now safe to conclude that the people of the 'separate graves' and 'battle-axes' spread from the south Russian steppe to the Baltic and to central Germany, not in the reverse direction.

Cultures and Climates in Continental Europe.

A further consideration is suggested by the variations of climate. During the centuries about 2500-2000 B.C. warmer and drier seasons thinned the northern forests, and opened the passes between the north German plain and the Danubian regions; and the same causes, producing even more notable effects on the passes over the Alps, help to synchronize movements of culture otherwise almost unconnected. It was in these favourable conditions that the sedentary megalith-builders spread eastward coastwise and also up-stream along the Elbe and the Oder.

but they went no farther: some obstacle confronted them. What this was is shown by the distribution of distinct varieties of the battle-axe culture, barring the coast plain from the Gulf of Riga to the Bug and the Pripet marsh, and barring also access to the mountain regions, from the Bug to the Oder and beyond. These battle-axe folk had already encountered and mixed with more sedentary people, characterized by globular flasks with a collar round the neck instead of a handle. As the prototype in which the collar secures the handle is only found in Poland, and passes with handle and no collar spread north with the Second Danubian culture, it is easy to understand the gradual disappearance even of the collar, as this fashion spread among the megalith-builders into Denmark. It is clearly not from the megalith-builders that we can expect essential contributions to the new cultures which were to grow up in central or eastern Europe. At most a few individuals, far-wandered to the slopes of the Caucasus, were buried there in megalithic tombs imitated from their fatherland, without setting any general fashion.

For the pastoral nomads of the 'separate graves', however, the change of climate was a godsend: it meant wider pasturage, and also wider-spread agriculture, and dominion over farming peoples. Eastward, indeed, like the farming peoples already, they encountered other battle-axe peoples; but southward, up the rivers from the Elbe to the Rhine, they multiplied rapidly, and passed over into the Danube valley, dominating and modifying, but by no means superseding, the population, already composite, which they found settled there. In Thuringia, especially, population grew, prosperity increased, and local variations of culture multiplied, always a sign of vigorous humanity challenged by unfamiliar circumstances, and secluded from distractions. From this fortunate cradle, in due course, and also from the Bohemian head-waters of the Elbe, emerged the principal peoples whom antiquity knew as *Teutoni* and *Germani*; but, as we have seen, this was their second nursery, not their first. They had already, like the peoples of ancient Greece and Italy, a mixed culture, and probably quite mixed ancestry, when they entered it; and among the contrasted ingredients in that culture,

one, the megalithic tradition, had come by the long Atlantic coast-route from Iberia or beyond; another, by migrations no less long, from the south-eastern steppe; leaving not much of cultural significance, and nothing recognizable in their physique, to be attributed to aboriginal survivors of the last old-world hunters and fishermen in kitchen-middens and swamps on the Baltic shores.

As these northern tribes forced their way into the central mountain-zone of Europe, they found themselves among a population already composed of two distinct breeds, the 'alpine' occupants of the forested highland, and the primitive loess-landers, now habituated to Danubian culture, but still essentially the descendants of old hunters not very different in build and appearance from other steppe-folk beyond the Carpathians. The double resemblance of the bony frame of these loess-landers, to 'northern' and also to 'Mediterranean' breeds, has caused much misunderstanding. Not all tall, long-headed people either originated on the steppe, or descended into the Danube valley from the north. Another cause of confusion has been the frequent conjunction of blonde complexion with 'alpine' as well as with 'northern' frame: the conjunction of brunette complexion with 'northern' build, which is also quite common, does not seem to have caused so much heart-searching. Both are only to be expected among the population of a region so favourable to the secluded interbreeding of different accidental admixtures; and the frequent emergence of ruddy colouring seems to result, among men as among domestic animals, from the crossing of fair and dark breeds. Both in Greece and in Italy, ancient testimony is conclusive that such intermediate types existed; Herodotus has also record of the red-haired and grey-eyed Budini, a hunting people of the woodland along the middle Volga, who differed in complexion as well as in speech and habits from their agricultural neighbours.

It is beyond the scope of this survey to follow the fortunes of the Teutonic peoples, now clearly differentiated into a Scandinavian group who remained in the lands round the entrance to the Baltic, and a Germanic who came into being in

huringia and other upland districts of the Mountain-zone and eventually colonized much of the north German plain and both shores of the North Sea: for that is the prelude to the special history of each group. Similarly it is only in outline that it is permissible here to render parallel account of the circumstances in which the great Celtic group of peoples took shape.

Celtic Origins.

The cultures of central and northern Europe hitherto described all came into being among peoples to whom metal of any kind was at most a rarity, however clearly their stone axes may be derived from copper ones. But about 1800 B.C. the whole situation was changed. Fresh people, with skill to mine, melt, and cast copper for themselves, began to exploit the copper and gold of Transylvania; and it was not long before they employed also the tin of Bohemia, and local alloys especially rich in tin, to give quality to their weapons and initiate a 'Bronze Age' in the strict sense.

The approximate date of this revolution follows so closely on the Hittite invasion of Asia Minor, that it might well be regarded as a result of the opening of that new connexion between Danubian Europe and old centres of metal working in the Near East, which is revealed by Cypriote daggers and dress-pins found in Transylvania and Austria. But though all the new copper and bronze weapons are of ultimately oriental origin, the predominance of battle-axes closely related to those of the steppe-frontage of the Caucasus makes certain the alternative explanation, that the new demand for metal weapons—by whomsoever supplied—came from steppe folk accustomed to battle-axe fighting, and moreover to a type of battle-axe almost as superior to the perforated stone axes, as these had been to the primitive weapons they superseded.

This, however, is not the whole story. Reference has already been made to the opening of Alpine passes between central Europe (p. 167, cf. 242) and Italy, which resulted from milder and drier seasons. This made possible the propagation of the lake-dwelling culture, already ancient in the eastern Alps and also in south

Hungary, into the Po valley; and this movement seems to have been so nearly contemporary with the coming of the copper-axe users into Hungary, that it may be regarded as in part a consequence of it. But intercourse was reciprocal. The migratory individuals who brought with them the originals of the 'bell-beakers' brought also the west Mediterranean weapons—triangular dagger and flat celt, plain, or flanged for securer hafting. It may be that it was after seeing the battle-axe in use that they invented the halberd, which is common to Spain, Italy, and the Hungarian bronze age. Certainly many characteristic novelties are enjoyed in common by the Hungarian and the Italian regions.

In the new Bronze Age, a leading place was taken early by the secluded Bohemian country, enclosed by mountains rich in ore, easy to defend, well-watered, and fertile. A typical site, Aunjetitz, south of Prague, gives its name to the culture which matured here, and spread through Moravia, Silesia, and Saxony, but not out into the northern plain. Southward, however, it penetrates Bavaria, lower Austria, and northern Hungary. These people were predominantly of northern breed, but their pottery combines several distinct traditions, and their bronze types come from Cyprus, Hungary, and Italy. Amber beads of Danish and British forms were in transit, and Baltic amber begins to appear now on Aegean and Italian sites. A clay cup imitates the peculiar form of the Minoan gold cups from Vaphio in Laconia. Gold too was traded in spiral ear-rings which recall the Mycenaean. All these help to date this Aunjetitz culture to the centuries 1800–1600 B.C. After this, Bohemian initiative seems to have flagged—or perhaps material resources failed—and the great achievements of the Hungarian and Northern bronze-workers, which it had inspired, occurred elsewhere.¹

The Leaf-shaped Sword.

Among the many artistic creations of the great Hungarian bronze-culture—which developed almost continuously from about 2000 B.C., survived one severe shock about 1200 B.C., and

¹ See R. E. Mortimer Wheeler's Essay, Vol. II.

as only disintegrated by Cimmerian and Scythian incursions after 800 B.C.—only one needs to be described on account of its historical interest. This is the 'leaf-shaped' sword, which was developed about 1400 B.C. out of the narrow bronze rapiers which seem to have been now traded northwards from the Aegean in competition with the broader Italian blades hitherto customary. It was the adaptation of a stabbing-weapon to the use of warriors accustomed to the battle-axe; for with the 'leaf-shaped' sword, heavy as well as rigid in the blade, you could slash as well as thrust. The hilt too was remodelled to conform to this double function. As successive fashions of these effective weapons can be approximately dated by objects found with them, it is possible to follow the changing fortunes and exploits of their owners, first to the west and south-west, into Italy and Germany, then beyond Germany into Denmark, France, and Britain, and about the same time into the Aegean and the Levant. The date of these Mediterranean raids is fixed, by an ascribed sword found in Egypt, at about 1205 B.C.; these are therefore the 'Sea Raids' contemporary with the Phrygian invasions of Asia Minor, the collapse of the Hittite régime there, and the 'divine-born' dynasties in Greece (p. 204): and the use of the 'leaf-shaped' sword is in fact vividly described in Homeric battle scenes. It is not, however, necessary to ascribe to kinsmen of the Phrygians and consequently to east Indo-European folk the whole Hungarian bronze-culture which created this sword, any more than to imagine a Phrygian conquest of Britain. In industrial centres, weapons are made for sale rather than for use, and the Hungarian bronze-workers certainly traded as well as fought.

The Socketed Celt.

The importance of Aunjetitz is so closely linked to material and economic conditions that it need have no close bearing on the distribution of peoples or their languages. With the Lausitz culture, which originated also in Bohemia, but on its northern margin, it was different. Here, about 1200 B.C., another fresh start was made, with cremation, urn-burials without mounds,

and a very original fabric of pottery, grooved, embossed, and carefully polished, with distinct reminiscence of metal-work. But what most contributed to make Lausitz culture aggressive and famous was another new weapon of war, the socketed celt, which economized metal, and probably increased efficiency by its fresh mode of hasting. Thus armed, Lausitz-folk ranged widely. Westward they reached Denmark and the valley of the Main. They dominated and temporarily disorganized the Hungarian bronze-workers, and forced panic-stricken Transylvanians to bury the gold-hoards of that date (p. 209). They infested the Alpine foot-hills, raided the lake-dwellers, devastated Macedonia, and invaded Thessaly about 1100 B.C.: another horde passed through Thrace into Asia Minor, where it captured Troy and settled there awhile, then faded away like other northern invaders. Elsewhere, like the Aunjetitz culture, that of Lausitz differentiated as it spread.

With the Lausitz people, and the replacement of burial-mounds by mere urn-burial after cremation, we reach the opening phase of the great 'urnfield' culture, which persisted in many parts of western and central Europe till the Roman conquest, and seems to be securely connected with the distribution of Celtic peoples (p. 223) whose prehistoric traces are discussed elsewhere¹.

Summary of Comparisons between Languages and Material Cultures.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is perilous to correlate the distribution of languages with that of material cultures. But already some negative conclusions are permissible when we review the principal early types of culture which occupied or entered Europe, from the later Stone Age onwards.

In Alpine and other highland regions of Europe itself, the survivors of 'epi-palaeolithic' hunters hardly need to be mentioned; for their lowly equipment included neither cultivated plants nor domestic animals, and though their participation in most of the later civilizations which reached their haunts is admitted, they contributed little to any of them, and perverted or simplified them all.

¹ See R. E. Mortimer Wheeler's Essay, Vol. II.

We may set aside as unconnected with any folk of Indo-European speech the Atlantic-coast culture of the megalith-builders; for its immediate source is in the Iberian peninsula, and its ancestry partly North African, partly in the copper-using 'red-ware' culture of Anatolia. If it has any linguistic counterpart at all, it should be in Basque to the north, and in the Western Hamitic languages of Africa.

We may set aside also that ancient Anatolian culture, while admitting that it initiated the Danubian; for it has no eastward extension or counterpart, beyond ephemeral and quite marginal traces of red-ware technique in Sumeria and at Anau. Moreover, wherever that culture penetrates, there seem to go intimately associated with it those gross female figurines which express the kind of nature-worship which finds classical expression in the cults of the 'Great Mother of Asia', in complete contrast with the Father-gods who are central in all unsophisticated forms of Indo-European religion.

If the 'painted-ware' culture of south-eastern Europe belongs, as has been suggested earlier (p. 115), to the same widespread group as the 'painted wares' of Sumeria, Elam, Seistan, and northern India, it has some claim to be considered as having had at all events a distribution analogous to that of the eastern Indo-Europeans after the Scythian occupation of south Russia. But the dates of its spread, and even of its supersession everywhere, are so early, that it stands quite apart in point of time from the spread of Indo-European languages. The 'painted-ware' culture offers, indeed, valuable and suggestive analogies of distribution, and probably had once a coherent 'home', linguistic as well as cultural, on the Northern Flatland. But these are analogies only, and there is no reason to connect these peoples even with the eastern or *satem* group of Indo-European-speaking folk. It is, however, remarkable that so widespread an element of material culture as the 'painted wares' should have left no trace of associated speech.

The 'painted-ware' culture of the steppe west of the Dnieper was obliterated as we have seen (p. 232) by the advance of the *kurgan* folk, with stone battle-axes and 'cord-ornamented'

pottery, from between the Dnieper, the Caucasus, and the Caspian. Whether the people of the steppe east of the Caspian-Ural corridor took any part in this movement is uncertain. In the sub-boreal phase of climate, which had already set in, lake levels in general were low, and forests restricted and thinned. This corridor, therefore, was probably wide open. But for the same reasons, both eastern and western steppes were dry, perhaps even partly desert. This would certainly encourage, and perhaps started, nomad movements outwards. But it would not necessarily transfer nomads from the eastern steppe to the western; for such drought is severest in the centre, and the same causes, which thinned the foot-hill forests of the Urals, breached also those which had separated the eastern steppe from Iran. These changes in the climate of the west were occurring, indeed, as will be evident, at the upper limit of the period usually assigned for movements of east Indo-european people from the steppe into Iran and thence into India; leaving, as the event showed, the ancestors of the Scythians and other north Iranian folk in occupation of the habitable margin of the steppe itself.

The westward movement of the 'battle-axe' people, meanwhile, is approximately dated by the destruction of the 'Second City' at Hissarlik, about 2000 B.C. This event is correlated on the one hand with the arrival of 'battle-axes' both there and farther into Asia Minor; on the other, with the establishment of west Indo-european speech in the Hittite empire; and with the piecemeal injection into the highlands, west of the Aegean, of those western-speaking tribes whose descendants emerged, also piecemeal and speaking various dialects of Greek, in the centuries between 1600 and 1100 B.C.

North-westward, 'battle-axe' people traversed the whole length of the north German plain, into Jutland and Denmark, and passed over thence into Sweden. This movement also was facilitated by conditions of climate; for while the eastward spread of the 'kitchen-midden' people had taken place during the warm moist 'Atlantic' phase and the coastwise colonization by megalith-builders towards its close, the gradual set-back of climate after 2500 B.C. to conditions rather drier and more

continental than now, favoured the westward movements of pastoral tribes, even if the prospect before such explorers, ascribed in Norse mythology, was towards a region of mist and snow, in comparison with the steppe they were leaving. These external conditions culminated about 2000 B.C. in an exceptionally favourable régime in the north-west, but a countervailing ought in the heart of the twin steppe regions. There was, therefore, not only positive inducement to spread to the north-west, but some compulsion to move outwards from the grassland saddle, both westward and eastward.

Already before 1400 B.C. the shift of climate was the other way. Cooler and moister seasons, in the north-west, meant spoiled harvests and sickly cattle, and tribal movements are in the other direction, towards enclosed and 'rain-shadowed' regions inland, like Thuringia, Saxony, and the upper Rhine, and beyond these into the Danubian loess-land. Hungary, rather inland still, under the lee of Bohemia and the Tatra mountains, had its great period of Bronze Age prosperity, and Transylvanian chiefs were piling up their gold-hoards, to be plundered or buried later.

About 1400 B.C. a rain-crisis, sufficient to submerge many of the Swiss lake-dwellings, caused serious unrest in many parts of Europe, and spasmodic exodus from the mountain districts, where the weather was inevitably worst, and distress most severe. This is the counterpart, which it is essential to observe, to the familiar effect of drought on grassland: cold and wet are no less disastrous in highland and forest. It is in this phase that the 'Indus mountains north of Greece swarm with Greek-speaking tribes descending on the coast-plains: 'Deucalion's Flood' in central Greece stands in folk-memory about 1430 B.C.; 'Hellen and his sons' appear south of Thessaly in the next generation. These conditions were repeated, for precisely the same reason but more abruptly, about 1150-1100 B.C., when the Lausitz folk broke loose from Bohemia, the Dorians descended out of Pindus, and a second 'high-water catastrophe' drowned lake-dwellings in Switzerland. In the interval between these two rain-crises falls the short spell of warmer drier weather which shifted the

Thracians, Phrygians, and the ancestors of the Slavs out of the eastern grassland, which for some reason seems to have been affected more severely, or perhaps only more suddenly. There was also a period of very low water in the Swiss lakes not long after the first 'high-water catastrophe'; and Greek legends tell of famines and droughts about 1350 and 1230 B.C.

In central Europe the same sequence of changes in the climate alternately segregated the various regional cultures, and released them to compete with one another. It does not take much reduction of rainfall to make the moorlands of Mecklenburg and Lunenburg or of Poland uninhabitable, as they became between 1600 and 1400 B.C., nor a large increase to make the peat mosses of Schleswig or the upper Vistula impassable, as in the 'peat-bog phase' about 850 B.C. But the principal regulator of folk-movement was the forest régime of the central-European highlands; the snow and glaciers of the high passes controlled trade-routes rather than avenues of migration. Conspicuous examples are the segregation of Italic and Celtic by the régime of the Eastern Alps, and of the Celtic and Teutonic cradle-lands by the highlands of central Germany; perhaps of *p*-Celts and *q*-Celts by the corridor through lower Austria. These, however, are questions which material evidence is only beginning to answer with any precision; and the unconformity between archaeological and linguistic evidence, for example in the historical nursery of the Slavs, illustrates the risks of our rough-and-ready methods of reckoning prehistoric time. In estimating the former extent of natural obstacles, the chances of error are even greater, especially in view of the devastation which either a pastoral or an agricultural people can inflict on a region, if it has a mind to deforest it, and the difficulty with which such destruction is repaired, especially in limestone countries such as form so large a part of the folded ridges of the Mountain-zone. But a beginning has been made, and the main lines of the growth and distribution of Indo-european-speaking peoples have probably now been determined by the combination of linguistic, archaeological, and geographical studies which has been outlined here.

THE EAST

By CHARLES F. JEAN

Chargé de Cours à l'École nationale du Louvre

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CHAPTER I

FROM PROTO-HISTORICAL TIMES TO THE END OF THE EGYPTIAN MIDDLE EMPIRE

In Lower Mesopotamia.

IN neolithic times the lower Mesopotamian plain, traversed by rivers, intersected by streams, and still partly covered by swamps and lakes, presents the appearance of a group of small islands, peninsulas, and jetties stretching out towards the sea; it is inhabited by wild animals, the hippopotamus, the boar, the lion. On the east is the plain of Iran, scarcely freed from glaciers and snow, the home only of bears and goats in the mountains, and of asses and gazelles on the hills.

At a short distance from one another the Tigris and the Euphrates flow into the Persian Gulf.¹

The country is very fertile; it is here that the Easterns place their earthly paradise.

From the moment that history begins on the meridional banks of the Tigris and Euphrates about 3000 years or less B.C. it is the Sumerians who have occupied that country.² At the outset they must have been divided, like all primitive peoples, into groups of which each group comprised the descendants of one family. The varied character of the soil, which they were wresting from nature, did not tend to the unification of the different clans nor permit of their fusion into one nation. In each district there arose around the places where the cult of the local divinities was observed—such as Shuruppak, Ningirsee, Babbar, Nanna, and others—rough dwellings which gradually became cities called Shuruppak, Lagash, Larsa, Ur, centres or capitals of small States.

At a very early period Akkadians or Semites are found also

¹ At this period the Persian Gulf stretched inland about sixty miles more than it does to-day. The Tigris and Euphrates unite to form a single river several centuries later.

² Were they preceded by other peoples? Recent excavations appear to furnish an affirmative answer. Of what race were they? To this question an answer would be premature.

in the country. The Sumero-Akkadians of the historic period, basing their ideas on tradition, believe their ancestors to have been aboriginal. They relate how ten prehistoric kings, semi-divine beings, had, in the course of a total reign of 456,000 years,¹ helped half-barbarian man to overcome the difficulties which surrounded him, and how man, having become wicked, was punished with a deluge.

In prehistoric times, in the country of Anshan to the west of Persia, on the low clay and gravel hills which bordered on the original bed of the Kerka, and in the fertile valleys of the southern and western slopes of the Iranian plateau, large centres of civilization were established, of which the best known is that of Susa. During the fourth millennium, and perhaps even as early as the fifth, this country is inhabited by a population very advanced in industry, utilizing brass for making arms and mirrors, and manufacturing fine cloths and ceramics of real beauty. These people buried their dead and placed in their tombs the funereal trappings which have revealed its civilization to us. This civilization dates from the fourth millennium and is called the 'first style' or 'Susa I'; that which succeeded it is called the 'second style' or 'Susa II'.

The civilization called 'Susa II' is not exclusively Susian; it is met with also in Tepe-Mussian, about 95 miles west of Susa, in Sumeria and also in northern Mesopotamia. It goes back to the beginning of the historic period—3000 or 3200 B.C.—according to the documents which in the Sumerian country accompany the monuments of this style.

About the same period, perhaps about 3300, painted pottery was used at Ur and at Erech as can be seen from the predynastic tombs. A huge cataclysm ruined the 'town' of Ur, covering it with a coating of clay from 9 to 12 feet deep. When civilization again appeared upon this site the inhabitants used unpainted pottery. A similar cataclysm has been ascertained to have taken place at Kish, where beneath the covering of clay, at least 3 feet in depth, were found pre-Sargonic tablets. To these

¹ Another recension (W.-B. 444) mentions only eight kings, who are supposed to have reigned 241,200 years. (Cf. *O.C.T.* 2, Plate I, S.)

catastrophes can be ascribed the tradition of the Deluge, which the various accounts known at present centre in these regions.¹

Under the reign of Mes-an-ni-pa-da, one of the kings of the first dynasty, Ur possessed a temple dedicated to Ninhursag, which was very rich for the period.

The excavations at Lagash—now Tello—have furnished a considerable quantity of texts and monuments which allow us to reconstruct the history of this part of Sumeria, little different, no doubt, from that of the other centres. In the third millennium Lagash is situated on the Euphrates, not far from the Persian Gulf. It is revealed to us as a regularly constituted principality, with its religion, of peaceful habits, and governed by independent princes—Ur-Ninà, Akurgal, Cannatum, and others. Under them the population of the fertile plain prospers. It is composed of shepherds, husbandmen, and artisans; carpenters and joiners, smelters, goldsmiths, sculptors, perfume-makers, boat-builders or caulkers, and curriers who utilize the skins of the animals offered in sacrifice. We read of salaries proportioned to the value of the work done; the women receive, in addition to their personal share, a fixed additional fee for each child, and the orphans receive an amount equal to that received by their dead mother.

The country is organized almost entirely for husbandry. In order that the soil may yield its full resources, not only is it trenched, ploughed, and sown, but it is also watered, and irrigation on a big scale has already become a great public undertaking.

The Sumerians of Lagash rear flocks of asses, cattle, sheep, and goats. They can weave wool, and use flax and hemp for the manufacture of stuffs and clothes. They utilize also the fur of animals, as is done at the periods of the most advanced civilization.

The bakers make a great variety of different kinds of bread with wheaten and barley flour and other substances; white and black loaves, round loaves and narrow loaves, loaves made with milk and with fats. Fowl are plentiful in the poultry-

¹ At Erech, on the contrary, where excavations have been made with the greatest care, no trace has been found of any cataclysm.

yards: ducks, geese, chickens, turtle-doves. The butcher supplies beef, mutton, lamb, goat's and kid's flesh. Fishermen supply the towns with all kinds of fish—sea-fish and fresh-water fish.

They also eat different kinds of onions and turnips, cucumbers and other vegetables, dates, grapes, figs, and pomegranates; and they drink wine, which comes from the mountains of the East, and other fermented liquids.

Their commercial transactions are already considerable. By the contracts of this period land, houses, precious metals, slaves, and domestic animals are acquired, and payments made in silver or corn, the buyer making to the seller and the witnesses to their contract presents in kind—clothes, oil, wine, or wool.

They adore their gods, and venerate their heroes. Companies of priests perform the duties of the temples—sacrifices, and funeral and magical rites.

Religion is the inspiration of their fine arts in sculpture, engravings, precious metals, jewellery, and ceramics.

The last king of Lagash, Uru-kagina, reforms the abuses which have crept into the priestly and administrative classes; subsequently the supremacy passes to the town of Kish, and finally Lugal-saggisi, king of Umma and of Uruk, extends his authority from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. But his power does not last, for after a reign of twenty years he is beaten and made prisoner by the Semite-Akkadian Sargon.

Not only does Sargon inherit the entire kingdom of the Sumerian whom he conquers (in the latter half of the twenty-seventh century B.C.), but he advances as far as the Taurus and, according to the legend, to Cyprus. Narâm-Sin (2557–2520), great-grandson of Sargon, is not less famous than his ancestor. In his lifetime he calls himself 'God of Agadé', has images of himself made with the horned helmet, an emblem of divinity, and prefixes the divine sign to his name. He makes several expeditions into the country of Magan, defeats the Elamites and pursues the Lullubi to their mountains of Zagros. Northwards, he advances as far as the territory of the Gutî, in the region of the lake of Van, whence, perhaps, he brings back the magni-

ficient block of fine yellow sandstone of which he makes a triumphal tablet; to the south, he subdues the towns of Erech and of Naksu. He is first among the sovereigns of Sumeria and Akkad to adopt the title 'King of the four regions', that is, king of the four regions of the earth's circle.

Narâm-Sin was not only a great conqueror, he was also one of the greatest builders of his time. He covered the country with temples and palaces, embellished even those places he had conquered, and, to judge by the works which were executed in his time, it would seem that he had the gift of communicating to the artists the breadth of his own ideas and the simplicity of his genius.

Whether it be that these Akkadian conquests obliged the peoples of northern Mesopotamia to defend themselves, or that the movement of peoples which had forced the Semites towards Agadé provoked a reaction, Subartu—later, Assyria—which was occupied by races from the north, rose in revolt.

The displacement of the people of Amurru was not entirely from one direction. A colony had been planted to the other side of the Taurus, in Cappadocia, where it remained for several centuries in the midst of the population. This colony had all the characteristics and customs of the Semitic world, but presents certain distinctive features. The personal proper names reveal, in varying degrees, a threefold influence—Babylonian, Amorrite, and especially Assyrian; the language, although containing a plentiful sprinkling of purely local terms, is a Babylonian dialect. In this little world of which we are speaking, and which would seem to represent a sort of Assyrian colony, the year is habitually called by the name of an important person called *limu*, and this custom in a regularized form is found in Assyria. The nature of the seals used, the mention of a Hittite town, Burush, and of a judge of the same origin, seem clearly to show the influence of the Hittites on the country.

In this Semitic society an important position is given to women; this can be seen especially in their legal and commercial transactions.

We possess a fair number of tablets, found in Cappadocia,

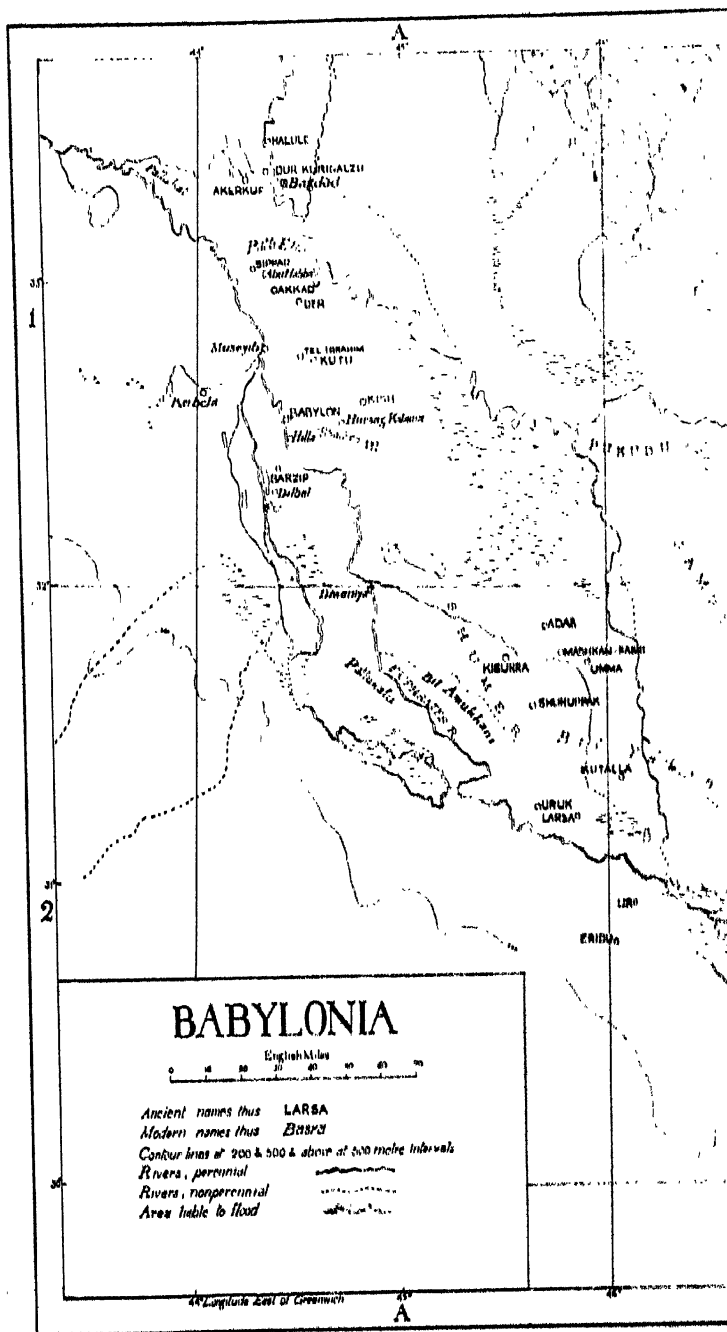
which were written in this country by the people of whom we are speaking; they treat almost exclusively of commerce and of private affairs. Various rules or customs of business which have the sanction of tradition are conformed to, and, from the silence which is observed upon certain essential points in business transactions, we can assume the existence of a customary, if not a written, code of law, going back to a much earlier period, which finally and decisively settles all such questions.

From these transactions it is clear that gold is rather scarce and silver more abundant in Mesopotamia. The figure at which interest is charged varies generally from 25 to 30 per cent. The objects exchanged are mainly lead, wool, asses, certain stones, and, more rarely, oil. The abundance of metals is due to the partial working of the mines in which the peninsula is so rich. The many kinds of clothes mentioned in the tablets point to an advanced state of industry.

In fine, these Cappadocian Semites of 2500 B.C. were not inferior to their Sumerian contemporaries at Ur; both enjoyed the same civilization, bearing witness in both cases, as we shall see, to a long past.

Towards the end of the third millennium B.C. the town and country of Ashur have a Sumerian civilization. There have been found in the first stratum of ruins studied small monuments quite resembling those of Lagash, Umma, and Adab (we know of the existence at this period of a temple upon which later will be built that of Ishtar). Beneath this first layer a stratified mass of disordered remains points to a great political and social upheaval; this is doubtless the scene of the Semitic invasion from which dates the rise of Assyria.

In lower Mesopotamia the invasion of the Gutti had succeeded the Agadé dynasty. With this event can be linked the invasion of the eastern part of Subartu by a people who are identified as Mitannians and who gave to Assyria at the dawn of her development kings such as Ushpia and Kikia. This people will later constitute the kingdom of Mitanni when Assyria, after the kings of the third Ur dynasty, comes into existence as an individual State. But at this period Assyria controls Mitanni,



since the former's supremacy extended at that time as far as Cappadocia.

Towards the end of the Guti's domination, the old towns of Sumeria reappear as towns of great importance, the first being Lagash, about 2500. The *isag* Gudea rebuilds the temples of the towns dependent upon him, for which purpose he sends to the most distant countries—Amanus, Lebanon, and elsewhere—for wood, metals, diorite, and granite.

In the twenty-third century the suzerainty is exercised by Ur. In spite of its situation almost on the confines of the desert, Ur has succeeded, by the ability of its princes—Ur-Nammu, Shulgi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin—in imposing its authority upon Erech, Lagash, Eridu, Larsa, Shuruppak, Nippur, Kish, Borsippa, that is to say upon the entire lower Mesopotamian plain, and later even on Elam. Nevertheless, as the religious pre-eminence has long belonged to Nippur, the kings of Ur allow this prerogative to the holy city and call themselves the chosen ones of the great Sumerian god, En-Lil, the patron of Nippur. They govern the towns without entirely suppressing their autonomy. At the head of each great centre an official, nominated in the presence of witnesses, represents the central power, governs his subjects, and, in their name, pays a regular contribution in kind which is faithfully noted down on tablets.

Envoys are constantly travelling about the country conveying the orders of the sovereign, leading with them slaves condemned to hard labour, receiving complaints and requests, and ordering the prefects or *patesi* to appear before them when necessary.

In the small towns, the mayors represent the central power; a procurator is commissioned to deal with lawsuits and also to supervise and authorize the expenditure on religion and general administration. He is the highest local official. A commissary is responsible for revenue and expenditure; other officials are in charge of granaries, crops, the rearing and reproduction of animals. There are cup-bearers, a sword-bearer, a constable who has charge of military equipment, ordinary couriers, and special messengers. The continual going and coming of these couriers, of boats, of caravans, bring thither numerous strangers

attracted by the fertility and the richness of the country, the Martu, for instance, people from Kimash and others.

The people are obliged to make regular contributions which are devoted principally to the requirements of religion and also to the king's use. The contributor's name is carefully entered upon a tablet; his contribution is kept to his credit as an asset in a central mart. The king, who can to some extent draw upon the treasure of the god, whose high-priest he is, has other sources of revenue—war booty, contributions from the *patesi* and others—and private individuals can borrow from this treasure.

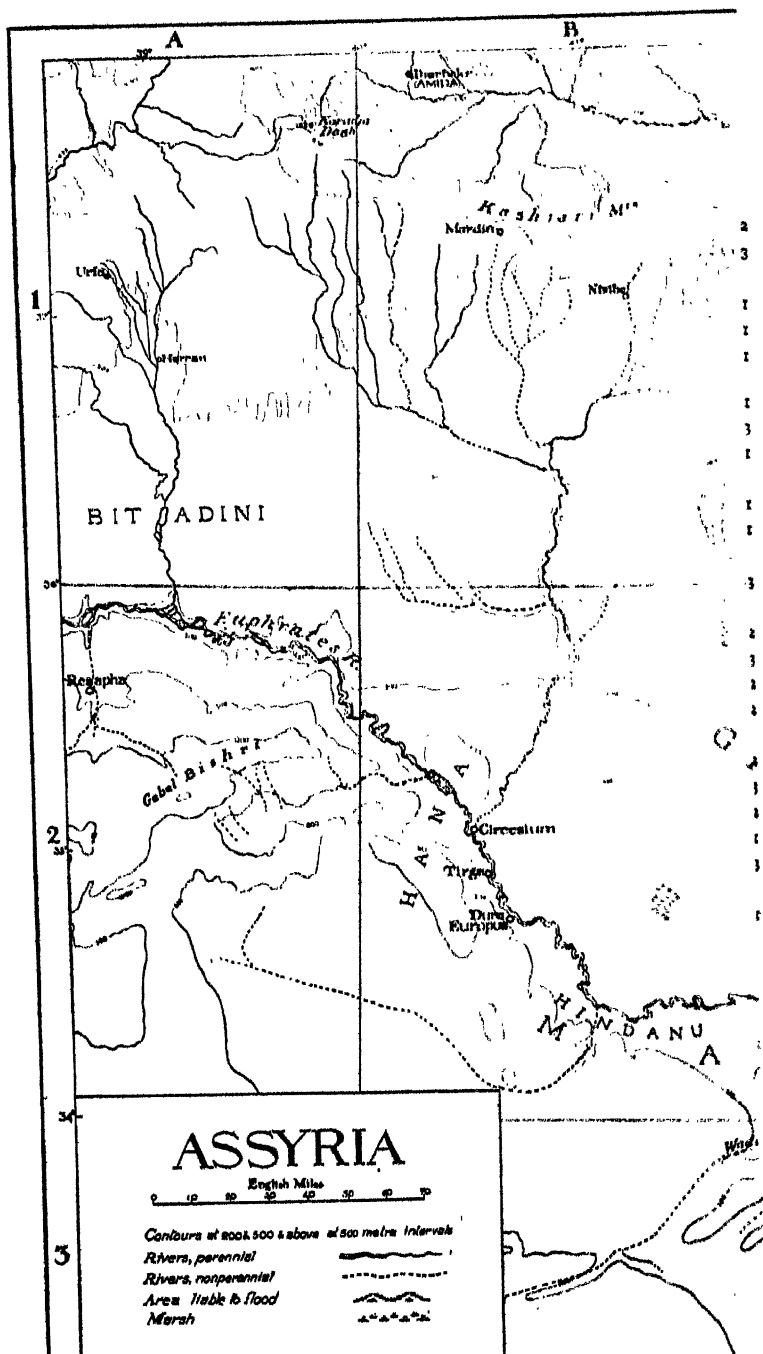
Upon the territory ruled over by the kings of Ur there are particularly fertile plains, watered by beautiful and well-kept canals, whose population engages in agriculture, cattle-breeding, commerce, and industry. There are many tablets extant which represent to us workers clearing or ploughing land, sowing, building canals, constructing the walls of the many palaces and temples, or others again engaged in various forms of boat-transport. Cattle-breeding constitutes a particularly satisfactory source of revenue, long retained by the Hebrew patriarchs. In a big park, situated in the neighbourhood of Nippur, and intended as the sanctuary of the god Enlil, numerous animals feed—sheep, goats, cattle, asses, mules, horses, antelopes, moufflons, ibexes, gazelles, buffaloes, pigs, geese, and ducks.

The jewellers sell metal ornaments, sometimes with plain gold decorations or with gold inlaid work.

The average salary is that of the workman who works thirty days a month; it is usually paid in kind.

Accounts are accurately kept in the registers of the temples, palaces, or commercial or agricultural undertakings. One condition requisite for good book-keeping is an accurate and detailed record of all expenditure: this we have in numerous tablets, real genuine receipts, called *Dub*. The form of book-keeping is already stereotyped.

The kings of Ur respect the religious beliefs of the peoples they have conquered; each town keeps the temple of its own



god, with its possessions, lands, and flocks all administered by the priest who is aided by subordinate officials.

Nippur, as we have said, retains its place as the real religious capital. It comprises an outer and an inner town. The former, or suburban district, extends considerably beyond the other and is made up of the villas of the merchants and the rich, as well as of the dwellings of artisans and farmers. The houses of the poor are usually built with reeds from the river, those of the rich with *tofa*, a mixture of clay and chopped straw, made into bricks. The buildings of the inner town stand together in groups and are bigger than those of the outer town. The most important among them are built of baked bricks. This inner town is divided into two parts by the Shatt-en-Nil; at the time of its maximum extent, apparently under Ur-Engur, the east portion is occupied almost entirely by the temple of Enlil and its dependencies.

Literature. Even in these very early times of which we have just treated the taste or the need for writing is extraordinarily developed. Writings of all kinds abound, from such practical documents as forms of receipt to lyrical psalms and majestic epics. Sumerian literature, as we know it to-day, comes mainly from the towns of Lagash and Nippur.

Historiography is represented by official inscriptions commemorating the building of palaces and of temples. The theocratic style of the scribes attributes everything to the action of the divinity, as can be seen from the following passage, one of many examples.

A dispute arises between the kings of Lagash and of Umma about the boundaries of their respective territories. The dispute is submitted to the arbitration of Mesilim, king of Kish, and is settled by the gods, of whom the kings of Kish, Lagash, and Umma are merely the agents or ministers:

Upon the truthful word of the god Enlil, king of the territories, the god Ningirsu and the god Shara deliberated.

Mesilim, King of Kish, at the behest of his god, Gu-Silim . . . [text illegible] erected in his place a stela.

Ush, *isag* of Umma, acted in accordance with his ambitious designs.

He removed Mesilim's stela and came to the plain of Lagash. At the righteous word of the god Ningirsu, warrior of the god Enlil, a combat with Umma took place. At the word of the god Enlil, the great divine net laid low the enemies, and funerary *tells* were placed in their stead in the plain.

The boundaries of the territories are again drawn up but—

Urlumma, *isag* of Umma . . . [text illegible] outside the frontier-moat of the god Ningirsu and outside the frontier-moat of the goddess Ninà; he set fire to the stela and removed it; he destroyed the chapel dedicated to the gods, which had been built on the *nam-nun-da-ki-gar-ra*. He invaded the territories, and crossed the frontier-moat of the god Ningirsu.

Eannatum, *isag* of Lagash, on the field of *U-gig-ga*, the territory of the god Ningirsu, fought against Urlumma. Entemena, the dear son of Enannatum, defeated Urlumma. Urlumma took to flight: to the middle of Umma he pursued him and massacred him.

In the neo-Sumerian epoch, two clay cylinders from Gudea, composed of 54 columns (a total of 1380 lines), reveal the existence of a flourishing civilization—Lagash's apogee. On these great cylinders are related the construction of the temple of Ningirsu, god of the town, and the visions in which Gudea beheld all the details described.

The Sumerians had a code, or codes, of laws of which we know twenty-three articles. One of the texts by which we know them calls them 'the laws of the goddess Nidaba and of the god Hani'. These refer to the family and to ownership. Legal disputes could generally be decided only before those entrusted with judicial authority. Deeds were drawn up with great care, in accordance with certain forms already stereotyped.

Religion. The Sumerians had congregated in lower Mesopotamia around places of worship which became the centres of small principalities and, later, of real towns. In the beginning of the third millennium, as we have seen, they were masters of the country, which was enjoying a full measure of prosperity. The State was theocratic, governed by a representative of the god, called *isag* or *lu-gal*, who recognized only the god as his superior.

The Sumerian gods were, as a general rule, personifications of

certain natural bodies or of physical forces deriving from them—the earth, the fresh water which issues from its hill-sides, the atmosphere, the sky, the moon, the sun, &c.

As the Sumerians never had a creed whose acceptance was a necessary condition for the salvation of the soul their pantheon was neither homogeneous nor hierarchical. Besides this, gods or goddesses of different names presided over identical occupations, just as, on the other hand, gods who originally were different became identified into one. Nevertheless, a theory of divine genealogies began to take form, and eventually assumed definite shape at least in the schools.

Sumerian religion is an anthropomorphic polytheism, in which the gods form an aristocracy superior to all human aristocracies known to the Sumerians.

It is admissible that even at the time when the Sumerians were still nomadic, they venerated the tribal 'God', a sort of spirit in which, owing to circumstances which we cannot determine with accuracy, they thought more power was vested than in the others. When they settled on the land and built towns the tribal god became the local god; he was the owner of the town, its lord and king. These beliefs were handed down from generation to generation, so that when we come to the historical period we find textual evidence of them.

Towards the end of the prehistoric age these divine kings have already passed beyond the boundaries of their little kingdoms. The principal among them are, at this time, An—who had never been a local god—Enlil, or the atmosphere, Enki, the soil, including the fresh water which springs from it, and Babbar, the sun.

The consequences of anthropomorphism were followed out to very great lengths: each god had a divine spouse with whom and by whom he could bestow being and life.

The Pantheon.

Under this heading may be grouped the principal deities recognized as such either in the country as a whole or only in certain towns.

In the first place *An*, the sky-god, was, so it would seem, more deeply venerated during the neo-Sumerian than during the proto-Sumerian age. *Enlil* had Nippur as his holy town. *Enki* (or *Ea*) was a god of wisdom. *Enzu* (or *Nanna*) was the moon-god, father of the sun-god, and was venerated principally at Ur during the neo-Sumerian period. *Babbar* was venerated especially at Larsa. *Ningirsu*, of Lagash, was a warrior god.

There are gods of whose existence we have no proof prior to the neo-Sumerian period, namely, *Meslam-ta-e-a*, later identified with the god of Hades, *Im*, *Nin-urta*, *Dagan*, *Martu*.

The most famous of the goddesses at this time are *Ninni*, probably originally called the *lady of the heavens*, and confounded with Ishtar, the Akkadian goddess of love; *Nin-hur-sag*, by whom princes claim to have been suckled, and who was much venerated at Lagash, Ur, and elsewhere; and *Ba-u*, who during the neo-Sumerian period was regarded as the daughter of An and wife of Ningirsu; she was called *mother*, *kind woman*, *bountiful lady*.

Certain territorial chiefs claimed to be the sons of gods, such as Mesilim, Entemena, Eannatum, in the proto-Sumerian period, and Gudea and Shulgi in the neo-Sumerian.

Under the Semitic dynasty of Agadé, two kings added to their names the symbol of divinity. The kings of the third dynasty of Ur followed their example, and some of them, at least, had in temples statues of themselves to which offerings were made, others had temples dedicated to themselves.

Gilgamesh was, like many others no doubt, a hero who was deified. He received oblations, and at least one of his priests is known to us.

The Sumerians had also tutelary gods; they believed in the existence of good spirits, of divine messengers; also of beneficent fantastic animals, as well as evil spirits who caused famine, sickness, and death, but who were rendered inoffensive by incantations.

The gods, with the exception of the gods of Hell, Earth, and Water, dwelt in the heavens, the firmament, the stars, and the atmosphere. They all, however, were pleased as well to live among men and receive their offerings as well as their homage

and their requests. In their dwelling *e*, or in their big dwelling, *e-gal*, they lived like *isag*, or kings, surrounded by their wives and concubines, their sons, their daughters, and their servants. The members of the divine *familia* were honoured in the 'chapels' of the temple.

The temple of the proto-Sumerian epoch is a very complex organism, outcome of the mentality characteristic of these distant ages, being at the same time a sacred place and a landed proprietor. One of the most famous temples was that of the god Enlil, at Nippur, which was so impressive that its plan of construction was imitated at Lagash and, later, at Babylon; beyond several courtyards and balconies arose the *storied tower*, the 'mountain of the country', *the place which joined sky and earth*, and was surmounted by the god's chapel. Around this were grouped the other chapels, then came the treasury, the scribes' apartments, the archives, stables, granaries, and poultry-yards.

In the evening and at daybreak, perhaps daily or at least at the monthly festivals of the new moon, the full moon, and the day of the moon's decline, the feast-day after which the month is named, the festival of the rebirth of each season, and especially that of the New Year, while the psalmist chanted his monotonous litanies, the priest offered up in sacrifice and slew cattle in the god's honour. Sometimes processions took place, the different stages of which were marked by sacrifices of varying degrees of importance.

There existed a firm belief in the gods as being the arbiters of fate, but it was believed that by sacrifices, by prayer, and by magic the will of the gods could be directly or indirectly influenced.

The Sumerians beheld in everything the action of the god-head. For instance, the function of the proper name was to define in a certain way him who bore it, for the *name* was considered almost as a synonym of the *essence*, and would, therefore, naturally express something of the action of the god upon the individual. Hence, proper names were made a sort of talisman by including in them the name of a god, as for example, *Named-by-the-god-Enlil*, *The-god-Ningirsu-is-my-fortress*.

The Sumerians buried their dead, and those who took part in the funeral rites were considered as personages of a more or less sacred character. In the tombs at Al-'Ubaid food, plates, arms, and ornamental attire are found beside the corpses. Thus it was not believed that everything ended at death, since the dead could drink, eat, and experience certain satisfactions. Their life, however, was, so to speak, only a 'diminished life'.

Under the Semitic dynasty of Agadé, between the proto-Sumerian and the neo-Sumerian epochs, the general character of their religion continued to be Sumerian, but the Akkadians paid more frequent homage to gods and goddesses who were venerated but little or not at all by the Sumerians, such as Anu, Adad, Nergal, Dagan, and Za-ba-ba. The syncretic tendency, which was apparent even in the Sumerian age and whose results we can clearly see, became stronger under the Akkadians. It was, for example, under their influence probably that Ninni became identified with the Akkadian goddess Ishtar; again, the Sumerian goddesses Nintu and Nin-hur-sag although distinct from each other were both patrons of child-birth and of mothers—mothers of creatures, or mothers of gods and of men; under the Semitic dynasty of Isin, they were merged into one, as can be seen from a hymn of the time.¹

Amorrite Period.

Following upon the wars which the princes of Kish and elsewhere had waged upon the Elamites, commercial relations had been gradually established between Elam and Babylonia. Then, one day, the armies of the Elamites went southwards, overthrew the dynasty of Ur and carried off into captivity Ibi-Sin, the last of its kings, with the result that there sprang up, almost simultaneously, two Semitic dynasties, one at Isin and the other at Larsa.

Under their new masters the people preserved their old customs. It is clear from the commercial and administrative documents of the time that their life remains almost identical

¹ Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 197, ii. 5, 6; *Oxford Cuneiform Texts*, pp. 41-5.

with what it had been under the kings of Ur. The dynasty of Isin is, at the beginning at any rate, more powerful than that of Larsa, and the sphere of its influence extends to Nippur, Ur, Erech, Eridu, and Sippar; but one hundred years after its rise the supremacy passes to the rival dynasty, whose king, Gungunum, is formally styled not only king of Larsa and Ur, but also 'king of Shumer and Akkad'. Eannatum, brother of the king of Isin, whose dynasty still reigns, acknowledges the king of Larsa's claims, for, upon his becoming priest of Nanna at Ur, he builds a temple to the goddess for the protection of his own and of Gungunum's life.

Meanwhile, the people of Amurru were increasing in numbers in the country of Shumer-Akkad to such an extent that an Amorrite succeeded in establishing a centre of political activity at Babylon and founding there a dynasty without meeting with any opposition, so far as our present-day knowledge goes, except from a prince of Ashur, Ilu-Shùma. He surrounded the town with fortifications, erected defences at Kibalbar and Dilbat, and seized Kasallu.

Kudur-Mabuk, son of the Elamite king Sinit-Shikhak, reigned in the country of Jamuthbal. Taking advantage of the rivalry which weakened the Sumero-Akkadian kings he seized Larsa, over which he placed his eldest son Arad-Sin, and extended his rule to Eridu, Lagash, and Girsu.

During this time the king of Babylon, Sin-Muballit, a vassal of Elam, held aloof, fortifying his towns and building canals. However, in the fourteenth year of his reign, about 2046, there was a great massacre at Ur, from which we can doubtless conclude that Sin-Muballit seized this town.

Upon the death of Arad-Sin, king of Larsa, the power passed into the hands of his brother, Rim-Sin; Ur, Erech, Girsu, and Lagash, of which Arad-Sin was more or less real suzerain, remained, therefore, in the tenure of Elam. Sin-Muballit thought himself strong enough to crush his rival; but in this he was wrong. Rim-Sin captured Kisurra, rebuilt the wall of Zarbilum, brought Kish under his sway, and finally captured Nippur. Henceforward he considered himself sovereign of

Sumer and of Akkad. Numerous commercial documents show us that the country enjoyed a high degree of prosperity.

Sin-idinnam, king of Larsa, seems to have devoted himself, as formerly did Uru-kag-ina of Lagash, to adapting the law to the social conditions of his time, as would appear from his statement that he 'restored the decrees and the judgements of Anunnaki'.¹ Indeed, the written and common law of Larsa previous to Hammurapi resembles closely the law of Ur. The family constitutes a solid entity—marriage, divorce, division of property, and the adoption of children, especially those of low birth, are affairs which must be transacted in the presence of witnesses, and of which a record is carefully drawn up and authenticated by affixing the seals of the witnesses to the contract.

Slaves are also protected by the public law. They can obtain their liberty by free purchase, by enfranchisement, or under the form of a gift to a divinity.

The palace and the temple, with their functionaries and priests, enjoy special privileges. It would seem that, as in the Sumerian epoch, a great part, if not the greater part, of the land belongs to the king and to the god.

Agriculture forms the basis of economic life, but business men, *dam-gar*, play a big part and industry thrives, with the result that the 'Exchange' is of the highest importance, although loans, rentings, debts, and purchases can all be conducted with payments in kind.

Legal procedure and legal terms are long since fixed, one might say stereotyped. The business is conducted before witnesses, and a deed drawn up and copied on clay tablets, describing the case at issue and its result, followed by the oath in the name of the principal gods of the town and in the king's name; then come the witnesses' names and, where necessary, their professions and the date (month and year). The original deed is enclosed in a clay covering upon which, while it is still soft, the deed is recopied so that it can, if necessary, be referred to without damaging the original.

¹ *Clou d'argile*, A. i. 9-11.

Theoretically the three principal gods in the Pantheon of the whole Sumero-Akkadian country are the sky-god, *Anu*, the lord of the earth, *Enlil*, and the god of water, *Ea*; in practice, the gods of the towns are pre-eminent in the official religion, as at Larsa *Shamash*, the sun, the royal god of the Sumero-Akaddian country. In popular piety the god *Sin* undoubtedly occupies the foremost place.

Hammurapi.

Hammurapi, an Ammorite king of Babylon and vassal of Elam, bore the yoke of his suzerain at Larsa even more impatiently than Sin-Muballit. He won his independence by defeating Jamuthbal's Elamite armies and Larsa's soldiers, and so found himself at the head of a country composed of very different elements, of which some were old—the Sumero-Akkadians, Gutians, Elamites—and others yet quite new, Arabs, Arameans, and Canaanites. In order to strengthen the political unity which his armies had brought about, he amended the legislation by adapting it to the new conditions and making it less harsh. The result of his efforts is the celebrated code known as *Hammurapi's code*.

Under this king and all during the reign of the first dynasty, commercial activity made great strides; the towns were no longer merely depots or centres of distribution for natural products, they developed commercial relations between themselves. Trade relations with foreign countries received a fresh impetus. Already for a long time the Babylonians had supplied the markets of Elam, and Hammurapi's victories opened up new centres of trade for the merchants of the capital, as at Karkemish for pottery. The leading merchants resided at Babylon and the other big towns of the country, and acted as 'brokers' for the export and import trades, travelling in caravans as giving greater protection against the attacks of highwaymen. These precautions were not always efficacious against raids, and these agents must have frequently been tempted to invent purely imaginary robberies with a view to their own material profit. Many disputes arose from dealings of this nature, for

which provision is made in several articles of the legal code.

The length of time for which a merchant employed an agent varied, sometimes for a single journey, but, more often, for a fairly lengthy period. The agent had to deliver up to his employer a tablet with his formal receipt for the money or goods committed to him, and when delivering his accounts on his return only those specified on these receipts were recognized. The merchants often united into groups for the purpose of helping and developing either the home or foreign trade, and, when occasion arose, lent money at interest as sanctioned by law.

The legal code deals in great detail with the questions of marriage, divorce, the adoption and care of children.

Perhaps the most striking fact in the social conditions of Babylon is the status accorded by law to women. In order to be legally binding, every marriage had to be accompanied by a contract drawn up in due form and witnessed, and once this legal form had been completed the marriage was absolutely inviolable. The wife's chastity was preserved under threat of severe legal penalties. In proved cases of adultery the guilty parties were drowned, but the husband could, if he so desired, save his wife by an appeal to the king. If the accusations were carried forward by the husband, the wife could justify herself by declaring her innocence on oath, if by another, the accused woman was obliged to submit to the ordeal by water; she threw herself into the Euphrates; if she sank she was guilty, if she floated she was innocent.

If the husband voluntarily abandoned his wife and left the town without being obliged to do so, the wife could contract another legal marriage, and the first husband if he came back could not claim her. If the husband's desertion, however, was involuntary: if, for example, he had been captured in battle and carried into captivity, this rule did not apply; the wife was authorized to lead a life in keeping with her husband's position. In this respect, the law was decidedly in the wife's favour; if her captive husband's possessions were sufficient to keep her, no

further marriage was permissible, and, if it took place, it was unlawful and the wife liable to be punished as for adultery. On the other hand, the woman could remarry if her captive husband had not sufficient means for her upkeep, but in this case the husband could, on his return, claim his legitimate spouse, and the children of the second union belonged to their natural father.

The divorce laws safeguarded the interests of the woman. It was necessary for her condemnation to prove that she was not thrifty and that she was a flighty person ruining her household and neglecting her husband. If proof of this was not forthcoming, the accused was declared innocent, and, taking with her her trousseau, she returned to her father's house. She had the custody of the children, but the husband was obliged to provide the expenses of their upkeep and education, as he was also obliged to return to her her trousseau and the revenue of her property.

In contracts of the Hammurapian period we find cases of women—the 'recluses' of Sippar's cloister at Sharmash—making exchanges of property, advancing loans, letting and renting property, and making testamentary provisions. In other contracts, they appear as plaintiffs and defendants, and, in one case, a woman is seated among the judges as secretary.

Hammurapi speeded up the legal system and animated it with a new spirit, his main effort tending towards providing for all equality in the eyes of the law, and assuring the equity of all judgements pronounced. He created four classes of persons in whom judicial authority was vested: (1) the governor of a town, usually aided by a council; (2) the mayor, that is to say, the person responsible for the order of the town; (3) the Assembly of Notables, or Ancients, presided over usually by the mayor, being a sort of civil jury which examined cases from the point of view of equity rather than of pure law, and which dealt mainly with cases which owing to the necessity for investigations and inquiries could be judged equitably only on the spot and by local people; (4) the judges of the district who besides exercising judicial functions had a part in the administration of

the town or district, individually in questions of management or supervision, collectively in the overseeing of the town's property and certain other matters affecting an individual town or district.

The judges were assisted by the *rabitsu*, their 'auxiliary', the *ridu daianu*, a sort of police officer, and the *marpisan dubba*, namely, the court registrar and archivist or at least somebody employed at the registry, whose functions were controlled by the king, since he could have abused his position by altering the terms of judgement.

Under Hammurapi or his successors schools of law were founded in which the traditions of jurisprudence were formed and perfected.

To complete his work, Hammurapi endeavoured to achieve unity of religion. Each region had its own gods, which were considered to be enemies of the neighbouring region, resulting in a serious division which could be tolerated only at the peril of a political unity which had been imposed by force of arms and strengthened by a unified legal code. The king, therefore, conceived the plan of achieving a religious syncretism, and to this end endeavoured by poetry to teach his subjects that their gods, although different, were by no means enemies.

Babylon was the centre of gravity of political power, of industry and trade, of the intellectual life and of the arts.

Since about 2500 B.C. the sanctuary of the god Enlil, at Nippur, had exercised the greatest political and literary influence of all the temples of Babylonia. After Hammurapi's victory over Rim-Sin of Larsa, things changed rapidly; the many small Babylonian states, which constitute geographically the land of Sumer and of Akkad, were united politically by the powerful monarch who opened a new chapter in the history of the lower Euphrates. Babylon became the political and religious metropolis of the unified empire, and its god, Marduk, soon replaced Enlil and assimilated his attributes.

Literature. During this period the industrial development and increase in wealth result in a great intellectual culture. The essential forms of mental and religious life are henceforth

fixed almost finally, so that succeeding ages give us no example of the spark or the gift of invention—they merely imitate or slavishly copy.

The poetic compositions are often divided into strophes. In the poem of Agushaya, which we quote later, the majority of the stanzas contain four lines with four *āpāis* or stresses. Elsewhere they sometimes contain only *two* parallel lines, or 2+2 lines, sometimes five lines, or 2+2, 2+2, 2+2, 2+2, or eight lines, as in the Hymn to the Moon-god of Ur, and sometimes eleven.

The *Poem on the Creation* exercised a particular influence upon the intellectual activity of the Babylonians and Assyrians. It was read again and again, copied many times, commented on and given as a subject of school exercises, and utilized in religious literature. Its theme is a problem which has always in one form or another exercised mankind, namely, the origin of the world. It sets down the Babylonian beliefs as to the origin of the gods, how the forces of disorder, represented by Apsu and Tiamat, were overcome by the gods Ea and Marduk, and how the latter completed the triumph of the gods over chaos in creating the world and man.

The poem was copied in the seventh century B.C. for the *Library of Ashurbanipal* at Nineveh from archaic texts. In the form in which it has come down to us, it is composed of four distinct parts which seem to have been originally separate compositions incorporated into a single whole by the copyist: (i) the legend of the origin of the gods; (ii) the myth of Ea and Apsu; (iii) the myth of Tiamat; (iv) the Hymn to Marduk.

The object of the poem is to justify Marduk's claim to a position of precedence over the other gods, and that of his temple to primacy over all other temples; the main emphasis is thus given quite naturally to those episodes of which the Babylonian god is the hero and the creation is attributed to him.

I. The poem begins at the origin of all things. Nothing exists as yet, not even the gods. Out of this nothingness appear the cosmic principles *Apsu*, fresh water, and *Tiamat*, salt water, from which all beings take their origin even the gods, and in the

first place *Mummu*, the first-born son of Apsu and Tiamat. Thus, there is in existence a triple godhead, father, mother, and son, *Apsu*, *Tiamat*, and *Mummu*.

The gods increase and multiply. Then they become rebellious against the divine triad. Apsu decides to destroy them, and aided by his son Mummu begins to attack them. But the wise Ea triumphs by the use of magic. He casts a powerful spell upon the waters—Apsu's element—and puts his ancestor to sleep, and renders Mummu incapable of resisting him. He then strikes down Apsu, makes Mummu captive, and rests in the dwelling which is now named *apsu*.

But Tiamat in her fury plans to avenge the conquered. She marries Qingu, makes him head of her army, and confides to his care the tablets of fate.

II-IV. Divining these plans Ea goes to tell all to the old god Anshar—father of a famous triad, Anu, Bel, and Ea—who sends first Anu and then Ea, but they fly terror-stricken at the mere sight of Tiamat. Then arises Marduk, the avenger of the gods. They ask him, as proof of his power, to perform a prodigy. He does so. By his mere word he destroys, and then reconstitutes a garment, and the gods pay him homage.

Marduk challenges Tiamat to single combat and she, on hearing him,

Became as though beside herself, she lost her reason,
Tiamat cried out in a paroxysm of fury;
Her foundations all trembled together to the depths.
She recites an incantation, she pronounces her magic formula,
And the gods of battle question their arms.

The fight begins:

The lord spread forth his net, he enfolded her in it.
He shot an arrow, he pierced her belly,
Her inner organs he severed, he rent her heart,
He reduced her to impotence and destroyed her life.

Tiamat's army is defeated; Marduk takes from Qingu the tablets of fate which Tiamat had given him:

With a seal he sealed them, he put them in his breast,

then he cut in two 'like a fish' Tiamat's body; with one part of it he made the heavens:

He drew the bolt, he posted doorkeepers,
He ordered them not to let his waters escape.

V. We are shown Marduk placing the stars in the sky.

VI. Man appears, formed of Marduk's blood. His end is to perpetuate and keep up the cult of the gods in order to appease them after their epic struggle.

VII. The interpretation of Marduk's fifty names, that is to say, of his divine attributes.

In order to achieve *religious unity* in the countries which he had just brought under his sway and on which he had imposed a *single legal code*, Hammurapi was desirous of showing that the gods venerated in his different provinces were not hostile to one another. According to the poem of Agushaya, which the king certainly inspired if he himself did not write it, the three goddesses of battle—Ishtar of Uruk, Saltu, and Agushaya—have become reconciled to one another; in the dwelling-place of the gods no lack of harmony ever brings them into opposition with one another.

The poem is divided into ten cantos, numbered, and ending usually with a *motif* which summarizes in a few lines the subject-matter of each canto.

I sing of the very great
Heroine amongst all the gods . . .
Her exploits are brilliant,
Her ways are inscrutable! . . .
Sceptre of royalty, throne and crown,
Anu bestowed on her, on her the dispenser of (all).

And conferred upon her nobility,
Greatness and power;
With the thunderbolt and with lightning
He girded her as well! . . .
She dreamed of deeds of prowess.
The deepest desire of her heart is to rush to the fray!

The gods of Ea's cycle decide upon the creation of a rival to

her, and Ea is entrusted with the task of bringing to life this prodigy, whose name is *Saltu*, battle.

Brave must she be,
Crafty her mind!
A work surpassing the trees of the forest,
Her body must be strong . . .

Ishtar seems to think it unworthy of her to fight in person against Saltu, and Agushaya, a new Ishtarian goddess, appears, but, instead of beginning the battle she prefers to negotiate.

At Agushaya's request Ea agrees to put an end to Saltu's aggressions on condition that the universe hears of the prodigy of her creation and that she has temples and offerings among men and that posterity keeps her memory alive.

The poem ends with a doxology in honour of the three war-like goddesses whom no ill-feeling can ever divide.

The wonderful civilization which the country owed to the great monarch seemed destined to assure to the Hammurapian dynasty centuries of peaceful reign. But scarcely one hundred years after the death of the celebrated reformer, under Shamash-ditana, the Hittites succeeded in coming down into Babylonia and laying it waste. Under cover of the confusion caused by this invasion, and even, perhaps, with the actual aid of the Hittites, a rival dynasty, that of the 'Country of the Sea', was founded at Nippur (?); another arose at Erech, probably about the same time, and towns whose past had been glorious like Lagash, Umma, Shuruppak, Kisurra, disappeared from history.

The Cassites and Hittites.

In the mountains of Zagros, a country wild and unfertile, but safe and easy to defend, lived a race of rude mountain-dwellers, the *Kashshu* or Cosseans, who at long intervals descended upon the fertile countrysides of the *edin*, raided the country, and retired swiftly with their booty into their inaccessible fastnesses. During the eighteenth century, although still semi-barbarous, they succeeded in founding a dynasty at Babylon. This event reminds us instinctively of the occupation of the throne of Egypt by the Hyksos at precisely the same

period, and, as in the latter case, so in the former, the invaders are soon civilized by their daily relations with the people of the country, and eventually become assimilated to the mass of the people. Here as elsewhere the conquered, being the more civilized, absorbs his conqueror.

Agum-Kakrime is one of the most famous of the Cassite kings. He styles himself 'Lord of the Kashshu and of Akkad, of Babylon the vast, of Padan of Alman and of the dark-faced Gutî'. But Elam eludes his grasp and Assyria resists him; the traditional suzerainty of Babylon over Syria is, at this time, more nominal than real.

There is a big gap in the annals of Babylonia between the seventeenth and the twelfth centuries. When all becomes dark the Cassite dynasties are reigning and they are still in power when light reappears, and we can see that during these five centuries progress has not stopped. On the contrary, great forward strides have been made; relations with the western Semitic peoples are highly developed; the Babylonian tongue has become the 'French' of the ancient world, even Egypt uses it in her dealings not only with Assyro-Babylonia but even with her suzerains the petty kings of Canaan, and in Canaan private individuals write even their personal correspondence in this tongue.

The Cassite kings are desirous of keeping always free the commercial routes towards Syria and the north. Burna-Buriash claims compensation from two Canaanite chiefs who looted and massacred the caravan of one of his messengers, Salmu; on another occasion he tries to fix the responsibility on the Pharaoh, who is suzerain of the country, for the massacre of some Babylonian merchants near the 'town' of Khinnatuni. His claims are vain, for at this period the influence of the Pharaohs over Canaan, like that of the Cassite kings at Mitanni, is paralysed by the inroads of the Hittites, to the great advantage of Assyria, whose restlessness is beginning just at this time to trouble its southern neighbours.

There is documentary evidence that the Hittite kingdom extended on the east to the Euphrates, which watered Malatia,

Samsat, and Karkemish; on the west in the direction of the Taurus as far as Kara-Dagh, with some places farther southwards; on the south, as far as Hamath, and, at certain periods, even as far as Canaan; however, on the north the boundaries are not certain: Eyuk and Boghaz-Keui, in the centre of the circle described by the Halys, Giaur-Kalesi, Yarre, Doghanlu, and Beykeui were Hittite, as were Sipylus and Kara Bel, between Sardes and Smyrna. But these countries which were Hittite in civilization were not all Hittite by race; ethnologically only those peoples who inhabited the interior of Asia Minor—with the exception of the Cappadocians in the north and, perhaps, of a group of the southern Cappadocians—and those of northern Syria—except a few groups living south of the Taurus, on the banks of the Euphrates, middle Syria, and Palestine—were Hittite.

It is probable that the Hittites came from the northern mountains, Armenia and the Caucasus, inasmuch as there is evidence dating from as early as 2000 B.C. that they rode on horseback like the people of Turkestan, that they wore boots with pointed and turned-up toes, like the Tartars and certain mountain-dwellers of Greece and of Crete. Besides, their religion was a mountain cult.

In neolithic times some characters of Hittite art are found in the art of Susa, of Troad, and of Crete. In subsequent times, they execute numerous figure-sculptures on rocks, particularly on Mount Taurus, some of which are gigantic in stature, others of natural proportions. Some of these groups represent divinities with their attendants and bear inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphics.

Only one movable monument has been found *in situ*, a stone with a rounded top placed on a pedestal, near Bogshc. Other monuments of the same type have been found, near their place of origin no doubt, as, for example, the massive altar of Kuru-Bel, north of Comana, the Derendeh lions, the obelisk of Izgin, the sun column of Palanga. Other monuments are the lions of Sakje-Geuzi, Marash, and Eyuk, in bold relief, and the fragments of statues from Kurts-oghlu and Marahs.

The unity of this art is unanimously admitted, for it is characterized by the shoe with the Mongolian point, the short tunic which ends above the knees, the cloak of Assyrian shape which leaves uncovered the leg as it steps forward, the pointed tiara or round *béret*, the hair parted and falling on either side of the face, or the pigtail on the shaven head.

The manner of Hittite art never attained either the realism of the Assyrian or the finish of the Egyptian: the works of these artists seem like unfinished sketches, a kind of adaptation of the traditional technique of the ancient civilizations to a race already defined and constituted.

As regards their religion any theorizing would be premature at the present stage of our knowledge, because there still remain too many native documents to be translated. Suffice it to note that the god Tishupu or Teshup is represented dressed in Hittite costume and with the axe and the thunderbolt of the Semitic god Adad, although he has not a place in the Semitic pantheon any more than Mauru, Tarqu, and Khepa, other Hittite gods. The treaty between Ramesses and Khatusura mentions in addition to the sun, Sutekh the lord of the heavens, and Sutekh lord of the Heta, Sutekh of Pairada, of Hissapa, of Sakhipina, &c., namely, of eleven towns. This god was the Egyptian Sutekh, who bore a great resemblance to the Semitic Ba'al. In the same treaty Astar, the Semitic Astarte, is named.

Subbiluliuma had already ravaged the left bank of the Euphrates, then the country of Aleppo, and he had given his daughter in marriage to Mattiuza, king of Mitanni. Later, another Hittite king, Hattusil, had the honour of having Ramesses II treat with him in person, after the battle of Qodshu, and of solemnly marrying his daughter.

The Hittites' successes favoured Ashshur's ambitions as they paralysed the action of the Babylonians in northern Mesopotamia. The Assyrians, youthful and exuberant, directed their warlike energies against Babylon: the Cassite dynasty was too old to check them. On the other hand, the armies of the Pharaohs were soon to place them in a preponderating position

in the east; this then is the place to describe the formation and development of the Egyptian empire.

In Egypt.

We can say, with Herodotus, that Egypt is a gift of the Nile, since it is, indeed, but a tongue of fertile land created by the deposits of the river's floods, and in its broadest parts only 7 miles wide.

At a period which it is impossible to determine, conquerors establish themselves in the country, build towns, cultivate the soil, and found the powerful nation called the Egyptian people.

It was the warrior Aha who founded the united kingdom of Egypt. The royal houses of Thinis reigned from about 3300 to 2900 B.C. It is now certain that it was in great part under the first kings of this dynasty that the essential features of Egyptian civilization and monarchy took an appearance which subsequently changed but little through all the vicissitudes of history. It is the king who gives the impulse to Egyptian life, yet one can approach this god-man only in fear and trembling, one kisses the dust beneath his feet: a few privileged persons can kiss his knees. He is always called 'god', one avoids calling him by his real name; the protocol calls him *Horus*, 'King of the two countries', later *Pharaoh*.

The furniture of the people and their instruments of toil always remain primitive, but at the court continuous progress is made, as can be judged by the objects found in the tombs; plaquettes of ivory and of ebony, little carved ivory figures, a small statue of an aged king striking in its realism, little figures in ivory representing women with children in their arms, golden figures of *Horus*, chased ivory caskets.

Vases and small figures of glazed discoloured earth are made and stone carved, rudely enough, into statues. Writing is known.

Each king builds for himself a new capital, surrounded by a battlemented wall, in which he has his 'palace'; houses, palace, and walls are built of light materials, unbaked bricks, and wattles.

The tombs of the second dynasty, at Abydos, are rectangular

brick structures, not white-washed, but little above the sand. The funerary chamber is hollowed out partly from the rock; the roof, which is horizontal, is covered with a coating of sand. The sovereign's corpse, placed in the middle of the wooden floor, is surrounded by his furniture and his utensils. Around the main chamber are smaller rooms intended to hold the greater portion of the provisions and, often, the bodies of slaves, of women, and of animals sacrificed on the day of the funeral so that they may accompany the master into the other life.

Beside the offerings, rough stelae bear the dead king's name, and the epitaph of his favourite dwarfs and dogs; tablets of ivory, bone, and schist record the deeds of prowess of the Pharaoh and the funeral scenes.

The offerings consisted of cakes, different sorts of bread, beer, liqueurs, meat, and fowl; the furniture of mats, cloths, chairs, and a number of vases of earthenware, granite, crystal, &c.; the instruments are of white silex, of fine workmanship, with, sometimes, carved bone handles.

Above the tomb two stelae bear the sovereign's enthronization name, and all around the Pharaoh's officers have placed their tombs in order to come there to rest beside their master. The common people are buried usually in trenches in the earth in the ancient manner, but sometimes also in big clay vases.

The seals of numerous functionaries on the corks of the clay vessels containing wine or provisions show us that the monarchy administers the country through civil officers as intermediaries.

We can see from the Palermo Stone that, under the second dynasty, the cattle and also 'the gold and the fields' were the object of a census every second year of the sovereign's reign. The text mentions this fact several times. The regularity of this operation was, presumably, with a view to assessing taxes in an equitable manner.

With Zoser, the founder of the third dynasty, the period called the Ancient Empire begins at Memphis.

The tombs are a few miles from the capital. The bodies of the common people were generally laid naked in the sand

without coffins; sometimes they were placed in small rectangular chambers, built usually of yellow bricks. They were given no precious objects for the other life, merely a few earthen vases with provisions.

The monumental tombs, when they were complete, were divided into three parts: the *mastaba*, the well, and the funerary chapel.

1. The *mastaba* was like a mutilated pyramid built of stone and brick. On the door, situated on the east side, and decorated sometimes on the right and the left with bas-reliefs representing the deceased standing, could be read a prayer, or rather an enumeration of the days devoted to the cult of ancestors. At the back was a big quadrangular stela before which was a table of alabaster, granite, or other similar material, for offerings. The stela was like a door, with the master's name on the architrave, and his family's portraits on the uprights.

This stela was represented as a closed door, because after death nobody was to pass through it nor see the sarcophagus. Carved on it were pictures representing victuals, and prayers to Anubis and Osiris.

As the soul went to Abydos in order to take its place near Osiris, who was buried there, its journey, frequently pictured on the walls, represented in a very realistic manner the minor details of contemporary Egyptian life. We find pictures of ploughing, sowing, and the rearing of cattle. Parties of workers are engaged in their daily task—cobblers, glaziers, smelters, carpenters, and women weaving under the supervision of a stern superintendent unlikely to endure their chatter.

The 'soul' inside its chapel enjoyed the pleasures of this journey.

It was in the room thus decorated that the descendants of the dead man and the priests came to pay homage to the ancestor.

The 'soul's' support, in the other life as well as in this, was the body, and so its corruption had to be prevented for as long as was possible. Hence came about the need for embalming it. Also, since various causes might destroy the mummy, it was wise to make in addition a statue-portrait, wiser still to make

veral; hence the great number of them found and the perfection of their execution.

2. The well is quadrangular, walled in with beautiful big ones, from 12 to 33 yards deep. At the bottom is a passage leading to the death chamber.

3. The death chamber was hollowed out of the rock, and was devoid of all ornamentation. In the centre on a sarcophagus of hard stone the name of the dead person was sometimes engraved. Round about it the workmen placed quarters of oxen which had just been slaughtered, dishes of fruits, vegetables, and other foods, then they walled up the entrance to the passage and filled the well with pieces of stone, sand, and earth, pouring water on the whole so as to make a sort of cement whose hardness made any profanation impossible.

In these monuments, everything seems to refer to life or to aim at the maintenance of life in the royal statues. The statuary art and the inscriptions as far as we know them to-day do, indeed, represent the gods as powerful lords, but the cult which occupies the principal and almost the exclusive place is that of the Pharaoh.

Under the fifth dynasty, the 'theologians' of Heliopolis, on the other hand, express in long religious texts, which are engraved on the pyramids of the kings, fine thoughts about providence, justice, and the judgement to be undergone after death before Osiris. Osiris, god of the dead, and the sun god Rê, of Heliopolis, become the patrons of the king living on the earth and of the king living in the other world; the Pharaoh takes the title 'Son of the Sun'.

Henceforward, long texts of prayers are met with on all the religious monuments, foundations of lands are made for the gods, temples are built to the sun.

One of the main activities of the pharaohs is the building of pyramids. Those of Memphis are 'the external symbol of the Old Empire and express its inmost character. The whole state is concentrated in the person of the "great god",¹ its supreme task can be summed up as follows: to assure to the sovereign after

¹ Namely, the Pharaoh.

his death the continuation of his power for eternity; religion with its jumble of magic shows the way.' Upon his accession, the new 'god' chooses the site where he will establish his earthly residence and, during the whole length of his reign, the entire kingdom works at the gigantic building. The king provides for its upkeep by grants, and his most devoted or most interested servants take charge of the daily provision of offerings and the ritual of magic formula.

Every pyramid—and notably those of Kings Sahure, Neferirkere, and Neuserre of the fifth dynasty—has, in addition, a temple to be devoted to the cult of the Pharaoh. It is always adjacent to the eastern façade.

The funerary temples show a great variety in the disposition of the different parts, but they always contain a courtyard with large doors, where the crowds of friends can congregate and, beside the pyramid, a narrow chapel where the funeral rites are carried out before the Pharaoh's stela. In store-rooms round about are kept the objects needed for the service.

Neither the pyramid nor the temple was in contact with the world outside; a high rectangular wall running along the four sides of the monument formed an inner courtyard, always tiled, in the middle of which rose the pointed mass.

The temple did not open out to the fresh air, but on a covered corridor which, coming down from the hill, terminated in a high, broad building which served as a propylaea to the funerary city.

The temple of the Chephren pyramid was 122 yards long and 18 yards in width. In the courtyard were twelve colossal statues of the Pharaoh.

All these walls and these propylaea, all these statues and these polished surfaces, like a mirror glistening in the Eastern sun, made upon the spectators a profound impression of grandeur and of power.

Not only are temples restored and towns rebuilt, great interest is also taken in literature. A high official bears the title of *Governor of the house of books*: this fact alone would suffice to show a very advanced state of civilization.

The inscriptions on Methen's tomb furnish evidence of a rich

d complex system of law, which we can feel to be already
cient and arrived at a high stage of development; for example,
e written form, even the formal deed, was often used, perhaps
every sort of contract.

Money being non-existent, sale and barter are not distinct.

The clergy possess property, certain of their rights to which
ey can renounce in favour of others.

The fifth dynasty represents the real apogee of the Ancient
npire. The bas-reliefs on the tombs and the carvings in the
mples show a remarkably advanced state of civilization, which
urished about the middle of the third millennium B.C., and
rich points in every way to a life of marked material comfort
id security. The fourth dynasty, combining a sobriety of
yle with a meticulous skill in technique, had produced its ideal,
hich consisted in the striving after colossal proportions in the
ramids of Gîzeh. Its temples, remarkable in their simplicity,
roduced a powerful impression by the greatness of their
mensions, the imposing mass of pillars and of monolithic
chitraves, by the contrast of colour afforded by the carefully
olished dark granite and the bright alabaster pavements.
nder the fifth dynasty every part of the edifice undergoes a
arked architectural development: the pillars, for example,
main monoliths but they spring up like plants, stems of
apryus, palm-trees, and lotus knotted in clusters with open
orbels, and thus have become columns. Besides, wooden
columns are also used, and the walls of the halls and corridors
re decorated with paintings in relief.

The statuary art aims at the production of works of huge
imensions in honour of the king. The statue of Chephren in a
eated position, carved in diorite, and other works, show that
he artists were able to work in even the hardest materials.

For the great lords the sculptors used softer materials, lime-
tone or wood, with the result that these statues are more life-
like and realistic. The masterpieces of this art are found in the
astabas of the fifth dynasty, an example of which is the *Scribe*
scroupi (seated scribe) in the Louvre. In mural decoration
he artists are not concerned with perspective, they place all

their figures on the same ground (the work being in relief during the fifth dynasty), and, consequently, confuse the outlines; they lack all sense of space and cannot achieve effects of depth. Nevertheless, the thousand and one different pictures which they afford us of the varied and laborious daily life are extremely interesting. What effect will they produce upon the Hebrews and on Moses when they behold them, ten centuries later!

The town of Memphis, the centre of Egyptian power and energy, gave its strength and power to the Delta. Its boats call at *Hanebu*, that is Crete, or perhaps Cyprus, the land of copper, and at the still sparsely populated islands of the Aegean Sea. On the south they are in touch with the regions around the Red Sea. The Pharaohs of the third, fourth, and fifth dynasties send forth expeditions to work and protect the turquoise mines of Sinai.

Let us study for a moment this region of Sinai, since it occurs appositely at this point in the general history of Egypt, and since the Bible places many important events there.

The Sinaitic peninsula is a huge triangle comprising two entirely distinct regions. Northwards, a large area of gently undulating country slopes gradually towards the Mediterranean and runs uninterruptedly into the Egypto-Syrian plateau, whose waters flow into the sea at El-Arish. Towards the peninsula this plateau is called the Desert of Tih; it ends abruptly to the south at a long fissure called at its head by the general name of Djebel et-Tih. This ridge forms a salient, very hilly towards the centre, shaped like the sides of a gigantic bastion whose point faces southwards while its sides are at right angles to each other.

The mountain group in the south forms a huge mass of crystalline rocks, granite, and porphyry, whose upper regions are not covered by any sedimentary deposit, but on the edges of which appear irregular belts of metamorphic rocks, schists of various kinds, and considerable sandstone formations.

From the point of view of hydrology, which determines the system of vegetation, and consequently that of life in general

and of human habitation, three entirely distinct regions must be distinguished in the Sinai 'desert'; in the first, which is rather low-lying, water is extremely rare, vegetation is practically non-existent, and all forms of organized human life, whether sedentary or nomadic, impossible. Thus, this plateau has never been anything more than a 'place of roads'.

In the sandstone region water is abundant, flowing from the foot of the schists or of the impermeable granite, and sometimes in the very heart of the sandy soil, in wells which are sufficiently near to one another to render travelling in the region easy, and everywhere else there is sufficient humidity to allow of fine trees growing in the sandy valleys, acacias and turpentine-trees, and a sufficient quantity of hardy undergrowth to provide pasture for camels, asses, and goats. True, we do not yet find anywhere on the western side, except perhaps at Gharandel, flowing streams and verdant oases, but at least life is possible for the nomadic clans in these valleys where it has been spent since the dawn of history by men who live by hunting, cattle-breeding, and supplying beasts of burden and escorts to the strangers who pass through their territory. It is also a mining district, thanks to the metallic veins rich in turquoises which are found in the sandstone layers.

It is only in the southern mountains that the conditions indispensable to a sedentary life exist. The tops of the high mountains, all over 6,000 feet, are covered with snow in the winter, which streams slowly down from one end of the year to the other into the innumerable ravines and valleys, where springs forth a splendid dense vegetation, tropical in character, great trees, tamarisks, wild palms, acacias—this is the oasis. Found only in those belts of land that a supply of water or moisture can reach, the oasis runs along the bottom of the valley, sometimes at the bottom of a gorge several yards wide, hemmed in by enormous steep cliffs. If one can call to mind a picture of the narrow ribbon of vegetation along the stream's edge, between the flamboyant bare walls, under the sun and the blue sky, it can be imagined how beautiful are some roads in the south of the peninsula.

The most extensive of these oases is that at Pharan, whose beautiful stream is fed by the waters from the northern slope of Mount Serbal.

Several caravan routes, of varying degrees of importance, are possible in the Sinaitic peninsula, and have been used in the course of history. In the first place, between Suez and Aka-ba-Aila is the route which, starting from the Gulf of Suez, ends up in the descent of the western slope of Mount Arabah, traversing the limestone plateau or 'desert of Tih', with three watering-places at Kalaat en-Nakhl, Bir Koresh, and Bir eth-Themed.

Another road skirts the southern base of Mount Tih, traversing the less desolate regions of the peninsula; having passed the oasis of Ayn Musa, beyond Wed el-Atha, it divides into two branches, one of which goes away from the coast towards the waters of the middle Gharandel, and the other approaches it touching the less distant watering-places of El-Atha and Bir Abu Surra.

Further southwards the route proceeds through a valley which crosses a three-mile belt of limestone mountains and seems later on to end abruptly at a steep slope of blackish schist, and then passes into a narrow corridor of impressive beauty, with its vertical walls cut out of red granite, streaked with veins of black diorite, and, above the granite, tall slopes of dark red sandstone. One then proceeds by the wed¹ Mokatteh, whose western side is covered with innumerable inscriptions, and arrives at last at the oasis of Pharan, rich in vegetation of tamarisks, acacias, date-palms, and shrubs of all kinds. After Pharan the path branches off; one branch goes towards Saint Catherine, the other towards Tor and the Red Sea.

The beautiful little mountain-passes over Soleifel-Asiat—3,000–3,100 feet high—present no difficulty; one finds there red granite, and vegetation, *tropical in character, which is found in the gorges of the great granitic mountain, wherever a stream of water is to be seen on the surface of the sand.*

In the hills, especially in those of the wed Magharah and

¹ River bed nearly always without water and which sometimes serves as a roadway. The word is Arabic.

But, the natives had long ago discovered seams of metallic ore and deposits of precious stones. They succeeded in extracting from them, after a fashion, iron, copper, and magnesium, malachite and turquoises, which they exported to the Delta. These treasures excited the greed of the Pharaohs and resulted in the expeditions of the third, fourth, and fifth dynasties, which we have mentioned, and which were followed by others.

From the fifth to the tenth dynasty: Teti is the founder of the sixth dynasty. Weni, Pepi I's minister, is an administrator of talent whose career is noteworthy. Beginning as a simple crown-guarder, Weni soon obtained a post in the offices of the Royal Treasury, next becoming an inspector of the State woods. He held a foremost place in Pepi's affection, thus becoming *Inspector of the 'Prophets' of the funerary pyramid* and later *Auditor*. Having filled this last office in an eminently satisfactory manner, he was nominated *Friend of the King* and *Steward of the Queen's household*. Gradually he assumed the direction of all business, for example, the Sinai quarries are worked according to the best methods and a regular system of inspection instituted.

Weni vindicated in war Egypt's claim to suzerainty over Nubia, Libya, and the region situate between Egypt and Canaan.

Neferirkere (fifth dynasty) had dispensed the serfs attached to the temples of Abydos and Coptos from statutory labour; Pepi II was continually granting new prerogatives to the sanctuaries. Three decrees made by two other Pharaohs of the sixth dynasty show that according as the power of the princes of the nomes and domains of mortmain, with all the privileges which the king attaches to them, increase, the royal authority becomes weakened and the nomes more and more dependent. At the same time, the middle class becomes strengthened and assumes a definite role. Egypt is disintegrating, and this decadence of the central authority causes a distinct retrogression in the external marks of civilization. This condition of affairs comes about during the period which elapses between the eighth and the tenth dynasties, a transition period. The magic formulae of the olden days—which, incidentally, are destined to have a new vogue under the New Empire—are

now supplanted by the texts inscribed upon walls of tombs, and upon coffins, and which have gone towards the formation of that vast compilation which we name the *Book of the Dead*. And yet, magic is not done away with --the dead person is told of the dangers which threaten him, and incantations are placed upon his lips which render harmful monsters inoffensive. Thus, the new ideas which pierce the cloak of tradition are not sufficiently strong to supplant entirely the traditional ideas.

The speculations of the fifth dynasty upon the unity of divine power, manifested by the creative power of the sun, now become the belief of the entire people; yet, in practice, to these 'monotheistic' theories are opposed countless local divinities, whose pretensions have become increasingly exacting with the emancipation of the nomes. Eventually, they will put to rout the 'monotheistic' ideas.

With the eleventh dynasty begins the *Middle Empire*. Coptos, Silsilis, and Thebes begin to appear in political life. In the fourth generation, the preponderance of Thebes is assured; its supremacy lasts until the fourteenth dynasty and is re-established after the expulsion of the Hyksos. The eighteen kings of the twelfth dynasty are at the same time engineers, soldiers, patrons of the arts, and protectors of agriculture, so that this period is one of the most prosperous in the history of Egypt.

Sometimes the riparian inhabitants of the Delta witness the arrival in their towns from the East of bands of men, or even of entire tribes, who have been forced to fly from their country through famine or revolution. They come to seek refuge in Egypt.

A tomb at Beni Hasan depicts the welcome extended to these immigrants; the details of their clothing and of the objects which they bear with them give evidence of an advanced state of civilization.

From Asia, even at this period, Egypt imports slaves, perfumes, cedar-wood, enamelled vessels, dyed and embroidered stuffs, of which the monopoly is preserved in Chaldea down to Roman times.

The working of the turquoise mines of Sinai is reorganized,

d intensified; and yet the tribes which live there by brigandage, notably the Shasu, are not expelled.

The turbulent peoples of Ethiopia are, for a time, an obstacle to the plans of the Pharaohs, until finally Senusret III builds two fortresses, built like all Egyptian military constructions of baked bricks, one on the right bank of the Nile and the other on the left.

Under this dynasty the general riches of the country increase rapidly.

The paintings in the tombs at Beni Hasan represent in realistic manner labourers ploughing with oxen, harrowing, threshing, treading grapes, gathering grapes, making wine and stocking it in jars. Elsewhere are depicted the stone-mason, the woodworker, glass-blowers making bottles, potters making vessels and firing them in the oven, cobblers, carpenters, woodworkers, painters, &c. We have, in addition, such a great number of examples of sculpture that one wonders how Egypt produced at this early age so many artists—the artists of Greece do not begin to appear for about another fourteen hundred years. But the farmer's lot was a hard one under the superintendent's rod!

The thirteenth dynasty secures prosperity for Egypt for some centuries: hydrographical works are carried out; Thebes, Memphis, Tanis, Abydos, &c., are restored and embellished.

The art declines somewhat, and yet the beauty of the royal statues attains a degree of perfection rarely reached by that of subsequent periods. The monuments of the later Pharaohs (they were fewer in all) are rare, and they have not the perfection of the earlier ones.

Even in the past, the Egyptian conception of life is a very realistic one, and yet the spiritual element which finds its expression in the cult of the dead appears in a much heightened form in comparison with the moderate expression of the funerary cult of the Old Empire. One hopes in the afterworld to enjoy the contemplation of the gods themselves in all their splendour, and in order to attain this one's life must be in accordance with justice and morality.

The material well-being of the Delta population has been

greatly increased by the hydrographical works executed there. The fourteenth dynasty fixes its capital in this territory at Xoïs. Its history is as yet unknown to us, but we know that bands of Hyksos from the East are soon to descend upon the country and, favoured by the internecine struggles which are weakening Egypt, take possession of the throne.

Literature. Throughout the course of the twenty centuries which we have just traversed, that is to say, from about 4000 to 2000 B.C., the language of the numerous documents which are extant remains the same, but dialects naturally sprang up, which gave rise to the separation of the popular tongue from ancient Egyptian.

The Egyptians believed that their writing had been invented by the god Thoth, and, since they held that this god was a form of the mind and of the wisdom of the god who created heaven and earth, the characters were held to be divine and sacred. They believed that the copies of chapters or sections of books attributed to Thoth had a special virtue from which the dead benefited if they were placed in the coffin.

Thoth had, besides, invented the science of numbers, fixed the course of the sun, moon, and stars, and regulated the seasons. He was the lord of wisdom, as of all divine and human knowledge. He acted as clerk to the gods and had custody of the books in which were written the destinies of men: it was he who presided at the great judgement.

It was believed that all the great religious books had been composed by him, or that the inspiration for them had been given by him to some sacred scribe. They were regarded as springs of the most profound wisdom and far superior to the books of all other peoples. In them resided Thoth's spirit, so that the scribes who copied them were particularly honoured.

Egyptian literature, like Egyptian art, is almost exclusively religious. Among the texts which have come down to us engraved upon stone or inscribed on papyrus, the greater number—divine legends, hymns, prayers, rituals—are concerned exclusively with religious subjects. Even those which have a more profane interest—triumphal stelae, stories,

romances, historical poems—are by their inspiration and general character, traceable to a religious basis.

The name *Texts of the Pyramids* is now given to the long inscriptions, engraved in splendid hieroglyphics in the stone chambers of the five pyramids of Saqqârah, in which Unis, pharaoh of the fifth dynasty, Teti I, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II, of the sixth dynasty, were to rest under a starry roof in the centre of their gigantic tombs.

These texts represent one of the earliest literary products of the human mind. They form a collection of pieces widely different in character, in which compositions of an entirely impersonal nature—ritual formulae for the various parts of the funeral ceremonies, prayers, and incantations—follow one upon the other in a haphazard manner, and such that they could apply to any dead king whose name might be introduced into them.

There is in this primitive literature a wild beauty of which the elements are sordid realism, fanciful imagery, an abundance of jingling alliteration and mythological vision, and a harsh uncultured poetic quality which must have pleased those children of nature. The aim of these texts was to achieve the glorious resurrection of the king and to secure for him happiness in the other world (the *Dwat*), and eternal life.

Hymn to the Sun, Rê. The most interesting historical and religious phenomenon at the period of the Pyramids (2500 B.C.) is the development of the Sun-cult which transforms all Egypt. The following passage occurs in a hymn from the pyramids of Pepi II:

The Creator. Hail to thee, Atum¹
Hail to thee, O Becoming,² who becomest thyself,³
Thou art elevated in thy name of High,⁴
Thou becomest in thy name of Becoming.

¹ The sun considered as a demiurge and containing in itself the principles of all things.

² The scarab-inscription has *kh p r r*. The root *kh p r* means 'to become'; the play upon words exemplified here is exemplified throughout.

³ Auto-generator, begetting of thyself.

⁴ Q'a.

The Creature. Hail to thee, creature¹ of Horus,
 Whom he has decked with his hands!
 He has not placed thee in subjection to the man of the
 West;
 He has not placed thee in subjection to the man of the
 East;
 He has not placed thee in subjection to the man of the
 South;
 He has not placed thee in subjection to the man of the
 North;
 He has not placed thee in subjection to those who are
 in the middle of the four earths,²
 But thou obeyest Horus!

The name *Book of the Dead* has been given to a kind of psalter or *vade mecum* of the dead, because nearly all the hymns or prayers which it contains were supposed to be recited or sung by the deceased and for himself. A divine origin was attributed to this 'book', which was supposed to have been written by the god Thoth.

From the time of the third and fourth dynasties the *Book of the Dead* was divided into 'chapters' since the 'Texts of the Pyramids' refer in it to the 'Chapter of those who go out', of the 'Chapter of those who ascend', of the 'Chapter of incense, Bedu'. It would seem likely that these chapters belonged to a *Book of the Dead* earlier than the 'Texts of the Pyramids'.

The Egyptians of antiquity, in common with other Eastern peoples, never practised the method of writing history which began with the Greeks and has, moreover, reached a relative stage of perfection only in our days; it is none the less a surprising and interesting fact that, from the time of the Ancient Empire the dwellers on the banks of the Nile compiled official

¹ *Creature* (eye+the sign of the feminine). The eye expresses both the idea of seeing and of making or creating. What god does is also what he sees, in the same way, as can be seen from other texts, as what he does is also what he names or expresses. In Mesopotamia, the Sumerian *Pad*—which contains the image of the *eye*—suggests the same idea: it means to see and to name. The *eye* of Horus means the *creature* of Horus; the tears of Horus's eye are mankind. Egypt is referred to here.

² The West, East, South, and North constituted four mansions or regions. The *centre*, or *heart* as the Egyptian expresses it, is also inhabited.

annals, such as those called *Stone of Palermo*, which form a very succinct résumé of Egyptian history from the time of the pre-dynastic kings down to the middle of the fifth historical dynasty. The following passages are from a private inscription of the sixth dynasty, which contains the autobiography of Herkhuf, a celebrated and extremely active caravan guide.

. . . The king praised me . . . I am loved by my father, praised by my mother, loved by my brothers. I gave to eat to those who were hungry, I clothed those who were naked, and those who had no boat I brought across to the other bank of the river. O You, men and women who live upon the earth and pass by this grave as you go up or down the river, and who say 'A thousand cakes and a thousand jugs of beer for the master of this tomb!', I will offer them for you in the other world.

Herkhuf was employed upon several missions which were crowned with success.

The first journey:

He says, the Majesty of Merenre, my lord, sent me with my father, the priest Iri, to Yam, entrusted with a mission to explore the way to this country. I did it in barely seven months, and brought back with me from my journey presents of all sorts. I was very highly praised for that.

Religion. When the population had settled down upon the land, each nome had its own metropolis with its own standard, which was that of its god, a survival of prehistoric and proto-historic times. As a result, perhaps, of some political or social happening this god lost his position of supremacy so that a day arrived when the god of the metropolis was no longer he who figured on the standard.

When an explanation of the origin of things was sought for, it was admitted that from the chaos of the primitive ocean had arisen finally the *Sun*, in the shape of Atum, but this occurrence was not explained in the same manner in all sacerdotal centres. Some held that the Sun had come from an egg created by Ptah, others that the young god had come into being in a lotus-flower which had grown in the sea. By his own personal power of generation alone, or with that of his consort, the sun-god

engendered *Shu*, namely, the air or atmosphere, and his spouse Tefnut. As regards the heavens and the earth, they were originally tightly clasped in each others' arms.¹ *Shu* separated them violently and continued thenceforth to hold up the sky above the earth. Geb and Nut engendered *Osiris* and *Isis*, *Seth*, and *Nephthys*. We are further told that the sun-god had lost an eye in dispersing his enemies, the storms and tempests.

The priests of Heliopolis place the sun-god as a demiurge at the head of their pantheon, but other gods were adored before him. In the first place, a god of light and of the sky represented by a falcon; next, *Seth*, the adversary of light, who, although dwelling in the sky, personifies storm and thunder and harmful winds. Both men and gods are afraid of *Seth*, and adore his brute strength and power, all the more since he is a great magician. According to tradition, *Horus* reigned over Lower Egypt and *Seth* over Upper Egypt.

The sun-god was stated to have been king of Egypt and the real father of the reigning Pharaoh. From the time of the fourth dynasty, the Pharaoh took the title of 'Son of Rê' (*sa Rê*), in the physical sense. Under the influence of these ideas, the god was envisaged as a celestial replica of the pharaoh.

Osiris is the second great god, the god of the great natural element which made Egypt—water, the water of the Nile, which came from heaven and brought with it floods and fertility. *Osiris* was the imperishable principle of all life, endowed, even after his death, with the power of generation, ceaselessly dying and returning to life, like vegetation. It was believed that he also had formerly reigned over the country. He was heir to his divine progenitor Geb. His sister, *Isis*, who was also his wife, protected him against his enemies, but the most terrible of them, *Seth*, succeeded in killing him. *Isis*, stricken with grief, set out to seek the god's dead body, found it, and with the assistance of her sister, *Nephthys*, embalmed it and had it buried. A sycamore tree grew up over the grave, and this sacred tree is the symbol of *Osiris*' imperishable life. For the god, even after his death, was able to give *Isis* a child, namely, *Horus*, who, when he grew up,

¹ In Egyptian *Geb*, the earth, is masculine, and *Nut*, the sky, feminine.

avenged his father's death, but lost an eye in his struggle against Seth. Healed by the god Thoth, he went in search of his father in order to bring him back to life and offer him the eye which he had lost through love of him, and the *eye of Horus* became the symbol and even the synonym of *sacrifice* or *oblation*, and after the scarab one of the most sacred of symbols. Osiris' apanage was the kingdom of the dead.

The myth of Osiris gave concrete form to the hopes and aspirations of the people of this time. Isis personified wifely fidelity and motherly solicitude, and Horus filial devotion.

Belief in Osiris, like that in the sun-god, soon entered into a close relationship with the life of the king. The priests tried to bring the two faiths into harmony, but they did not succeed in avoiding the inextricable confusion which had been created by the popular imagination.

The Beyond. The Egyptians believed in the existence of a kind of spirit entrusted with the care of the dead in the other world. They named it *ka*. This spirit dwelt mainly, if not entirely, in the other world and there awaited the arrival of the dead. Originally the belief in this *ka* would seem to regard it as confined exclusively to the kings, only in later times and consequent upon a gradual evolution in their ideas they came to attribute one such spirit to each individual. This *ka* was thus not an element of the human personality. The latter consisted of the *body* and of the *intelligence* which was placed in the heart or in the stomach and was neither clearly distinguished from the body nor from the principle of life which was identified with the breath: vital principle and breath being represented by a strange little bird with a human head, bearing the hieroglyphic of wind and breath and of life. Besides, the *name* was a form or, as it were, a modality of the person. At death, it abandoned the dead man and left his body; thus, it was important to perpetuate it in order to preserve the integrity of the individual. For this purpose a stela was erected bearing the proper name of the deceased and an invitation to the passer-by to recite it so that it might become 'stable, perfect and good' and might have life like that of the bearer, or his shades.

Impelled by these beliefs, the Egyptians took numerous precautions with the aim of making certain of the physical restoration of the dead man and, hence, of his survival: such as the recital of magic formulae, invocations to the 'eye of Horus' and offerings. Other practices aimed at the reconstitution of his mental faculties; he was then transformed into *b'a* and became once more a real person.

But to live in the other world the dead needed a tomb and furnishings, and the duty of supplying them fell upon his children. Finally, it was important that the body should escape destruction and hence we get mummification, the pyramids, and the sumptuous offerings and rites of the funerary temples.

Under the Old Empire the Pharaoh, who was the god Horus among men, concentrated in his sole person all right to these services and he alone received the homage of these funeral rites, but, from the twenty-fourth century onwards, the custom was established of burying the king's officers and courtiers in like manner so as to give him a kind of funeral court.

In the *Texts of the Pyramids* two ancient teachings were confused; one represented the dead as a star, the other as associated with the sun-god, or even as becoming the sun-god. The former conception was absorbed in that of the belief in the Sun.

At the time of passing into his new kingdom, the king was obliged to purify himself by libations or immersions in the sacred lake. To ascend to heaven he crossed, in a boat or on a raft, the lake to the east of which were the 'gates of heaven', or like a falcon he flew through the air.

The official theological teaching at the time of the Pyramids held that the Pharaoh was the son of Rê, and that in heaven the king became a god. He is represented as assimilating the divine attributes in a feast worthy of a celestial cannibal; the gods are put to death.

The great ones amongst them are his morning repast;
 The medium-sized for his evening-meal;
 The small ones for his night-meal . . .
 . . . the cauldrons are filled with the thighs of their heirs.

The cauldrons are filled with the legs of their wives . . .

(The King) has taken the hearts of the gods,

he has devoured 'the red';

he has eaten 'the green' . . .

he gorges himself, feeding upon their hearts and their magic charms . . .

he has swallowed the wisdom of all the gods . . .

Then are described his divine functions¹ as king, as judge, as purifier, as legislator.

But this did not satisfy the reckless imagination of the Egyptians. He was conceived as a cosmic being who at the origin of the world was far superior to the sun.

The most remarkable virtue among the people at this archaic epoch is filial piety, which manifests itself especially by the care which the son devotes to his father's burial. They pride themselves on their generosity in this respect: 'I gave bread to him who was hungry; I clothed him who was naked . . . I never oppressed any of those who had possessions . . .'

Rê was considered as a moral god, but a god of very imperfect morality. This judge of the other world tolerated the grossest sensuality, and even provided for the sexual pleasures of the dead king.

In Canaan.

The sacred books of Israel tell us that at the time when the ancestors of Yahweh's people entered Canaan, they encountered there the last remains of an ancient race of giants, called *Anaqim*, in the region of Hebron and of Philistia: *Emim* in the land of Moab, *Amzumim* among the Ammonites, and over a wide area of country *Rephaim*. These names hide perhaps the memory of a population, earlier than the Amorrites, who built the megalithic monuments. At any rate, *Anaqim* was the name of a tribe whose existence in the country is proved by fragments of pottery of the time of the eleventh Egyptian dynasty.

In some Biblical texts² the ancient inhabitants of Canaan are divided into Kena'ani and Perizzi. It has been proposed to

¹ Cf. *Pyramids*, Sethe's edition 1835-6, 252.

² Genesis xiii. 7, xxxiv. 30; Judges i. 4 and 5.

identify these Perizzi with the inhabitants of the villages, *perázôt*, and the Kena'ani or Canaanites with the town-dwellers, whether it be that the Perizzi were nomadic invaders who contented themselves with occupying the countryside, or that the invaders were the Canaanites, who conquered the towns and expelled the inhabitants to the countryside.

Might not these peoples called the *Perizzi* be the same as those called *Amorrites* in other Biblical texts, who, banished to the mountains by the Canaanites,¹ especially northwards, would have formed the principal part of the inhabitants of the country. This hypothesis would explain satisfactorily why the Babylonians, who were in relations with Syria in the third millennium, called Syria-Palestine *Amurru*, or the country of the Amorreans or Amorrites. The Canaanites, properly so called, had their share in the supremacy of Syria about the middle of the second millennium, for it is roughly this region which bears this name in the Egyptian texts² and the texts of el-Amarna.³ One thing is certain, from the linguistic point of view both Canaanites and Amorrites were Semitic, and, moreover, it is quite definite that the excavations in Palestine have not so far established that a new civilization displaced an older one about 1500. The only difference between the two periods comes mainly from the fact that, from the second millennium onwards, certain outside influences, Egyptian and Aegean, have had a more far-reaching effect upon Palestine. It is, thus, more probable that neither from an ethnical nor from a cultural viewpoint were there any essential points of difference between Canaanites and Amorrites.

We learn from the texts of el-Amarna that, previous to the Hebrew settlement, Canaan was inhabited by Hittites, and that Abd-Hiba was king of Jerusalem. Mention must also be made of the Amorrites, the Moabites, and the Edomites, nomadic peoples who took part, like Israel, in the Aramean migration but who came out from the desert before them and had settled upon the borders of the great plain.

¹ Numbers, xiii. 29, xiv. 25; Deuteronomy i. 7, xi. 30; Joshua v. 1, xi. 3.

² From about 1600 onwards.

³ About 1400.

In spite of the diversity of their origin, the populations of Canaan had a fairly homogeneous common civilization. This is proved by the modern excavations at Gezer and Lakish in the south, Ta'annak and Megiddo in the north, and Jericho in the east. By the middle of the third millennium, bronze was in current use, and the use of iron seems to have been introduced towards the end of the second millennium.

The Canaanites were extremely skilful in the art of fortification. Thus, in order to ensure an adequate water-supply for their citadels, which were usually perched upon a spur of mountain, they had carried out works all the more remarkable for the fact that several of them seem to have been executed with stone implements: at Gezer, a tunnel 76 yards long, descending by eighty steps to a depth of about 32 yards to reach an underground well; at Jerusalem, a subterranean corridor hollowed out under a mountain.

Religion of the Canaanites. The Canaanites held certain mountains sacred, for example, Mount Hermon, the name of which is allied to the Arabian *haram* and the Hebrew *herem*. The ruins of several temples have been discovered near the summit. One might mention other mountains, Mount Carmel and Mount Casius, although the evidence here is of much later date. Water they also held sacred, such as the waters of certain rivers which bore names of divinities—Belus, Adonis, the river Tripoli which is called even yet Oadisha, the Holy.

They adored *Hadad*, called also Addu, Adad, Dad, the god of the storm; *Dagon* or Dagan, the god of corn; *Shemesh* or Shamash, the sun-god; *Resheph*, who was perhaps identified with Mikal, the god of Beisan; *Tammuz* at Byblos, and some others. Their goddesses were *Ashera*, Anat, and *Ashtart*, the Ishtar of the Akkadians, the Astarte of the Greeks.

The greater part of the feminine figures discovered in Canaan are a kind of little bas-reliefs of baked earth, or statuettes of the same material or of bronze. Their style frequently reveals traces of foreign influences, Egyptian, Babylonian, sometimes Cypriot or Hittite. The Goddess is often represented naked,

and the attributes of her sex, by the particular emphasis given them in the figures, show clearly the kind of benefits which the Canaanites, both male and female, expected from her. Do these statues always portray Ashtart? We have no finally conclusive proof that such is the case.

The Canaanites had sacred enclosures, *bamoth*, singular *bamah*. In neolithic times the sanctuary at Gezer occupied an area of 28 yards by $26\frac{1}{2}$ yards, without enclosing walls. It contained only a rock in which *cupules* were hollowed out. The existence of similar sacred places has been discovered at Tell Djedeideh, Tell Zakariya, Beyth-el, Megiddo, &c. At Gezer, Megiddo, and Tell es-Sefy massive stelae or *masseboth* are erected around a pillar or sacred stone of modest proportions, the sole object of worship in ancient days, whose sanctity in course of time communicated itself to the masseboth which originally were merely commemorative.

Near the sacred stelae is a stone altar on which were spread the blood, oblations, and perfumes with which the masseboth were to be sprinkled, or which were brought to the canal leading to the *adytum* in the cavern.

The rough-hewn stone pillar near the altar represents the grove where in primitive days the cult was carried on; a little farther back is the trench into which were put the remains of the sacrifices and oblations, and, quite near to that, reservoirs containing the water indispensable for the various rites. At the end farthest removed from the crowd of the faithful was the domain reserved for the god; there his treasures were heaped up, thither his ministers withdrew, the people being admitted only for the accomplishment of certain more important or more intimate rites. Where no natural cave existed one was made.

Thus, about the twentieth century, the place of adoration has assumed a definite appearance—on a hill, in the shade of a thicket or near a well, an unhewn stone pillar, perhaps roughly fashioned into a stela, is the dwelling-place or at least the symbol of the divinity. The faithful come to anoint the sacred stone and erect nearby a massive *massebah* in commemoration

of the sacrifice which has been offered. The sacred stone comes finally to represent, in realistic fashion, the idea of Nature's fertility.

The distinction between the divine symbol and the altar appears later. Blood sacrifices occupy an increasingly preponderating position and even human sacrifices become frequent—firstlings of the family or human victims offered in sacrifice on the occasion of the founding of some edifice.

The plastic representations of these fundamental concepts underwent various influences according to the different masters who dominated the country. As the children of Israel succeeded only by slow degrees and as a result of persevering efforts in their conquest of the land, so the religious transformation took place slowly and gradually.

In the neolithic period the hypogeum at Gezer consisted of a cave, in part natural, in part artificial (about 32 by 9 yards in length and between 2 and 9 feet in height). A staircase was cut out of the rock on the lower side; on the other side was a well about 3 feet in depth. Ashes and burnt bones prove that dead were cremated.

In the Canaanite period, this cave was extended to twice its size by artificial means. The bottom of the stairway was closed by a wall and the rest of the same stairway purposely blocked up with stones and pebbles. At the same time, the well was excavated to give access to the cave by means of ropes (the same was done at Bethany), the opening being closed up by a stone slab. These facts show that the bodies were preserved whole and that it was desired to protect them from wild beasts. This is proved also by some tombs in Tawahin es-Sukkar, south of Jabboq.

The corpses were laid out on their sides. Along the walls, in little recesses were individual burial-places with more abundant and more highly perfected objects and offerings.

At Gezer there is further to be noted an artificial cavity, cylindrical in shape, wider at the orifice than at the base, with notches for footholds. At the lower level of the well, a door opens upon an uneven-shaped, artificially constructed chamber.

The corpses are laid on their sides and huddled up with their knees towards their chins, their heels under their thighs. Lamps, arms, and ornaments are placed around the chamber—daggers, javelin-heads, pearls, hairpins, &c. There are no traces of clothing of any kind, no definitely religious objects such as idols, emblems or amulets.

At Megiddo there are two tombs similar to the well-like tomb at Gezer, but, since there was no cave upon the hill, vaulted funerary chambers were constructed in marked rough-stone: the first contains five skeletons, the second twelve. The furnishing of the tomb consists of pieces of flint, lamps of the most archaic type, alabaster vases, bronze blades, pearls of Egyptian enamel.¹

In Babylonia, Egypt, and Phoenicia everything possible was done to prevent the violation of the tombs. In Canaan we find no means of closing up the tombs, no windows, and yet the Canaanites knew how to build houses and even strong gates for the ramparts of their towns. We can say from our knowledge of Egyptian customs that the tombs were left open because the living came often to visit the dead and make offerings to them.

The sight of death awoke the sentiment of a mysterious and inescapable power to which something was due, and so offerings were made to it. They were, perhaps, offered to the Earth, and only later to the dead. Was not this cave, the resting-place of the dead strewn with corpses, the altar best adapted for these offerings? This type persists through many evolutions, but merely as a symbol of which the original meaning has been forgotten, in the *cupulae* found, for example, at Megiddo and Hizmeh.

In the twentieth century other peoples of the same origin as the Canaanites but of a different culture, of whom the most famous were the Arameans, came from the East, and settled down in the territory of the original Semitic population of Canaan. This invasion doubtless caused the migration of the Hebrews.

¹ The second burial-place seems to have been in use for a longer period, for the ceramic found there bears traces of an Aegean influence.

Israel.

Biblical tradition gives us the place of origin of Abraham's clan Ur of the *Kasdim* (which was situated in Upper Mesopotamia, it would seem,¹ in the region where at one time the centre of Aramean power flourished). Abraham and his people were not city-dwellers, but wandering shepherds. The relations of these nomads with their sedentary neighbours were not always of a peaceful nature. Fierce² at times, intractable when the honour or the life of one of their 'brethren' is to be avenged, they are filled with contempt for those who submit to any yoke.³ We read in an old text:⁴

Benjamin is a ravenous wolf;
In the morning he devours a prey,
In the evening he divides the spoil.

The patriarchal family is, and will long remain for Israel, the type of all organization. It conceives all mankind in this image; every nation is a family descended from a common father: the Assyrians are sons of a man named Assur, the Canaanites of one Canaan, the Moabites come from an ancestor called Moab, the Israelites from Israel.

Genesis, as we at present possess it, shows to us the creator of the Cosmos, Elohim or Yahweh, manifesting himself to mankind in a very anthropomorphic fashion, imposing upon man the ties of moral obligations and accepting his cult. *Elohim* is a plural of intensity, a sort of superlative of *El-God*, who in the earliest story of the Creation, becomes, perhaps by anticipation, Yahweh. There is mention also of a vague, mysterious promise,⁵ of the transgression of a definite precept given to man and of the punishment ensuing therefrom. Then one of the two sons of the first human couple kills the other; in the sixth generation Lamek is a criminal and an echo of his inner feelings is perpetuated in this poetic fragment.

¹ Cf. the arguments adduced in A. Lods, *Israel*, pp. 184-9.

² Genesis xix *passim*.

³ Genesis xxxiv, xlv, xlix. 14-15.

⁴ Genesis xlix. 27.

⁵ Genesis iii. 15: 'I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed. It shall crush your head, and you will wound it in the heel.'

Ada and Sella, hear my voice;
 Ye wives of Lamek, hearken to my speech:
 I have slain a man to the wounding of myself
 And a stripling to my own bruising.
 Cain shall be avenged sevenfold
 And Lamek seventy-seven times.¹

Corruption increases, and we see in Genesis the spectacle of its punishment in an extraordinary cataclysm called the Deluge.

The people of Ur of the *Kasdim* and the family of Thare were idolatrous,² but all the texts which mention Abraham and the other patriarchs represent them as adoring but one God. Even in the very highest manifestations of the Divinity this God of the patriarchs is occupied mainly with the interests of the tribe, its future, its prosperity, its increase;³ sometimes, however, his gaze goes beyond the limits of the group of nomads settled in Canaan, either to look upon neighbouring countries, for example, Sodom, or to point out the unique destiny which is to be that of the *bene Israel* among the peoples.

This God brooks no rivals. The patriarchs adored him either by the name El—usually, if not always, followed by a qualification, such as *olam*, *eliyon*, *shadda*—or the name Yahweh,⁴ and they received from him a promise that they would become nations.⁵

We learn that Jacob, before he died, transferred to Juda the prerogatives that he himself had received:⁶

Juda, thee shall thy brethren praise;
 Thy hands shall be on the necks of thy enemies;
 The sons of thy father shall bow down to thee.
 Juda is a young lion . . .
 The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda,
 Nor the rod of commandment from between his feet
 Until *Shiloh* comes.

¹ Genesis iv. 23.

² Joshua xxiv. 2 and 14-15.

³ Genesis xii. 1-3, xiii. 14-17, xvii. 1-2, xviii. 13-15, xxii. 15-18, xxiv. 24-5.

⁴ In the text called *Document E*, Yahweh expressly names himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exodus iii. 6, 15, 16). Similarly in Deuteronomy i. 21, vi. 3, xxvii. 3. Yahweh is also called the *el* of Sem and of his race, Genesis ix. 6.

⁵ Genesis xvii. 1-11.

⁶ Genesis xlix. 8-10.

Any place where the patriarchs had had a vision was held sacred and became a place of pilgrimage, for example, Bersabee and Beyth-El, and objects such as altars and stelae, which at that period were used in sanctuaries among the people we are treating of, were placed there.

The prohibition against *eating flesh with blood* had become a fundamental law, probably because the people, exuberant with strength and passion, would not have respected life, for the 'life is in the blood'.¹

Polygamy was practised among them. Abraham had two wives, Jacob four, Esau three. Adultery, and incest of the various kinds which can take place among polygamists, were severely punished. The honour of a virgin was considered sufficiently sacred for Jacob to be obliged to marry Lia with whom he had had sexual intercourse. Prostitution was considered so dishonourable for a family that Juda wishes Tamar, his daughter-in-law, to be burned alive. Ordinary fornication and intercourse with common prostitutes are more indulgently treated; such was the extent of corruption among the Canaanites.

Abraham had bought a tomb, at Makpela, where his descendants wished to be buried.²

The Hyksos.

From the earliest historic times Semitic tribes are found concentrated upon the banks of the Persian Gulf. Their caravans crossed Arabia towards the Red Sea, passing over into northern Egypt under the twelfth dynasty. These migrations were, in all likelihood, caused by the Elamite invasion of Babylonia. Other Semitic peoples, bringing along with them a part of the peoples whom they met with on their way, came as far as the Jordan valley, and some of their tribes came into Egypt just at the time when the fourteenth dynasty was disappearing in the midst of civil strife. These invaders killed or enslaved the population and founded a new dynasty, the Hyksos. They made their capital Tanis, and established a fortified base at Hawaru (Avaris) in the Delta.

¹ Genesis ix. 4; and Deuteronomy xii. 33.

² Genesis xxiii. 17-20, xxxv. 27-9, xlix. 29-32, l. 13.

When the first brutalities of invasion were over, the Hyksos soon settled down to a peaceable mode of life. Their kings understood from the outset that their interest lay rather in exploiting the country than in pillaging it, and since nobody from amongst their own followers had succeeded in unravelling the complicated financial system they found established there, they were obliged to retain in their service the greater part of the scribes who had hitherto administered the treasury.

Once in contact with civilized, ordered life they soon entered into the spirit of all its refinements. Their court lacked none of the pomp of that of the native Pharaohs. They had statues of themselves made in the traditional style, thousands of scarabs engraved with their names in hieroglyphics, but surrounded by spirals, curves, and interlacings after the fashion of the Asiatic countries.

They respected the local creeds and even encouraged the cult of those gods whose attributes they considered to resemble most closely their own gods. They even undertook the maintenance and restoration of the temples of Egyptian gods. At Avaris and Tanis the Syrian Ba'al, the Hittite Teshub, was venerated under the name *Sutekh*, a derivative of Seth, the Egyptian god of the desert and of foreign lands. A sovereign like Khian claimed descent from the god Rê equally with Sutekh, for his aim was to unite under his authority Asia and Egypt, hitherto always separated. He inscribed in his first royal scroll, 'He who embraces the whole country'.

The inhabitants of Asia, Canaanites and others, were now drawn towards Egypt even more than in the past. They found there men who had originally come from almost the same countries as themselves, egyptianized, it is true, but not to such an extent that they had lost the full usage of their native tongue or the memory of their country of origin. Their welcome was all the more assured in that the new inhabitants of Egypt felt the need of fortifying themselves against the native population, who always regarded them with hostility.

It was, perhaps, about this time that the *bene Israel*, wandering shepherds, were authorized to settle on the Egyptian border, in

a country of pasture-lands stretching between the Delta and the Arabian desert.

It is not impossible that Khian may really have dominated the entire civilized eastern world, from the First Cataract of the Nile to the Persian Gulf, inspiring it with terror by the strength of his armies as he held sway in the central point which Avaris, intermediary between Egypt and Syria, constituted.

But such an empire could not endure. It possessed none of the constituent elements of a State, it had no principle of unity—political, religious, or moral. The Hyksos domination was nothing more than mere territorial occupation. The princes of Thebes, who are classed in the seventeenth dynasty, had never ceased to organize and encourage resistance to these Asiatic invaders, and a war of independence early began. As the result of circumstances of which we have no knowledge, the foreign domination had been considerably weakened at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the Theban princes were prompt in seizing their opportunity of intervening, in the reign of Sequenre, about 1600. The invaders lost Avaris and all that was left to them of northern Egypt about 1580. Their army retreated to Palestine whither the Egyptians pursued them, laying siege to Sharuhén of the tribe of Simeon, where they had taken refuge. The town was reduced by famine and plundered.

Egyptian Literature.

From the Middle Empire period, Egyptian literature is enriched by new genres—tales and romances, memoirs, lyrical songs, proverbs. Some inscriptions have an epic flavour.

The term 'historical romances' can be applied to certain amusing popular chronicles, written, so to speak, in the margin of the official annals, which at times transform whole periods of the annals into romantic epopees. Take, for instance, the tale of King Khufu and the Magicians, in which the great Pharaoh of Memphis is represented in a guise very different from that of the official chronicles. Instead of submitting scrupulously to the will of the gods, when Rê declares his hostility towards him and raises up the three princes who dethrone his family,

Khufu allies himself with a magician in order to frustrate the god's scheming.

The romance called *Memoirs of Sinuhe* was fashionable in the literary circles of ancient Egypt, for it was frequently copied, and we possess the remains of three manuscripts which contained it in its entirety. It was written probably at the time of the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty. Here is a passage from it:

Sinuhe has come to Canaan and the king invites him to stay with him.

The king held me in a higher regard than he did his own children, he married me to his eldest daughter, and allowed me choose for myself from among the best possessions in his land on the frontier of a neighbouring country. It is an excellent land, by name Yaa. There are figs and grapes there; wine exists there in greater quantity than water; it abounds in honey, oil is plentiful, and all kinds of fruits grow upon the trees; there are unlimited quantities of barley and of wheat, and every species of cattle. And great privileges were conferred upon me, when the prince came for me to instal me as sheikh of one of the best tribes in his country. I had bread for usual fare, and wine every day, boiled meat, and roast fowl, in addition to the game of the country, for it was hunted for me and presented to me in addition to what my own dogs brought me. Many cakes were made for me and milk cooked in every manner.

I lived there for a great number of years. My children became strong men, each one lording it over his tribe. The messenger who came down from the North or returned from the South towards Egypt tarried with me, for I welcomed every comer; I gave water to the thirsty, I directed on his way the traveller who had strayed from his path, I succoured him who had been plundered.

In the eyes of the Egyptians—as in those of all the ancient peoples of the East—each new king was destined to be a saviour, a father. Before him impiety, anarchy, and misery had held sway; as soon as he mounts the throne, peace, prosperity, and religion take their place. This conviction—which doubtless has its roots, so to speak, in an instinctive desire—suggested a literary process which may be called the prophetic genre.

Essentially the theme is always the same; upon the occasion of some particular happening, a sage comes to the Pharaoh and

describes to him a catastrophe in the course of which foreign peoples lay Egypt waste, pillage the temples of the gods, and overwhelm the inhabitants with misfortunes. Then arises a sovereign beloved of the gods, who defeats the barbarians and restores religion and the social order during a lengthy and prosperous reign.

Let us quote some passages from the 'Prophecy' of Nefer-rohu:

Lost is the country, and there is no one who thinks of it, nobody speaks, nobody acts. . . . The sun is veiled and does not shine in the eyes of men.

I will speak of what is before me. I shall not prophesy of that which has not yet happened . . .

All good things have disappeared. The earth is fallen away into misery on account of this food of the Bedouins who are invading the country, for there are enemies to the East, and Asiatics are descending upon Egypt. . . . The men seize their weapons of war, the country lives in confusion . . . I shall show you the son as an enemy, the brother as an adversary, a man killing his father. . . .

A man will come from the South whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman, a child of Khen-nekhen. He will receive the white crown, he will take the red crown . . . the people of that time shall rejoice. This man of noble birth will make for himself a name that will live for ever; those who are plotting evil, who are meditating rebellion will lay aside their machinations because of him. The Asiatics will fall beneath his sword; the Libyans will fall before his flame and the rebels before his anger. . . . Then . . . justice will recover its due place.

A hymn upon a stela, preserved at the National Library in Paris, celebrates Osiris as the first of the gods and creator of all that exists—land, water, plants, animals, men, and gods, as the good being, the providence whose care extends to all creatures and all parts of the universe.

. . . He has made this world with his hand:

Its waters, its atmosphere, its vegetation;

All its flocks, all its winged creatures,

All its fishes, all its reptiles and quadrupeds.

The earth gives justice to the son of Nut,

And the world rejoices again when he ascends his father's seat.

Like to the sun, he shines upon the horizon, he sheds brightness on
the face of the darkness;

He radiates light by his double plume . . .

He is good in will and in word:

He is the praise of the great gods and the love of the small gods . .

He has taken the kingship of the two worlds:

The crown of the higher region is fixed upon his head.

By him the world is judged in what it contains;

The sky and the earth are under the place of his countenance.

He commands mankind, the pure,

The race of the inhabitants of Egypt and the foreign nations.

The sun makes its revolutions in accordance with his plans,

Thus do the wind, the river, fluids,

The wood of living plants and of all vegetables.

The god of seed, he gives all his vegetation and the precious 'kufi';

He causes abundance and gives it to all the earth.

All mankind are enraptured,

Their bowels full of delight, their hearts joyful,

Because of the merciful Lord.

Each one adores his bounties;

Sweet is his love in us!

His affection encompasses all hearts!

Great is his love in all entrails!

Satire on tradespeople:

I have never seen a smith on an embassy,

Nor a smelter on a deputation;

But what I have seen is the metal-worker at toil,

At the mouth of his forge's fire,

His fingers are rough as crocodiles

And stinking more than fish's spawn.

The weaver in the houses,

Is worse off than his wife;

Crouching with his knees in his stomach,

He cannot breathe.

If, during the day, he slows up his weaving,

He is tied up like lotus on a pool

And it is by giving bread to the doorkeeper

That the latter allows him to see the light.

The dyer, his fingers stink,

And their odour is that of fish's spawn;
His two eyes are worn with fatigue,
His hand does not stop,
And, as he spends his time cutting tatters,
He detests clothes.
The cobbler is very miserable,
He whines eternally,
His health is the health of a spawning fish,
And he gnaws at leather.

Religion in Egypt.

The ascendancy of the clergy had brought about an increase in the number of temples, and consequently in the numbers of the ministers who tended them. The king bestowed land upon them. A sacred oligarchy grew up, trained in virtue of its profession in religious rites and the art of ruling, and proprietor of the 'land of the gods' free from all imposts.

About the same time, the monarchs began to free themselves from the influence of the court. They also had obtained charters of their prerogatives. They also had to have their own necropolises, not situated about the royal pyramids, but in their own territory—at Assuan, Edfu, Abydos, Asyût, and elsewhere. This increase in the number of religious monuments augmented considerably the classes of artists, artisans, workers, and traders, who soon began to clamour for recognition of their own political and religious rights.

From the seventh to the tenth dynasty authority had been crumbling, the king's prestige had disappeared. Insecurity, anarchy, and confusion were rampant. The only salvation to be hoped for lay in the advent of a strong king who could be the saviour of his country. Such a one appeared in the person of Amenemhet I, who founded the twelfth dynasty about 2000; after a stubborn struggle against internal and external enemies, he and his successors founded a new order; under their régime everybody, without distinction of birth or fortune, was held worthy to participate in religious rites and to play whatever part his ability and zeal fitted him for in the political or religious sphere.

One consequence of this invasion of paradise by the common people was the admission to heaven of Osiris, god of the plebeian necropolis.

From the time of the Middle Empire, the extensive reproduction of the *Book of the Dead* placed within every one's reach, at small expense, the necessary ritual of which copies were placed in the tombs, obviating by this simple means the necessity for decorating them.

The Hyksos honoured their god Sutekh; but they paid little heed to the religion of their subjects, and scarcely had they been banished when a new order was established in Egypt by the power and influence of a great Theban family.

Towards the end of the Old Empire, at a time when the 'men of former days' had long since disappeared and the ancient tombs were being swallowed up in sand, a wave of scepticism and demoralization swept over the country. We read in the *Dialogue of an Egyptian and his soul*:

To whom shall I speak to-day?
Men are violent.
Every man takes his brother's possessions. . .
To whom shall I speak to-day?
There are no longer any just men;
The world is in the hands of evil-doers.

In a poem engraved upon the tomb of one of the kings Intef, of the twelfth dynasty, we read:

The gods who formerly existed
Rest in their pyramids;
The noble and valiant ones
Are buried in their tombs.

Those who built their funerary temples,
They find a place no more.
What has been done to them?

Nobody returns from below:
Who can say what has happened?

Who is able to tell us what they need
To calm our hearts,
Until the time when we also shall go
To the place where they have gone?

Therefore be joyful;
Follow thy desire as long as thou livest.

The same accent prevails in the *Admonitions of a Sage*. It would seem that these accents of bitterness were caused by the state of confusion in which Egypt found itself from the time of the ninth dynasty onwards and by the decadence of the royal line of Memphis.

From a period about the time of the eleventh dynasty, the dead, to whatever social category they belong, are mummified as only the king used to be, and the ritualistic texts are at this time accessible to ordinary private individuals. Peasants can demand justice of the king; we read in the *Peasant's Complaint*, 'O Master, . . . suppress robbery, protect these in want, . . . take heed that Eternity is drawing near, (and remember the saying), "Life consists in dispensing justice" . . .'

The social question had come to the forefront, and from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty Egyptian society is directing itself to new aims.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE NEW EGYPTIAN EMPIRE TO CYRUS

AHMÖSE founded the eighteenth dynasty. The war of independence and the expeditions which followed it inspired the nation with the military spirit and the princes with the love of conquest. From the sources of the Nile to the Euphrates, the country is the scene of continual battles and plunderings.

The Babylonians, fully occupied with civil disorder, could not intervene in the troubles by which Upper Asia was shaken. The surplus population of this country, attracted towards the fertile lands of northern Syria, had forced the Semitic clans to retire southwards. In this ethnographic movement caused by the Hittites various Asiatic races, Semites of very different family, were mixed together—Amorrites, Arameans, and Canaanites. All these disturbances were advantageous to Egypt.

Tuthmosis III organized the conquest of Syria. His principal task lay in putting to siege one after the other the fortresses of Canaan, which stretched along the military road, Lakish, Ain Shemesh, Gezer, Ta'annak. A decisive victory under the walls of Megiddo rendered his triumph certain; nothing, henceforth, could check his march to the Upper Euphrates.

Nevertheless, as is soon apparent, the power of the Hittites, who were responsible for the racial movements we have just described, was not broken. Many centuries were to elapse before the Egyptians finally succeeded in destroying it.

The supremacy of Thebes had gained for the temple and the priests of Amûn abundant riches; the spectacle of the Pharaoh recipient of the homage of the whole world gave rise among the priests to the idea that their god had a right to receive the homage of all the other gods, and with this end in view they attempted to introduce so-called 'monotheism' into Egyptian religion. A result of this attempt was that the Pharaohs, fearing the power of the priests, did their utmost to revive the cult of the ancient gods and, consequently, increase the influence of the other priesthoods. The most famous of these attempts was that of Amenhotep IV on behalf of the god Aten.

Religion in Egypt.

Before speaking of Egyptian religion, it may be useful to retrace our steps somewhat. The cultivated classes, following the example of the priests, had learned to take an interest in religious, political, and social problems, and the result of their reflections had weakened somewhat their belief in the dogma of a divine kingship. Besides, at Aswân, Edfu, Abydos, Asyût, and elsewhere, certain powerful families had obtained privileges hitherto confined to a priestly oligarchy—grants of personal prerogatives and privileges, and, subsequently, the right of having burial-places in the provinces instead of around the pyramids of the kings, as hitherto had been the case.

Under the sixth and, especially, the ninth dynasty, Egypt was demoralized by anarchy. Foreigners from Asia grasped the reins of power. Confusion and unbelief reigned supreme. In addition, the pillaging of temples and palaces made it possible for the common people to lay their hands upon the secrets of religion, of magic, and of government. The thinkers of the time based all their hopes for the salvation of their country on the return of strong, paternal kings, who would restore order and justice to the country. They hailed this king as '*The shepherd of all men*. There is no evil in his heart. . . . His heart is full of zeal. . . .'

This saviour was Amenemhet I, who founded the twelfth dynasty about 2000. He and his successors succeeded in restoring royal authority but only by founding a new order of things; *each man, without any distinction of rank or fortune*, was considered worthy to *participate in religious rites and to play whatever part his ability and zeal fitted him for in the political or religious sphere*. Every man at death was transformed into a *justified Osiris*. Thus, Osiris, king of burial-places, was installed in heaven on an equal footing with Rê, the god of the royal family. The *Book of the Dead* was now reproduced and issued in great numbers, and could be bought at a small cost and placed in the tomb, which need no longer be adorned with paintings and ritualistic texts.

At the beginning of the New Empire, the god Amûn—with whose origins we are not well acquainted—received much honour. Under Tuthmosis, who waged war from Dongola to the Euphrates, the god of Karnak's prestige was greatly enhanced by his victories, and his clergy received a great part of the plunder won from his enemies. The political intrigues and the revolution in the palace caused by the choice of this pharaoh's successor drove the high priests of Amûn to play a part entirely foreign to their sacred character.

In the course of his campaigns in Syria, Tuthmosis III presented to Amûn of Thebes three towns in Lebanon, fifteen hundred Syrian slaves, precious stones, gold, silver, costly plate, flocks and land in Upper and Lower Egypt; from this it can easily be imagined what important personages the high priests of this god became, and how alarming was the degree of influence they possessed.

Thebes was at this time a wonderful city with stately and seemingly endless piles of imposing edifices—administrative buildings, palaces, temples, court residences, dwellings of officials of all classes—priests and scribes—shops, workshops, and factories.

Let us quote here the tale of the *Journeys of the Egyptian Wenamun* on the Canaanite-Phoenician coast.

The author's aim seems to have been to popularize one aspect of the god Amûn-Rê, Amûn-of-the-Road. The hero dedicates the description of his journey to the person who sent him, Hrihor, priest of Amûn.

This document has a real interest, for example, from the religious point of view, when Wenamun endeavours to instil the king of Byblus with devotion for the Egyptian God. Again, the negotiations mentioned in it remind us of those undertaken by David and Solomon in order to obtain the wood necessary for building the palaces and the Temple of Jerusalem. The description of the Djakara is noteworthy, and also the fact that the Egyptian language seems to be understood along the Canaanite-Phoenician coast, at least among people of high rank.

I came down into great Syria, in the fourth month of the third season, on the first day. I came to Dor, the town of the Djakara. Beder, its chieftain, ordered a great quantity of bread, a vase of wine and a leg of beef to be brought to me.

A sailor from Wenamun's ship steals some gold and silver and takes to flight, and the Egyptian tries to fix responsibility for the robbery on the chieftain of Dor, upon the grounds that the robbery has been committed in his port; but the other answers him:

'I cannot understand this complaint which you make to me. Ah! if he belongs to my country, this robber who boarded your ship in order to steal your money, I shall repay you out of my treasury until the robber in person is found. But he who robbed you belongs to your ship. Spend some days here with me until I search for him.'

I spend nine days in his port. Then, I went to him and said, 'Since you have not found my money, I am going away . . .'

Wenamun adds that if the prince recovered his money he would be bound to deliver it up to him when his ship passed Dor on his return to Egypt. So they set out for Tyre, and then for Byblus, but on the way Wenamun has discovered some of the Djakara with gold which he believes to be his.

The prince of Byblus wants to drive him away:

And now, while he was sacrificing to his gods, the god seized a big page from amongst his big pages and made him fall down in a fit; and the page said 'Take away the god! Take away the messenger who is with him. It is Amûn who sent him! It is Amûn who brought him here!'

While Wenamun is getting ready to take his departure, the prince of Byblus tries with much persuasion to induce him to stay. Meanwhile, he asks him what the business is which has brought him to Byblus:

'Upon what mission did you undertake this journey?' I said to him, 'I have come for timber-work of the great and august barque of Amûn-Rê, king of the gods. What your father did, what your father's father did, you also do.' Thus, I spoke to him. He said to

me 'They did indeed do that; if you give me (something) for doing it, I also will do it. My people fulfilled this mission, but the pharaoh—Life! Health! Strength—sent me fine boats loaded with the products of Egypt. . . . Do you also bring me something?'

He sent for the journals of his forefathers and had them read to me. We found one thousand *deben* of silver of all (kinds) in the journals.

He said to me, 'If the prince of Egypt were my lord and if I were his serf, he would not have sent me gold and silver saying "Fulfil Amûn's mission!" It was not a royal gift that he gave to my father. As for me, I am neither thy serf, nor the serf of him who sent thee. If I cry in a loud voice¹ to Mount Lebanon the sky opens and the trees are there lying by the roadside.'

And he tells him that his ship, which is badly rigged, will sink, for, after all, the weather is not always fine. Amûn makes the thunder roar and the storm rage. Now, Amûn watches over all countries, but especially Egypt, and he had endowed Egypt with wisdom to a greater degree than other nations. How then could the ruler of such a wise nation have ordered Wenamun to undertake such a journey under such conditions?

Wenamun answers him:

This is no childish journey that I have made. *There is no boat on the water which does not belong to Amûn. To him belongs the sea! To him belongs the forest of Lebanon of which you say 'It is mine'. It (the forest of Lebanon) grows for Amûn's user-hat (Barque), Amûn the master of all boats.*

Yes, Amûn-Rê, the king of the gods, said to my master, Hrihor, 'Send me'—and he sent me, bringing with me this great god. But look! You have made this great god wait twenty-nine days since he landed at your port. Yet you know why he was there. He remains what he was, whilst *you are there haggling about Lebanon cedar with him who is the master of it, Amûn.*

As to what you have said, 'Former kings sent me silver and gold', if they had given life and strength, they would not have sent material presents; but they sent your fathers material presents instead of life and health. *But Amûn-Rê, the king of the gods, it is he who is the master of life and health, it is he who was the master of thy fathers who whilst they*

¹ Erman (*Literatur*, in H. i) has pointed out that this phrase is ironical when used towards Wenamun who has brought with him nothing to aid him in a difficult task.

lived offered sacrifices to Amûn. And thou also, thou art a servant of Amûn. If thou sayest to Amûn, 'I am doing it, I am doing it', and execute his command, thou shall have life, strength and well-being, and be pleasing to thy country and to thy people. But do not covet for thyself anything which belongs to Amûn-Rê, king of the gods: the lion truly loves what belongs to him.

The prince of Byblus sends a messenger to Egypt. He comes back with the wherewithal to pay for the wood—vessels of gold and silver, raiment and *five hundred rolls of papyrus*.

The wood is cut after the winter and brought to the shore. Upon the prince's remarking to Wenamun that he has served him more quickly than other messengers, the Egyptian replies that there are messengers and messengers.

Is it not true that you experience great satisfaction and that you will erect a monument in commemoration on which you will say '*Amûn-Rê, king of the gods, sent to me Amûn-of-the-road, his (divine) messenger, and Wenamun, his human messenger, with reference to the wood for the great and august barque of Amûn-Rê, king of the gods. I cut it, I loaded it. I furnished him with my ships and my crew. I sent them to Egypt to beseech Amûn to grant me ten thousand years of life, in addition (to those ordained by) fate. May my prayer be fulfilled!*'

There are some beautiful hymns in honour of Amûn, of which the following is an example:

Every country is full of thy fear:

The peoples (prostrate themselves) before thy glory,

Thy name is great, strong and powerful!

The seas of *Pḥr-wr* and *Šn-wr* are full of the fear of thy . . .

The hills bow down in admiration before thee.

Every (rebel) country is filled with terror of thee.

The people of Punt come to thee;

The Holy Land wears thy verdure, because of thy love.

The ships advance loaded with aromatics

To beautify thy temples with their festal perfumes.

The incense-trees distil their resin:

The aromatic perfume caresses thy nostrils.

The bees make their honey . . .

Oil of *mnṯt* and of *lḥmt*

To compose the sweetnesss which are upon thy lips.

The cedar-tree grew for thee . . . :
 The tabernacle-ship is built.
 The mountains bear blocks of stone for thee
 To make the great doors of thy temple.

For him the vessels sail the seas, the Nile flows, the north wind blows in order to bear along to Thebes the ships loaded with offerings.

The founders of the eighteenth dynasty went as far as southern Palestine in their pursuit of the Hyksos. Their successors advanced farther the conquests which they had begun, the result being the formation of the Asiatic empire of Tuthmosis III. These conquests stimulated the national consciousness to an unprecedented degree. New 'modern' tendencies appeared. The break with tradition was made apparent in the introduction of a great novelty, the Mitannian marriages. Tuthmosis IV married the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni, who was really queen under the name Mutemuia; Amenhotep III took to wife first Gilukhipa, Dushratta's sister, then her daughter, Tadukhipa; Amenhotep IV married Nefertete, the Egyptian name of a daughter of the same Dushratta; but his 'great wife', the real queen, was Ti, who was not a princess of the blood. This was a direct break with the tradition of centuries, which required that in the veins of the Pharaohs there should flow only the blood of the gods, both on the father's and the mother's side, and resulted in the king marrying his own sister in order to have an heir whose descent would be derived exclusively from the sun-god. Moreover, Amenhotep III hunted like an ordinary mortal; his relations with the kings of Babylon and Mitanni were such that they called him their 'brother'. What a difference there was between this life of the Pharaohs and the religious awe, the inaccessible immobility which surrounded their ancestors. The conflict between the new spirit and tradition showed itself openly under Amenhotep IV. The proof of wisdom and cleverness consisted in manipulating the opposing tendencies and giving the 'modern' needs sufficient play to prevent a catastrophe. Amenhotep IV grasped only the ideal aspect of the problem. Ti, Nefertete, and a favourite, the

priest Ay, formed his immediate entourage. It would appear from contemporary documents that the young Pharaoh was influenced mainly by the first two, and, however intelligent they may have been, these two women were hardly capable of revealing to him the needs of his empire.

Human personality, so strongly brought to the forefront by Tuthmosis III's conquests, had been projected on to the divine personality, that is to say, the god, even more so than the pharaoh, was considered to be king of the world.

Under Amenhotep IV, the title *Rê-Har-akhte*, that is *Rê-Horus of the Horizon*, was still used, but with the addition 'who rejoices upon the Horizon in his name of Shu, who is in the sun's disk, *aten*', and, since the formula was too lengthy, it was reduced to the single word *aten* or *the sun's disk*. *Aten* supplanted the old word for god, *neter*; it, or rather the entire formula of which it was an abbreviation, laid stress upon the new form of god, namely, the light or the vital heat *which accompanies all life*, and not merely the material sun. The ancient symbol of this god was the pyramidion, and the sign which designated him the falcon. But these symbols were understood only in Egypt. Amenhotep IV aimed at a wider sphere of influence; he adopted a new symbol—the sun's disk giving forth its rays in every direction, each ray terminating in a human hand. The meaning of this symbol was clearly the power which was derived from the sun and directed the world and the affairs of mankind.

The king displayed great zeal in favour of the new cult. The priests of Amûn grew increasingly more annoyed as they saw the resources which hitherto had been the apanage of their old god being now transferred to the king. A crisis seemed imminent, but was diverted by prompt action on the king's part—he dispossessed the priests and struck off the god's name from all the monuments upon which it was to be found. He changed his own name to *Akhenaten*, and then built a new capital named *Akhetaten*, Aten's Horizon, to-day el-Amarna. All this shows clearly how definitely the pharaoh set out to found a religion entirely new in form.

We still possess a hymn to Aten, in which there is no trace of

polytheism; after an introduction in which we are told that the king and queen adore Aten, the hymn begins:

Morning. Your arising is beautiful on the Sky's horizon,
O living Aten, and life begins anew;
You shine on the eastern horizon,
• You fill the earth with your benefactions.

Midday. You are truly beautiful, shining, raised above the earth,
Your rays envelop all the lands that you have made,
You embrace them with your love;
You are distant and your rays are on the earth.
You are in the heights and daylight is the trace of your
footprints.

Night. You set on the western horizon,
The earth is in darkness like unto death.
Men go to sleep in their homes; their heads are covered,
Their noses stopped, their eyes no longer see.
They take all their belongings,
They are under their heads,
They are without consciousness.
The lion comes out of its den,
Serpents bite,
The earth is silent:
The heights are hidden on the horizon.

Sunrise. The earth is illuminated, you arise on the horizon,
Aten shines forth and brings back the day;
He banishes darkness, for you spread your rays;
Every day Egypt is in festal array.

Men awake; they are active
For you spur them on;
They wash their limbs and put on their clothes;
They adore your arising.
Upon the earth all are at work.

All the animals go into their pastures,
Trees and plants grow;
Birds fly in the thickets;
Their wings adore your 'double'.
The cattle bound.

The small birds live again when you rise upon them,
 Ships go up and down the river,
 For all ways open up when you appear;
 The fish of the rivers leap up towards you:
 Your rays penetrate to the bottom of the sea.

Aten, source of life. It is you who bring forth the seed of woman
 And create the seed of man.
 It is you who give life to the child in its mother's
 womb,
 You who calm the child so that he weeps not,
 Who feed him at his mother's breast,
 Who give breath to animate what you create.
 When the child falls from out the womb, on the day
 of its birth,
 You open its mouth for speech,
 And satisfy its wants.
 When the chicken is in the egg,
 A cackle in the stone,
 You give it interior breath
 To make it live.
 When you have caused it to develop
 Sufficiently to break the egg,
 It comes forth to proclaim its existence,
 And it walks on its feet as soon as it emerges.

Aten, the Ubiquitous. How numerous are your works!
 You created the earth, by your will, you alone,
 Man and beasts, great and small,
 Everything that walks upon the earth,
 Everything that flies in the air.
 From Syria to Kush, and in Egypt,
 You put everyman in his place . . . ¹

The reformer does not seem to have considered Aten the fountain of Justice.

The Pharaoh's innovations seem to have irritated both the clergy and the military leaders. Tutankhaten, realizing the dangers of the situation, brought back the court to Thebes, revived the cult of Amûn, and substituted Amûn for Aten in his

¹ There are three or four more stanzas in the same manner but less interesting.

own name. The religious creation of Akhenaten had failed completely. It had no influence upon the evolution of religion in Egypt.

In Canaan.

We have seen that, about 1500, while the Cassite princes reigned upon the banks of the Euphrates, the suzerainty of Egypt had supplanted Babylon in Canaan. This fact entailed no sudden change in its civilization, for the suzerainty was a feeble one. Egypt was far away and weak, and there existed in Canaan a juxtaposition of extremely diverse elements which were a continual source of rivalry and agitation, capable either of helping Egypt by dividing its vassals amongst themselves, or of acting against Egyptian interests in the event of a common feeling uniting them. Amongst these various elements may be mentioned, in the north the Aramean nomads, Ahlame, Suti, and Sagaz, of whom more will be said later. The sheikhs in this region of northern Syria were Hittites—for instance Aki-izzi, Namiawaza, the son of Shuttarna—as were also the chieftains of certain Canaanite cantons, at Jerusalem for example.

In the region of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, in the country of Amurru, a movement towards independence was taking shape, always ready to make common cause with the malcontents, in the hope of delivering the country from Egyptian influence; this movement is represented mainly by the people called Khabiru, or ideographically Sagaz or Gaz. They are feared by the king of Byblus, all the more so when their leader, Abd-ashirta, vindicates his claim to become prince of Amurru, and takes possession of Sumur and several other towns. The king in terror writes to the Pharaoh: 'All my towns, those which are in the mountains as well as those which are near the sea, have joined the Gaz. Byblus and two towns are left to me.'

Azira, Ashirta's son, after having been for some time on friendly relations with Egypt, abandons it, joins the Hittites and makes a pact with their king Subbiluliuma. Strengthened by the support he has thus gained, he banishes the foreign representatives and gives the country a degree of independence.

The Hittites have established one of their representatives in Kinza, at Gadesh on the Orontes, and from this centre they attempt to rouse up the districts of Nukhashshe and Ni which desire to retain their allegiance to Egypt.

In Canaan, the kinglets blame one another when they fear that they will be forced to bear the yoke of a rival power. Labaia, although he is in alliance with the king of Egypt, is one of the most feared amongst them. He has gained an important ally in the person of Tagi, Tagi who guides the Pharaoh's caravans, Tagi who receives royal gifts from Egypt. Soon Hilki-ili joins them, only to break with Labaia subsequently, but after his death he makes common cause with his son. Arta-khepa, at Jerusalem, alarmed at the intrigues of these ambitious chieftains, writes letter after letter to the Pharaoh, who, however, seems to have paid no attention to them. It is probable that, acting upon the information supplied to him by his representatives, he decided to abandon the prince of Jerusalem, just as he seems to have left the leaders of the other countries to their own dissensions. The Hebrews are not slow to take advantage of the weakness of the Egyptian government and the dissensions by which Canaan is divided; under the guidance of their 'Judges' they enter in and establish themselves in the country. The most stubborn enemies they have to meet are on the coast, south of Jaffa—the Philistines.

The Hittites.

The Hittites reached the zenith of their power about the fourteenth century. The principal sources for their literature are hieroglyphic inscriptions either incised or in relief, and cuneiform tablets of which several thousand were discovered at Boghaz-keui in 1906. Various indications point to their language being Indo-european. One of the most important documents at present known to us is the Code of Laws.

This code is written on clay tablets in cuneiform characters, and in the Hittite language. It is not known what king had the laws codified; it was presumably one of the following three—Subbiluliuma (c. 1390–1350), Mursil II (c. 1347–1310), or

Hattusil (c. 1300-1270). It reveals the following state of society.

Beneath the king are the 'men-of-arms' and vassals ('fief-men'). In the majority of the articles a distinction is made between free men and slaves.

The term 'men-of-arms' is rather vague: one article names warriors, archers, stable-grooms, and squires. Associates of the free men are mentioned; a distinction is made between educated and uneducated men and women, referring, probably, to the lower classes, since they can be hired.

The law-maker treats of doctors, merchants, 'mixers of unguents' (chemists), barbers, metal-workers, smiths, potters, weavers, tailors, cobblers, lace-makers, shepherds, gardeners, fowlers, rearers of dogs and other animals—pigs, horses, and cattle.

Agriculture is highly developed. Irrigation—canals are built all over the country to allow the fields to be watered (the term 'waterer' or 'irrigator' is even used in this code almost as a synonym of agriculturist). Among the agricultural products mentioned are onions and fruit-trees—pomegranate-trees, pear-trees, apple-trees—vines, and barley.

From the fact of the possession, renting, or administration of land arise taxes and imposts of various kinds which are paid to the king, the temple, or the community. Premises (stables, houses, and even villages) can be rented, various articles (such as metal dishes and trays), animals (cattle and horses), and persons hired. Among the articles of food and drink we find mention of bread, beef, kid, lamb, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, honey, wine, and beer. The metals used are silver, bronze, and copper.

We are told little about the religious aspect. The sun-god and the god Teshub are mentioned, priests, sacrifices, and sacrificial vestments. Before setting out upon an expedition, war-like no doubt, an oblation of fine flour and a libation of wine are offered up, and, in order to find one's house intact upon returning, it is consecrated by the sacrifice of a sheep, ten loaves, and a measure of beer. An oblation of fine flour is also

offered up to consecrate the boundary of a new field when bought. There is another case in which five sheep, thirty loaves, and three measures of beer are sacrificed—'if upon one sowing another person sows a second sowing' and ploughs it.

This code does not mention the marriage-contract. The parents can dispose of their daughter in return for the woman's 'purchase-price'. Marriage may be, if it is not always, preceded by a betrothal by which 'the girl is bound to the man'.

It is not clear who is entrusted with the administration of justice, the courts are hardly mentioned more than once.

In Assyria, between the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries, another king, belonging probably to the powerful dynasty of Ashur-uballit, promulgated a collection or code of laws which seems to be a compilation of the judgements pronounced by the king and his deputies, to which the force of law was given. But this collection probably contains only a small portion of Assyrian law; it does not mention, for example, the law with regard to contracts such as sales, hire, societies, and loans at interest. Such as we possess it, it deals with marriage, ownership, security, crimes, and misdemeanours. The various subjects are not treated as a whole, the law being limited to the consideration of individual cases which have necessitated the intervention of the legislator. In other matters, the unwritten law was no doubt supreme.

1. *Marriage.* Marriage was preceded by a betrothal ceremony. The young man poured scented wine on the girl's head, and presented her with cakes. He gave her ornaments to the value of a *tirkatu* and presented gifts to her father. Ordinarily a document was drawn up in which the wife's obligations were set down. In the case of a widow, cohabitation for two years with her future husband took the place of this document.

It is to be noted that the wife was not obliged to live in her husband's house; she could live in her father's house and receive her husband there. When she lives with her husband, she brings with her the property her father had given her to assist in defraying the marriage expenses. Her sons alone have a claim upon these goods; her husband's brothers have no right

to them. When she lives with her father, the husband can give her a donation (*nudunnu*), and, if she accepts it, she is thereby responsible for her husband's debts. If the wife lives with her father, or if her husband has made her live in a house apart from himself, the husband must provide for her upkeep when he goes away on a journey.

A wife living in the same house as her husband remains there upon his death. Her sons are obliged to provide her food and keep.

The law enjoins marital fidelity upon the woman; a breach of fidelity is punishable by the death of the unfaithful wife and her accomplice.

Levirat. Upon the death of her husband, his wife must marry her brother-in-law, even if, during her marriage, she lived in her father's house. If her brother-in-law is betrothed at the time of her husband's death, he must, none the less, marry the widow, without, however, breaking his own engagement, for the engaged man's father can insist upon the intended marriage taking place; in this case, his son will have two wives, and his own fiancée will be only his second wife, instead of being his first as she had expected. Thus, the Assyrian law of *Levirat* does not, like the Hittite law, lay down the absence of issue as a condition.

As in the case of a widow, the betrothed girl must, when her intended husband dies or disappears, marry one of his brothers, aged at least ten years. If her future husband has no brothers, then she must marry his father, or, if his father is dead, his son, if he has one aged at least ten. Otherwise, the fiancée's father can give her in marriage to whoever he wishes, having first returned the equivalent of what he received for her.

Married women must always be *veiled* when they appear in public, as a sign of their husbands' ownership of them.

2. *Ownership of Property.* The fields belonging to different proprietors are separated by boundary stones or trenches. Any one convicted of having lessened the area of the field adjoining his own by moving the boundary stones is bound to make reparation of three times the amount of land which he has usurped, and incurs in addition the triple penalty of ten blows.

of a rod, one month of forced labour in the king's service, and the cutting off of a finger. The punishment for altering the position of a fence is a smaller one. Other infringements have their own penalties.

When a conflict arises with regard to the use of the waters for irrigation, the judges are to grant the exclusive right to use the water to him of two neighbours who can furnish evidence of his goodwill. The same applies to the water of rivers, but in this case the law provides for the intervention of the mayor and five leading personages of the town.

The head of the family's property often remains undivided upon his death. His sons may divide it amongst them, but in case they do not the law lays down rules to prevent disputes.

The transfer of ownership of property such as land or house-property must comply with certain conditions laid down with the object of giving publicity to the transaction. The purchaser is obliged to proclaim through the medium of the public crier three times in a month his will to purchase. All persons claiming rights in the property are bound to produce their title to such claims before the competent tribunal, and if such claims are not made before the expiration of one month they are foreclosed.

3. *Security*. The creditor's security is the person of the debtor. He is entitled to bring home the debtor with him and can make him work for him but not sell him.

The creditor who has received as a pledge his debtor's child has a right to this child's services until by its work it has paid back its father's debt. If the child be a daughter, the creditor has a right to marry her, but may, for an agreed sum, renounce all claim to his pledge in favour of the girl's intended husband.

4. *Crimes and Misdemeanours*. We shall just note that all persons are punished equally. For example, the husband cannot absolve his wife and punish her accomplice. Usually, the punishment is ordained by law, and this legal penalty is fixed and personal: a husband is not responsible for his wife's crimes, nor brothers for their brothers'. The penalties are either corporal (bastinado, castration, facial mutilation, forced

labour), or pecuniary. Compensation is allowed in certain cases—robbery, rape, &c.

Egypt and Canaan.

Egypt and Canaan exercised a reciprocal influence upon each other; thus, Amon and other minor deities found their way into Canaan, and on the other hand, the Semitic deities passed over into Egypt. The Babylonian tongue still survived in Canaan and resembled in many respects the native language, so that the Pharaoh had to have interpreters and scribes at his court to translate his prefects' dispatches and compose answers to them.

The Egyptian conquest established a certain degree of religious syncretism; at Ta'annak several small statues of Astarte adorned with the Chaldean tiara have been discovered among the ruins which date from the eighteenth dynasty. On the other hand, the statues of Astarte found at Tell es-Sefy are Egyptian in the arrangement of the hair and bear Babylonian symbols. At Gezer all are strictly Egyptian. In the latter town many scarabs have come to light, particularly scarabs bearing the spiral motif which is characteristic of the time of the Hyksos and the period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth dynasty. Nevertheless, no really new current of an original nature appeared, until the fertile impulse, which originated in Aegea and not in Egypt, and had penetrated to all the southern provinces of Canaan by the fourteenth century.

Between the sixteenth and the twelfth centuries an important advance is made in ceramic-work by the introduction of the potter's wheel, and the use of a finer paste. Towards the end of this period the prevailing colours are whitish, grey, and greenish. From north to south, at Lakish, Tell Zakariya, Gezer, and Ta'annak, the jars are more slender in outline, flat-bottomed and with the handles put in different places on the body; they are like the Mycenaean vases. The jugs have more beautifully executed necks, and the handles are more firmly fixed on to the main portion and upper edge of the base. Lids, funnels, portable stoves, perfume-burners, &c., have also been found.

Usually, the painted pottery of this period is more readily

distinguishable from the native pottery by the decorative elements than by the differences in the style of manufacture: thin strokes are preferred to heavy ones, monochrome figures to those in various shades of colouring. The sides of the vessel are nearly always carefully polished and it is often dipped in a colouring substance. When the painted decoration consists of animals or plants the line ornament is entirely accessory, as for example at Tell Zakariya, Ta'annak, Tell es-Sefy, and Lakish.

From north to south, a single type is everywhere found, representing birds with big paunch, long twisted neck, curved beak and large wings.

In Mycenaean ceramic in Egypt and in Babylonia enamelled pottery was common, whereas there is no trace of it found in Palestine until the twelfth century.

Canaanite ceramic was incapable of creating new forms, but sufficiently original to evolve a new arrangement of borrowed elements.

As we have already said, the domination of the Pharaohs had introduced religious syncretism into Canaan, but this country, in return, obliged the Egyptians to use the Babylonian language in its transactions with it, since this was the language used by their chiefs in official, and sometimes in private, correspondence.¹

¹ In 1887 there were discovered at el-Amarna, about 190 miles south of Cairo, 358 letters on tablets, both entire and fragmentary, mostly written in Assyro-Babylonian and glossed in the Canaanite language. They contain the correspondence of the kings of Cyrus, Mitanni, or Upper Mesopotamia, of the Hittites, of Babylonia, of Assyria, and of various Canaanite minor kings or chieftains with the Egyptian Pharaoh or his officials, as well as the correspondence sent from Egypt to Asia at the same period. The Pharaohs of the time were Amenhotep III and IV, so that these letters go back to a period about 1410-1360 B.C.

These documents are of supreme importance for a knowledge of the political state of Nearer Asia and especially of Canaan. We learn from them, in particular, that in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, B.C., after two centuries of Egyptian supremacy in Syria, Babylonian was the language officially used in the correspondence between the princes who were Egypt's vassals and their suzerain. (The discoveries made at Ta'annak prove that Babylonian was also used for private correspondence.) The Canaanite glosses which frequently occur in these letters show that the language spoken in Canaan at this time was, as we have said, intermediary between Babylonian and Hebrew.

Upon reading the letters of these petty kings of Canaan we are struck by their obsequiousness and their platitude. They write to the Pharaoh, for instance, 'I am the mud beneath thy feet; the dust beneath the king's sandal; a footstool for thy

The ordinary people spoke Canaanite, a language mid-way between Babylonian and Hebrew. Thus, for example, Milkili writes to the Pharaoh.

To the King, my lord, my gods, my sun, say, thus speaks Milkili, your slave, the dust beneath your feet:

At the feet of the King, my lord, my gods, my sun, seven and seven times I shall prostrate myself.

In Egypt, the first Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty were too busy to interest themselves in art. Tuthmosis II, on the contrary, when he returned from his expeditions to the East, utilized his prisoners as masons and commenced to build a series of monuments which was continued by his successors, at Elephantine, Esneh, Coptos, Denderah, Napata, Karnak, and Luxor.

The eighteenth dynasty died out in a welter of discord and civil wars. The later Pharaohs had gradually lost their Asiatic Empire. First Horemheb, then Seti I made great efforts to recover it, but conditions in Asia had undergone great changes. By battles and treaties the Hittites had extended their power as

feet'; and again, 'Even if the king had written to me, "Drive a bronze dagger into thy heart and die!" I would certainly have executed the king's commands.'

Amenhotep IV—the great restorer of the Sun-cult under the form of a disk *aten*, from which he derived the title he wished to assume, Akhenaten—is constantly addressed as, 'My sun; my lord is the sun rising daily upon the country and following the destiny of the Sun, his splendid father.'

The Pharaoh is a veritable god, and he is addressed as 'my god' or 'my gods'.

Another chieftain writes, 'My two eyes are raised towards thee! If we ascend to the heavens, or descend into hell our head is in thy hands!

'The king, my lord, sees that there are powerful enemies opposed to me and to Shuwardata. Let the king, my lord, save his country from the hand of the Sagaz people. If not, let the king, my lord, at least send chariots to take us away lest our nerves kill us. Let the king, my lord, besides ask Yanhamu, his servant, what has been done to his country.'

In the ruins of a building which may have been a temple or the palace of prince Ishtar-washshur, at Tell Ta'annak, south-west of Megiddo, a small library of tablets of this period has been discovered, containing many private letters of which the following is an example:

'To Ishtat-i-shur Aman hashir

May the god Adad preserve thy life!

Send thy brothers with their chariots;

send also a horse, thy tribute, and the gifts, and all the prisoners which thou hast; send them to Megiddo to-morrow.'

far as Kadesh and their influence spread to the western limits of Asia Minor. Seti I made a treaty of alliance with their king, Morusar.

Under Ramesses II a group from Asia Minor ventured as far as the Egyptian coast; they were defeated, but a little later the Hittite king broke with Egypt, and formed an alliance with Naharin, northern Phoenicia, and the Lycians, who were later joined by a band of adventurers from Troy, Mysia, &c. The Pharaoh successfully defeated them at Kadesh, but in spite of this victory there were continual risings against him among all the peoples from the Euphrates to the Nile, which were finally brought to an end, after fifteen years of ever-recurrent wars and strife, by a treaty, written in the Hittite language, between Ramesses II and the Hittite king, whose daughter he married. The conditions and clauses of this treaty afford abundant evidence of the power of the Hittites.

Ramesses II erected, restored, or completed the building of numerous temples and other monuments at Luxor, Abu Simbel, Abydos, Memphis, and elsewhere, as well as carrying out many works of public utility. At his death the empire's boundary, north of Syria, was the valley of the Orontes. A town in the Amorrite territory was called Mer-n-Ptah.

The new Egyptian king whose name this was, vulgarly called *Menephtah*, lived at peace with the Hittites, as a result, no doubt, of his faithful observance of the treaty which had been made thirty-six years previously. In the third year of his reign, a revolt broke out in the east; Askalon, the gateway of Egypt, the fortress of Gezer, Yenoam and all the eastern part of Syro-Palestine revolted against Egypt. The Pharaoh set out to wage war upon them. The result of this campaign is known to us only from a triumphal hymn: the towns were severely punished and all Palestine brought under the Egyptian yoke. The siege of Gezer lasted for more than a year.

Meanwhile other enemies—the Libu or Rebu, the Tehenu and their allies the Sherden, Shekelesh (Sicilians), Ekweh (Achaeans), Lycians and Teresh—invaded the Delta. This was Egypt's hour of tragedy, and an event of world importance.

When the news of this new danger reached Merenptah, who was then engaged in fortifying Heliopolis and Memphis, he hurriedly mobilized his army. The battle lasted six hours. The invaders were beaten. Of nine thousand enemies killed, three thousand were allies of the Libyans. The booty was immense.

A rebellion in Nubia in the latter years of the Pharaoh's life was crushed.

Ramesses II had almost emptied the royal treasury, besides Merenptah was too advanced in years to procure stone from the quarries to build a funerary temple, so he decided to plunder the tomb of Amenhotep III. His scribes effaced the list of buildings erected by the former ruler from one of the granite stelae, and engraved thereon the hymn of victory over the Libyans, and it is there that Israel is mentioned for the first time outside of the Bible: 'Israel is desolate, he has no more seed.'

Merenptah was buried at Thebes after a reign of ten years.

Did the Hebrew Exodus take place under Tuthmosis III (eighteenth dynasty) or Ramesses II (nineteenth dynasty), or again in the reign of Merenptah? The documentary evidence would assign it, and with a great degree of probability, to a date between 1440 and 1240, from the reign of Tuthmosis III to Merenptah. However that may be, the term *Israilu* on Merenptah's triumphal stela is more likely to refer to Israelitish elements living a nomadic or semi-nomadic life in the land of Canaan, which they had never left.

The Hebrews subsequently remember that—under this last Pharaoh, no doubt—their ancestors had been conscripted to restore¹ the 'towns'² of Pithom and of Raamses. What more natural than that a Pharaoh who was engaging upon the reconstruction of the ramparts, storehouses, and temples of these two fortified towns should employ the labour available on the spot, the people authorized to pasture their flocks and herds in the district? But the pride of the tribes of Israel revolted against the

¹ *Build*. But a town cannot be built like a house, but arises up gradually as the needs of the community demand.

² The Hebrew is, 'Towns for use as stores for the pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses.' LXX, 'The fortified towns of P. . .'

task. Moses became the soul of the opposition. He believed and he succeeded in convincing his people that they had with them their God, more powerful than all the gods of Egypt and that he would deliver the oppressed tribes. According to Biblical tradition, a succession of miracles enabled Moses to lead his brethren out of Egypt into the 'desert of Sinai', to form them into a people, and give them a code of religious, moral, and civil law in the name of Yahweh, their national god and the only true one. From this day forward, Yahweh is the god of Israel, and Israel the people of Yahweh.

The Mosaic Code. In the Mosaic law as we know it certain pre-existent elements can be distinguished—in the first place, the obligations of the natural law, then, no doubt, the observance of the Sabbath and the practice of circumcision which was very widespread in the Semitic world, among the Idumeans, Moabites, Amorrites, Arabs, and Egyptians. Certain parts of the Code can be considered to be direct or indirect imitations. The vestments worn by the Egyptian high-priest and those described in Exodus¹ are almost identical—linen breeches, long tunic, pectoral, tiara, &c. The same may be said of the tabernacle, of the altar of incense, and the table of the bread of 'proposition'. There are striking resemblances between certain articles of the Mosaic Law and the Code of Hammurapi, king of Babylon in the twentieth century B.C., as, for instance, the penalty for rapine (which is less severe in the Hebrew law), for damage caused to another's land; the law of retaliation, which finds a place in both codes; and, in particular, the law appertaining to marriage and everything connected with it. But the Mosaic law is adapted to the needs of a patriarchal society, semi-nomadic in character, which is ignorant of the complications of city life, whereas the Babylonian code envisages an opulent agricultural and commercial mode of life. Occasionally the principles are the same, but the applications of the principles are different and suited to the different conditions by which they were governed. Only the Mosaic law is strictly monotheistic and its God demands holiness, purity, and almost

¹ Exodus xxviii.

charity; there is nothing similar in Hammurapi's code, only a relatively high idea of justice.

With the object of preserving this monotheism, the law of the Israelites prescribes *a single place of worship*, with the obligation of a triple pilgrimage to the privileged place chosen by Yahweh. No altars may be erected elsewhere except in conformity with the following conditions: they must be of earth or of unhewn stone,¹ thereby emphasizing their improvised character, they must have no steps and God Himself must have chosen the site. Various seemingly petty provisions of the law were aimed at combating superstition.

Phoenicia.

Phoenicia was the country which had derived the greatest benefit from the Egyptian conquest. Its situation away from the military route² had saved it from the sufferings occasioned by the passage of armies. In addition, its sailors had the monopoly of trade between Egypt and other countries, with the result that Tyre and Sidon had attained a high degree of wealth and civilization. Caravans came thither laden with merchandise from far-distant lands. Trading depots were founded to develop commercial activity at Lakish at the source of the Jordan, at Hamath on the Orontes, at Tapsaque on the banks of the Euphrates, at Nisibe at the source of the Tigris, at Cyprus, Dor, Joppa, in the large towns of the Delta—Tanis, Bubastis, Mendes, Sais, and Memphis—in Asia Minor, Bithynia, Cilicia, Caria—in Delos, Paros and Melos—in Crete, and beyond the sea in Greece, Illyria, and Italy.

The movement of the Hittites towards the centre of Asia,

¹ Exodus xx. 24-6.

² Two roads led from Egypt to Mesopotamia, first the caravan route which passed a little to the left of Joppa and to the right of the Amorrean mountains and over the passes of Mount Carmel into the plain near Ta'annak, to Megiddo. The Carmel passes were so narrow that their passage was a dangerous undertaking, so there was another route, the military route, which crossed the Amorrean mountains and led through the plain of Jezreel to Megiddo. This latter place was an important centre, giving access to Coelesyria to troops coming from Egypt. Beyond Megiddo the road passed over the mountain regions between the Jordan and Phoenicia, and on towards Ba'albek following the course of the Orontes as far as Hamath, and branching off in the direction of Carchemish.

which has been described, was resisted by the Phrygians and that of the Phrygians towards Greece was resisted by the Greeks and other Aegean peoples, 'peoples of the sea', as the Egyptians called them, and this was the cause of the arrival upon the coast of Egypt of a band of Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, in the reign of Merenptah.

Fifty years later, Ramesses III had to undertake a great and laborious expedition into Syria for the purpose of protecting the ancient frontiers established by the people of Asia Minor which were yielding to the pressure of the European peoples. Danaens, Tyrsenians, Zakkala, and Philistines joined the confederation. Having conquered and ravaged Cilicia, the 'barbarians' forced the Hittites to follow them, rallied the contingents at Carchemish and Kadesh to their cause, and descended upon Egypt, both by land and sea.

Ramesses III gained two victories over them, one at sea, the other in the Delta, and organized two maritime expeditions, one on the Mediterranean, the other on the Red Sea. The result of his victories was that the Dardanian, Tyrsenian, Lycian, and Achaean invaders gave up their attempts in Egypt and poured into Italy. As for the Philistines, they settled in Canaan, and their allies the Zakkala in the neighbourhood of Dor, at the northern extremity of the rich plain of Saron.

Ramesses III worked the valuable Sinai quarries. At Thebes he built the great palace of Medinet Habu; he enlarged Karnak and restored Luxor. The spacious times of Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II seemed to have returned, and yet downfall was close at hand, for Egypt was wearied by four centuries of continual fighting, the people were decimated by military recruiting, the nobility grown effeminate through excess of material comfort and riches. The artists were inactive, limiting their efforts to mere copying or imitation of the work of their predecessors.

The Philistines.

We have already mentioned the Philistines.¹ According to

¹ In the Bible the terms *Pelishtiy*, plural *Pelishtiyim* or *Pelishtiyim* occur, the last form twice (Amos ix. 7; 1 Chronicles xiv. 10, *Ketiyyb*). The country which they inhabited during the wars with Israel is *érês Pelishtiyim*, 'the land of the Philistines',

the Bible, they came from a country traditionally named Kaphtor,¹ about which nothing is known except that it was on the sea, and that the tradition connected with Kaphtor seems identifiable with the traditions of the historical glory of Crete, inasmuch as the Egyptians were acquainted with it.²

or simply *Peleshet*. (Josephus calls them *παλεστινοί*, except in Gen. x, where he calls them *Φυλιστινιοί*, *Antiquities*, I, vi, 2.)

The Septuagint writes *ἀλλόφυλοι* for Philistines, even where the latter term is used by Philistines such as Goliath or Akhiyah. There are three exceptions—in the Pentateuch, where *Φυλιστιειμ*, *Φυλιστιμ* and *Φυλιστιειμ* occur; in Judges x. 6, 7, xiii. 1, 5, xiv. 2, where the word is merely transcribed; and in Isaiah ix. 11, where *Ἑλλήνας* occurs.

This word must have been derived from Philistine sources, since the same word is used to designate the same people in texts so widely apart as the texts of Ramesses III's scribes and of the Assyrian annalists.

¹ Amos ix. 7, and later Jeremiah xlvii. 4, refer to a Philistine connexion with a country called Kaphtor. In Deuteronomy ii. 23, a people called *Kaphtoriym* are mentioned, who came from Kaphtor, wiped out the *'Awiym*, who inhabited the villages as far as Gaza, and took their place. From this geographical datum we can identify the *Kaphtoriym* with the Philistines. Joshua mentions *'Awiym*, south of the Philistines', Joshua xiii. 3.

A young Egyptian slave (1 Samuel xxx. 14) describes an Amalekite invasion into the Negeb of the Kerethiy and the Negeb of the Kaleb. Ezechiel (xxv. 16) unites in his condemnation the Philistines, Kerethiym and 'the remnant of the sea coast'; and Sophonias (ii. 5) exclaims 'Woe to the *Kerethiym* and to *Kena'an*, the land of the Philistines. (The last passage is perhaps a marginal note.) Variant forms in the MS.: *Χελεβί*, *Χαρρεβί*, *Χελβί*, *Χελεροι*, *Χολλερι*, *Οχελεβθι*, &c.

In three passages (2 Samuel xx. 23; 2 Kings xi. 4, 19) we find *Kariy* mentioned for *Kerethiym* among the bodyguards.

² The word *Kefti*, corresponding to *Kaphtor*, occurs in Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty; under Tuthmosis III it is a place-name and the name of a people.

Foreigners bear tribute with them (according to the *Rekhmire* tomb) from Punt, Reteru, and *Kefti*, and (according to the tomb of *Menkheperresonb*) from *Kefti*, Kheta, Tunip, and Qadesh. We know from the excavations at Crete that these are some of the masterpieces of Cretan art (recent Minoan I and II; apogee of the Palace of Cnossos) that they bring into Egypt, and since the hieroglyphs tell us that there are messengers from *Kefti*, it follows that *Kefti* was at least a centre for the distribution of the products of Cretan civilization and a region under the direct influence of Crete.

Nevertheless, the origin of the Zakkala-Philistine-Washasha league need not be sought for in Crete itself, for these pirates found allies along the strip of sea-coast opposite Crete, Pamphilia, and Lycia—and, perhaps, along the whole coast of Asia Minor, including the islands of the Aegean and even Greece, since it was believed that all this country had been peopled by the same race and enjoyed the same Aegean civilization. From this it would result that the Philistines were not really a people, but an amalgam of clans which came from Crete and from the extreme south-western point of Asia Minor. The disparate elements of their primitive culture had been fused long since, and they implanted a 'Cretan' civilization in the southern regions of Canaan.

There exists no Hebrew text which states explicitly at what period the Philistines first appeared in Canaan, but the study of the Bible would go to show that they had not long been in the country when the Israelites arrived there.¹

A bitter struggle between the two people ensued. It began in Shamgar's² time; in Samson's day the Philistine domination, which was supported by the divisions of Israel,³ was complete and accepted passively.⁴ It was not, moreover, an exclusively military domination.⁵ There seems to have been no barrier of language between them, since Samson, without the aid of an interpreter, proposes 'riddles' to the Philistines which they solve.

However, hard pressed by their common enemy, the tribes sank their rivalries and came together, and, after the defeat of Eben-ha-ezer, the subsequent truce and a further attack by the Philistines which they repulsed victoriously, they chose themselves a king.

The Philistines were at Beyth-El in the heart of the country.

¹ We are told in Judges i. 19 that 'the inhabitants of the plain' (i.e. of the sea-coast) drove off the attack of the Israelites 'because they had chariots of iron'. The Hebrews did not succeed in capturing Gaza, nor Askalon, nor Akkaron (Judges i. 18, to be read with the Septuagint, otherwise i. 18, would be in contradiction with 19 and with iii. 3, and Joshua, xiii. 3). In Genesis xii, xx, xxi; Exodus xxiii. 31; Joshua xiii. 2, the Philistines are referred to by anticipation (Genesis xxvi. 8, read with LXX 'Abimelek king of Gherar' and not 'king of the Philistines').

The old song of Debora mentions Dan as a seafaring people who remain on their ships, whilst their brethren are withstanding the onslaught of the Sisera invasion (Judges v. 17). Now Danite clans abandoned the coast and went to live in the distant lands of Laiysh which, although fertile, were burnt up by the sun and full of fever. This fact would be explained by the settlement of the Philistines in the Negeb. (Note that Samson, the hero of the Israelitish opposition, was from Sore'ah, whence the Danite explorers who discovered Laiysh had set out; Judges xiii. 2, and xviii. 2, 14.)

² In the days of Shamgar the highways were not safe, 'there were no caravans' (Judges v. 6). This marks the beginning of the struggle, the date of which cannot be accurately determined. It is to be noted that (i) in Judges v. 6, Shamgar is the oppressor, whilst in iii. 31, he is a judge; (ii) the name is not Hebrew; (iii) iii. 31 seems to have been misplaced, other versions place Shamgar after Samson.

³ Cf. Judges iv. 1-5, 6-57.

⁴ Since the Judeans who are about to deliver him up say to him (xv. 11) 'Knowest thou not that the Philistines are rulers over us? Why hast thou done this wrong unto them?' There is nothing definite in Judges x. 6, 7, 11.

⁵ Judges xiv. 1, 7, 10, 11.

They were defeated at the pass of Michmash. Shortly afterwards they saw coming towards them David who had beaten them at Qe'iyah and was now escaping from the wrath of King Saul. The young warrior did not march against his king; he fixed his head-quarters at Siolagh (Siceleg), southwards from Negeb, and contented himself with occasional successful raids on the nomads which enabled him by means of presents to strengthen the bonds which united him to the sheikhs of the tribe of Juda.

The Philistines slew Saul and Jonathan at Gelboe (Gilboa). When they learnt of David's investiture at Hebron they made an attempt at establishing themselves in Jerusalem, in order to prevent any means of cohesion between north and south, but they were defeated first at Ba'al Perasim and then in the valley of the Rephaim. Henceforward, they were unable to profit by the dissensions among the Hebrews; we even find them, under the name Pelethians, among David's bodyguard, and a whole corps of soldiers was composed of natives of Gath, one of the Philistine satrapies. The power and individuality of the Philistines was broken, and for ever.

The history of the Philistines belongs to the period when iron was replacing bronze in the eastern Mediterranean basin. This whole period is covered with a sort of cloud through which we can discern the troubles and the upheavals which we have just described.

The Medinet Habu figures represent the Philistine warriors with a head-dress resembling a toque made from upright feathers, fastened by a strap under the chin, armed with swords, daggers, javelins, long Carian lances, and mounted on cube-shaped chariots with two solid, spokeless wheels, drawn by four oxen; the maritime contingents have small boats propelled by oars, with very high prows and sterns.

Their tombs found at Gezer were stonework vaults, in which the bodies were laid on their backs. Large quantities of ceramic were placed in them, but very little pottery; numerous statues of Astarte and of Sekhmet were found, and many more objects of personal adornment than in other burial-places, rich offerings of

silver and alabaster vases (hitherto extremely rare), mirrors in women's graves, and supplies of foodstuffs.

The Philistine god Daghon had his own temple whilst the Canaanite deities seem as yet to be adored only in the open, in the *bamoth*, and Yahweh in the tent of the Ark.

In spite of racial enmity, divine anathemas, and the danger to which they were thus exposing their national unity, the Israelites, having found a more advanced state of civilization in the country which they had conquered, adopted Canaanite customs in the exercises of their religion.

Absolute uniformity did not, however, obtain in all Palestine; whereas Beyth-Shemesh reached the zenith of its development under Philistine influence, in Jericho everything stagnated in the twelfth century, and wasted away in the Canaanite decadence.¹ Between the twelfth and the ninth centuries the Israelites were in occupation of the country. At the beginning of this period there is no marked difference, except perhaps its degeneracy, between Palestine ceramic-work and Mycenaean pots, jugs, dishes and large containers for water, oil or grain; gradually, however, a real transformation takes place occasioned by the preponderance of new needs among a nation varying in organization, tendencies, and spirit, by the influence of the art of foreign countries—Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete, instead of Mycenae—and by the use of new instruments.

The oenochoe-shaped vases, or *bilbil*, of the preceding period are supplanted by jugs of analogous design, in which, however,

¹ The Semitic era had begun in Jericho at a period which cannot be determined with accuracy. The new Canaanite occupants certainly worked bronze, made clay into bricks, pottery, and statuettes; they engaged in agriculture. About the fifteenth century, Jericho suffered enormously as a result, perhaps, of the Egyptian conquest, and the industrious population rebuilt another fortified enclosure with numerous dwelling-houses, having first, it would seem, razed everything to the ground before building it up afresh. Egyptian influence is apparent in the utensils used and in their pottery. Then the silence of death reigns supreme for another period. (Joshua had destroyed the town. . . .) However, the common people, who could not be rooted out from their native place, returned to find a dwelling amongst the ruins of the opulent town; and when Hiel of Beyth-El later chooses this town as his fief and it prospers, it undergoes the influence of Cyprus, especially in ceramic-work. The rectangular 'palace', with its wide walls, rooms almost square, like the *khillani* of Send-jirli, appears to date from the same period (ninth to eighth centuries).

the foot gradually decreases in size and finally disappears in a flat-bottomed vessel with the increasingly more spherically shaped body.

The clay is fine, but the colour remains the same, for example, at Tell Zakariya. The neck and body are decorated by a band due to Cypriot influence, at Ta'annak and Tell Djedeideh. Also under Cypriot influence gourd-shaped vases are manufactured narrower and flatter in the body, or sometimes shaped like almond-shells. The neck is sometimes made in the form of a double disk of careful workmanship.

This period is thus characterized by a degeneration in all the Mycenaean types of big vases, which become heavy, thick and are made from bad paste, by the transformation of the oenochoe, a preference for the gourd-shaped vase and the gradual disappearance of geometrical ornament.

David and Solomon.

In a few years of able and clever government David and his officers had transformed the Hebrews into conquerors. They enforced respect for their authority from the Banks of the Orontes to 'the torrent of Egypt' and the shores of the Red Sea. Moab, Edom, and Ammon were under the direct control of their officials. The Philistines furnished wheat and oil for the royal table; Phoenicia sent its artists and its precious woods. Zobah, Hamath, and the states of 'Aramea paid tribute. The kingdom almost became an empire, but it was an unsound and unstable organization. While David and his generals were alive they maintained their position, but the Hebrews yielded early to their agricultural proclivities and fell back into their petty tribal rivalries.

Towards the end of his life David appointed to succeed him Solomon, the son of Bethsabee, wife of Urias the Hittite king, instead of Adonias his fourth son, born of Haggit. From now on the kingship becomes a purely military institution: the king is really king. Henceforward, the people of Yahweh have a policy to pursue and interests to defend. Their history is subject to all the turns of fortune which rule the history of the human

race, but with this important difference, that a pact unites their king to Yahweh, and that Yahweh himself will always have, through his prophets, the supreme direction of the destinies of Israel which are to end in the reign of the Messiah. Solomon made a marriage of alliance with the Pharaoh of Egypt and built for his wife a residence similar to his own. He constructed the royal palace and the Temple with materials partly supplied by Hiram of Tyre. Jerusalem became a true capital.

The town is actually situated on the steep eastern slope, near the anticlinal ridge; its orography is fixed during the Pleistocene; through the agency of water and atmospheric forces all alluvial deposits have been swept away, the lowest strata of the upper Pliocene laid bare and the plateau, so to speak, carved out during the various and prolonged phases of the pluvio-glacial period.

The watershed is drained through the Kidron into the Red Sea about 16 miles distant as the crow flies, 1,285 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and 3,860 feet below the crest of the Jerusalem plateau.

The soil of the town belongs solely to the Cretaceous period—end of the secondary era—characterized in the Devonian period by the *ka-kuly*, a very white limestone with red or yellowish streaks, soft and hence easily deteriorating when exposed to the air; in the Senonian period the same soil is characterized, only on the eastern hill and on the eastern bank of the Kidron, by the rock called *mezzzy*, white with pink stripes alternating with limestone or argilous marls and hard silicious chalks. At the Turonian period, at Kharam for example, the rocks vary considerably in formation and in permeability, and are thus sometimes striated by a regular system of little channels joining up cavities of all dimensions. Caves are plentiful. The beautiful *malaky* rock of the western hill can be used for all purposes. It is soft when first brought out of the cavern but becomes hard when exposed to the air. The two enormous passages cut out by the Kidron and Rababy go right through the Turonian system as far as the Cenomanian.

A soil of such formation could not yield a plentiful supply of

water. In the rainy season the water trickling on the surface of the ground flows into the natural arteries of drainage—the Rababy, Tyropoeon, and Kidron. On the other hand, the area is too limited for this water to supply even a small regular spring.¹ The only region where wells would be possible is the south-eastern base of the two hills of Jerusalem, and in fact one is known in the Kidron—ain Umm ed-Daradj, or Pool of Siloe—which is intermittent,² since the waters which have filtered slowly and progressively through almost the entire northern region of the town and even as far as the western bank of the Kidron, are all directed upon the Turonian cavities, and having passed through one or more natural syphons from one hollow to another, eventually issue forth at ain-Umm ed-Daradj.

No earthquake occurred of sufficient intensity to cause the disappearance of an already existing spring or lake, and history shows that for two thousand years the water system has remained identical.

From these facts it is clear that rain is very important for Jerusalem. There are two periods in the year, the dry period, from about the 15th of May to the 15th of October, and the rainy period. The influence of the east and west winds on a site placed at a great height upon a mountain-ridge between the Mediterranean and the immense Syro-Arabian desert can readily be imagined. Along the southern end of the Ghor and above the abyss of the Asphaltite lake and the arid hills of the Judean desert the harsh, torrid south-east winds blow in; the worst of these winds is the *khamshin*, which the Babylonians represented as a 'demon', or a hybrid, mischievous and ugly-featured wild beast.

The influence of the climate with its rain, winds, heat, and sudden and great changes in the same day, its malaria and the proximity to the desert, has had its part in moulding the peculiar character of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which is

¹ Mamillah is only a reservoir.

² This fact is easily comprehensible from the application to Jerusalem of the general principle of intermittent springs.

characterized by what might almost be termed a state of continued nervous tension. Individual and concerted activity is almost invariably sporadic.

In Solomon's time, the town's expansion to the western hill had necessitated the erection of a rampart right around it; one weak spot still remained, a breach in the line of defence—the cleft of the Tyropoen, south-west of Herod's temple. This was closed by a *millo*, an embankment formed by a group of strong buildings such as bastions, towers, or forts protecting the two valleys.

During the long period in which the Hebrews were consolidating their position, Egypt had become considerably weakened; its only aim seems to have been to protect its fiefs. Little it cared that a unified power had now taken the place of the many Canaanite clans, providing that the country recognized its suzerainty. Solomon did not dispute it; it was an easily borne vassalage by which the Hebrew king was assured of large profits from his extensive trade with his powerful neighbour and of reinforcements for finally breaking the Canaanites' resistance.

After Tuthmosis III's reign Babylon had steadily declined while Ashur had increased in strength and boldness.

The Cassite dynasty, enfeebled by age and not actuated by any warlike spirit, had endeavoured to seal the union between Assyria and Babylonia by treaties and marriages, in the time of Ashur-uballit, about 1400. Peace, however, did not last long; Ashur-uballit was obliged to intervene in Babylon itself to suppress a rebellion with which the Assyrians were threatened. His successors had to struggle with indisciplined bands which harassed his frontiers from the Syrian side. Ashur, under Tukulti-Inurta replaced Babylon's influence over the districts around the Tigris and the Euphrates not only in the country surrounding Lake Van and the Nairi country, but in Babylon itself. He was deposed after a reign of seven years by a revolt led by the nobles who remained loyal to the Cassites, and Adad-shum-nasir was placed upon the throne. The authority of the Cassites reasserted itself for a further period of about forty years, until it was replaced by the Assyrian Ashurdan I

and succumbed finally under the attacks of the Elamite king, Shutruk-Nahunte, who entered Babylon and killed its king, pillaged Sippar and returned to Elam laden with spoils, among which may be mentioned the famous stela of Naram-Sin, Hammurapi's code, and a huge collection of Cassite *kudurrus*.

Assyria in the twelfth century was a compact and vigorous kingdom. Tiglath-Pileser I, having defeated the king of Babylon several times and then turned his arms northwards, had seized the Hittite stronghold of Carchemish and then advanced as far as Lebanon, bringing under his sway the Semites of the north who, hitherto, had been to some extent suzerains of the Egyptians or of the Hittites. His empire over them was merely ephemeral, for the Aramean kingdoms of Sob'a, Damascus, and Beth'Rekhob, taking advantage of the Hittites' weakness, had succeeded in consolidating their independence to such a degree that Tiglath-Pileser's successors had never molested them, at least until Ashur-nasir-apal's accession. This latter monarch, who reigned from 884 until 860, followed the path which had been traversed by the armies of Tiglath-Pileser and bore arms triumphantly as far as Lebanon, exacting tribute from the towns of Mesopotamia, and receiving lowly homage and rich presents from the Hittites and Phoenicians. Ashur-nasir-apal did not disturb the Orontes country and Anti-Lebanon, for an Aramean kingdom had grown up and developed around Damascus, its capital, under such rulers as Rezon and Ben-Hadad I, and was then at its zenith. It was dangerous openly to molest so powerful a rival.

The native population of Egypt had been so enfeebled by war that it no longer supplied sufficient recruits for the army. In order to compete with rivalry at home and maintain a sufficiently strong army abroad, the Pharaohs of Tanis were obliged to resort to hiring mercenaries more than their predecessors had done.

Towards the end of the twentieth dynasty, Sheshonk, the fifth descendant of the Libyan Buyuwa, married a maiden of royal blood; Namaruti, his son, gained military and religious

honours. Sheshonk, his nephew, married his son Osorkon to the daughter of the last Pharaoh of the twenty-first dynasty and, on the latter's death, was himself crowned king of Egypt.

About this time the domestic difficulties of the Hebrews supplied Sheshonk with the opportunity of continuing his predecessors' Canaanite policy.

Israel split in Two.

The Israelite kingdom had maintained its comparative unity under Saul, David, and Solomon, but it subsequently became divided, mainly, it would seem, through the jealousy displayed towards Juda by the northern tribes, Ephraim in particular. The Bible relates the descent of this latter tribe from the celebrated patriarch, Joseph. It had flourished on the land which had fallen to its lot; Joshua had come from it, Shiloh, the old national sanctuary, was situated in its territory. Ephraim had long since displayed its arrogance.¹ The reigns of Saul and of David, who were not Ephraimites, had stirred up feelings of rancour and of bitter disillusionment. The Benjaminite Siba in David's reign,² and the Ephraimite Jeroboam in Solomon's reign, had endeavoured to break the national unity. Solomon's heavy expenditure and the scandals he had caused had greatly grieved and shocked the people. Roboam in an ill-advised moment worked up their discontent and a schism broke out. From the political standpoint, it weakened the two kingdoms, which had always been antagonistic towards each other, so that they had to have recourse to foreign intervention.³ Efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation but they did not materialize.⁴ From the religious standpoint, Jerusalem, with the Temple and the religious exercises carried out there, gave Juda the supremacy. In order to keep his subjects away from Jerusalem, Jeroboam placed two golden calves, symbols of Yahweh,⁵ one at Dan, whose situation naturally brought thither the

¹ Judges viii. 1-3, x. 9, xii. 1-6.

² 2 Samuel xx. 1.

³ 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26, xv. 6, 16-21; 2 Kings xiv. 1-22.

⁴ 1 Kings xxii. 2-26; 2 Kings iii. 7-17, viii. 28, 29.

⁵ 1 Kings xii. 28.

northern and Transjordanian tribes, the other at Beyth-El, the former place of worship which by its situation in the extreme south attracted those who would have been tempted to go to Jerusalem. The priests, who remained faithful to Yahweh and who could not, besides, obtain in the service of Dan and Beyth-El the profits of which they were assured in the legitimate Temple, flocked in a body to Juda, thereby helping greatly the southern kingdom. Jeroboam was accordingly constrained to institute a new priesthood.

Hardly had Jeroboam and Roboam divided Solomon's kingdom into two than Sheshonq hastened to the aid of Jeroboam, his liegeman,¹ with the secret intention of establishing by an easy conquest Egypt's prestige which had been forgotten during two centuries of inactivity, and recouping himself for the irregularity in the payments of tribute, if indeed any payments at all were being made, by plunder. Attracted by the pleasures of conquest or lured on by the prospects of plundering great treasures, the Egyptians captured and sacked the best towns, including Ta'annak, Beyth-Shan, Beyth-horon, and Megiddo.

Canaan is so situated that independence for it was impossible save on the condition of its having no powerful enemies or its being able to unite its own forces closely in spite of the racial division which almost fatally divided it. The hostility between Israel and Juda arose from an ever-increasing spirit of rivalry, which laid them open to outside domination and the influence of external civilizations. These influences were not apparent in the same way in each of these two little kingdoms; in Juda, where the religion was purer, it developed hand in hand with a more advanced state of civilization than that obtaining in Israel.

The earliest kings of Israel had lived successively at Shekem and Tirsah. Omriy built himself a capital to the north-west of Shekem and Mount Obhal, on some land which he had bought from a person named Shomer. His choice was a wise one, as the rapid rise of the new capital, Samaria, showed.

¹ 1 Kings xi. 40, xiv. 25-30.

This town was to the northern kingdom what Jerusalem was to the southern kingdom, and in foreigners' minds the name of Omriy was inseparable from that of Israel; they spoke of this kingdom as Bit-Umri.

Syria and Israel.

Benhadad I, king of Syria, defeated Omriy and forced him to cede some parts of Samaria to him. To recoup himself for the loss, the king of Israel laid a heavy tribute on Moab and then, preparatory to making a bid towards recovering his independence, he sought an alliance with Phoenicia, and asked 'Eth-ba'al, king of Tyre, for his daughter, 'Izebel's (Jezabel) hand for the prince royal of Samaria.

Hiram I, the friend of David and Solomon, had brought Tyre's greatness to its zenith. His authority extended to Cyprus; he had organized and developed the trade with Spain, and by his alliance with the Hebrews had opened up new avenues to the far-distant East. Upon the death of his son, who had reigned for seven years, a popular rising had given the crown to a usurping dynasty, which remained in power for twelve years. Then the ancient royal line was restored by a revolution, which, however, did not ensure the stable conditions so necessary to the country. King Pheli was assassinated by one of his relatives, 'Eth-ba'al, who remained in power for thirty-two years. The outbreak of these disorders had coincided with the 'schism' between the tribes of Israel, and 'Eth-ba'al, fearing lest these tribes might covet the riches of Phoenicia, and endeavour to take possession of it, gladly seized the opportunity of contracting the union which Omriy offered him.

Before he had seized the throne, 'Eth-ba'al had been high-priest of Astarte. His daughter 'Izebel, having become queen of Samaria, was permitted by her husband Akh-abh (Ahab) to practise her religion freely. Ba'al and Astarte had their own sanctuaries, their priests and prophets, their places at the royal table. Akh-abh none the less remained to a certain degree faithful to Yahweh, since he named his children Akhazeiyah, Yehoram, and Attalyah (Athalia).

Elias the prophet protested vehemently against the queen's religious practices, against the queen herself, and against the king who tolerated such an impiety.

Upon the death of Benhadad I, king of Syria, Akh-abh broke away from his vassalage. This gave rise to a war which, despite the prophets, ended in an offensive and defensive alliance between Israel and Syria.¹

Benhadad II² (Adad-idri in the Zakir inscription) followed the advances of the Assyrians with uneasiness, and had prepared to receive them warmly by renewing his alliances with Hamath, Arad, and Phoenicia, by asking for the help of the armies of the Israelites and of the Arads, and enlisting auxiliaries even in Egypt and the land of Amon. In spite of this, he was defeated by Salmanazar II at Qarqar on the Orontes, in the autumn of 854. But the resistance had been so fierce that the victor thought it unwise to pursue his victory further, especially since he had to quell tribal revolts in Babylonia.

The peace between Akh-abh and Syria had not been of long duration. In negotiating for the restitution of the Israelite towns Ramoth Gile'adh (Ramoth-Galaad) had not been mentioned, although it was an important town which commanded the left bank of the Jordan and was a danger both to Israel and Juda. Akh-abh was desirous of taking it, and obtained allies for the purpose.

The experience of previous centuries had shown how fatal for the two Hebrew kingdoms their mutual rivalries were; as a result of these divisions Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the Philistine fiefs had shaken off the Hebrew yoke; Damascus, which had become the capital of a powerful kingdom, threatened to restore David's empire to Benhadad. Josaphat deemed it wise to unite all their forces against the Syrians. He married his son Joram to Athalia, Akh-abh's daughter, and willingly joined Israel against Ramoth-Galaad. But the allies were defeated, and Ramoth remained Syrian. Israel, again a vassal,

¹ Cf. 1 Kings xx. 35-43.

² On his identification with the biblical Benhadad cf. *R.B.*, new series, vii (1910), 70-1. P. Dhorme calls him Benhadad I, and Hazael's successor Benhadad II. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-5.

was obliged to send its army to fight for Benhadad against Salmanazar. After many attempts against the latter (in 849 and 848), interspersed with expeditions into Armenia and Media, Benhadad gave up the attempt in 846 without having achieved any great measure of success.

In David's day Moab seems to have been a tribe of small importance, and the dominion of the Israelites did not apparently extend beyond the Arnon, 'a precipice about three thousand feet deep whose steep sides are almost inaccessible'. But the Moabites had subsequently recovered possession of the plain from the Arnon to Medaba. Omriy laid them under tribute and established garrisons in the country as far as Dybon to ensure its fidelity towards him.

The Israelites principally occupied the western towns, which were strongly situated on the spurs of the mountains of the Red Sea. Mesa captured Medaba and Ba'al-Me'on (Main), which he rebuilt. He conquered Atharoth, which had long been occupied by Israelites of the tribe of Gad, and massacred the population as 'a spectacle for the god Kamosh'. The town of Medaba suffered the same fate.

Joram, Akh-abh's son, seems with the aid of Juda to have forced Mesa to beat a prudent retreat to Kerak, his capital, situated at an altitude 3,000 feet, isolated by mountains and accessible only from the south. In his inscription Mesa describes the labours he undertook to fortify it both before and after the siege.

The greater part of the important text merits quotation:

I am Mesa, the son of Kamosh-rn, king of Moab, the Dybonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I made this *bamah*¹ to Kamosh of Qorhoh (. . . ? as a sign of deliverance) for he saved me from all my downfalls(?) and made me triumph over my enemies.

Omriy, king of Israel, was the oppressor of Moab for many long days, because Kamosh was angered against his country. And his son succeeded him, and he also said 'I will oppress Moab!' it was in my day that he spoke (. . . thus).

¹ Place of worship. Cf. 1 Kings xi. 7, 'Solomon built a *bamah* for Kamosh'.

And I triumphed over him and his house. And Israel has perished for ever. Now, Omriy had taken possession of the land of Medaba and lived there during his life, and the term of his sons' lives, which was forty years; and Kamosh restored it (to us) in my lifetime. And I restored Ba'al-Me'on and I built there a reservoir, and I restored Qarythen.

Now the people of Gad lived in the land of Atharoth, from the earliest times. And the king of Israel had built Atharoth for himself.

And I fought against the town, and I took it, and I killed all the people of the town, as a spectacle for Kamosh and for Moab and I carried off thence the altar and its 'spirit', and I dragged it before Kamosha Qiriyah. And I put people to live there, from Saron and Maharath.

And Kamosh said to me 'Go, take Nebo on Israel!' and I went by night and I fought against it from dawn to midday and I took it. And I killed everybody: seven thousand men and young boys and women and maidens and slaves, because I had made it *kherem* to Ashtar-Kamosh, and I took thence the (vessels? altars?) of Yahweh and I dragged them before Kamosh.

Now the king of Israel had built Yahats, and he dwelt there while he was making war upon me; but Kamosh put him to flight before me, and I captured from Moab two hundred men, all his chosen warriors, and I led them against Yahats, and I took it and annexed it to Dybon.

It is I who built Qorhoh, and the wall of Yeharin and the Wall of Ophel, and it is I who built its gates, and it is I who built its towers, and it is I who built the royal palace, and it is I who constructed the double reservoir for water in the middle of the town at Qorhoh. And I said to all the people, 'Let each one of you make a cistern for himself in his house'. And it is I who had the trenches of Qorhoh dug by the Israelite prisoners. And it is I who built Aro'er, and I who made the road of the Arnon. . . .

The king of Israel, engaged in the war against the Syrians, could not carry out his expedition against Moab.

The kingdom of Damascus was constantly endeavouring to regain its position of supremacy among the Semitic peoples of the West. Benhadad had perished in a war against Samaria. Azael, who succeeded him, resolutely opened hostilities against the kings of Israel, but he had not inherited the prestige which

had been acquired by his predecessor. The Assyrian texts prove him to have been deserted by his former allies—Hamath and Arad. The northern peoples had deserted the league. Joram of Israel and Ochozias of Juda thought this a favourable moment for the resumption of their predecessors' enterprise upon Ramoth-Galaad. Joram was wounded, and retired to his palace in the plain of Jezreel to be healed of his wounds. While Ochozias was visiting him there, Jehu, the captain of the Israelite army, encamped before Ramoth-Galaad, was consecrated king by the prophet Eliseus. Jehu then marched at the head of a small army against Jezreel. Joram was killed, and Ochozias died of wounds at Megiddo. Jehu had Joram's mother, 'Izebel, who was defying him, thrown out from a window in the palace, then he gave orders to exterminate those of Akh-abh's family who had remained in Samaria, seventy princes, as well as their families. All the priests and adorers of Ba'al were massacred, and the cult of Yahweh restored, but in the form of golden calves at Dan and Beyth-El.

In the meantime, while the cult of Yahweh was triumphing in the northern kingdom, Ba'al was establishing himself in Jerusalem; for Athalia, 'Izebel's daughter, the wife of Joram of Juda and mother of Ochozias of Juda, having heard of her son's death, wiped out the surviving members of the race of Josaphat and seized the throne. Only Ochozias's son, Joas, was saved from the massacre, thanks to Josheba, the king's sister. With Athalia's accession to power, the cult of Yahweh was supplanted by Ba'al, but Athalia's acts of impiety aroused the people's hatred. Joiada revealed Joas's existence to the leaders of the army, and he was recognized as the rightful sovereign, and the usurper put to death. The regency was carried on by the priests.

Meanwhile Salmanazar had reappeared about 843–842. This time he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Syrians and his armies advanced through Hauran, putting all to fire and sword.

Phoenicia and Israel bought peace.

With the triumph of its monarch, Israel had freed itself from external influences; its aim was to be self-sufficient, and it

admitted the products of foreign nations within its borders, only in so far as it suited its own desires and preferences. Its independence from outside influences was not, however, complete—we have seen the part played by the Phoenicians in the building of the Temple.

The ceramists of Palestine usually employed red clay, sometimes also grey or bistre-coloured clay. Nearly all their pottery was turned on the potter's wheel. They did not trouble to polish the inner sides of vessels intended for ordinary domestic uses, which closely resemble those of the most archaic vessels.

Many details of their manufacture seem to have forgotten uses. In a word, they created no really original types, but reproduced in somewhat varied forms the whole gamut of the ancient styles, as, for instance, in the case of jars and pots.

Their decorative painting displays even less originality. It is limited to lines or a few vegetable *motifs*; the colour of the vases is yellow or a more or less shiny black, on which they painted in black or red.

Vases of this period are found with inscriptions in archaic Hebrew stamped on the handle, in which the formula L.M.L.K.¹ occurs. They come from Hebron, Ziph, Socoh, and Mrst whose names they bear. Also, the Bible mentions royal potters and accumulations of supplies in certain towns. This would be explained by the theory that a monopoly was granted to certain workshops for the manufacture of jars intended to hold booty in kind, or for vases used as measures, and stamped at the factory with the royal stamp, in order to facilitate commercial transactions.

Assyria and Israel.

Nineveh's supremacy extended over a great part of Nearer Asia, as far as Elam and the Persian Gulf on the one hand, and the Red Sea and Egypt on the other.

But its power was soon to be eclipsed rapidly by that of Urartu, a rough country, where the Tigris and the Euphrates have their sources, divided into a great number of tiny principalities.

¹ That is to say *the King's*.

The petty kings of Urartu, having come into contact with Assyria under Ashur-nasir-apal, became civilized at their adversaries' hands. They learned writing from them; Assyrian from that time onwards became the learned language of the country, and the cuneiform script was applied to the dialects.

The kings of Van, having brought the neighbouring principalities under their rule, next and with some success threatened Assyria about the eighth century, under Argishtish I.

Jeroboam II, Joas of Israel's son, reigned for forty-one years. He was almost successful in recovering the kingdom of David and Solomon, 'from the entrance of Emath, unto the sea of the wilderness' (of Arabah).¹ This resurgence of Israel can be explained by the weakness of the adjoining states; Egypt, which in the twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties was ruled by small rival princes, did not interfere in Asia's quarrels; moreover, under Salmanazar III (782-772) definite symptoms of decadence had shown themselves. Ashurnirari IV (753-746) undertook only two campaigns in eight years, and even these within only a few days' journey of Nineveh. Over a period of thirty-two years (between Adadnirari IV and Tiglath-Pileser III) Assyria fell from the high rank in which the valour of its princes had placed it for a century.

A revolt in Kalakh, in 745, placed on the throne a man of unknown origin, but one little inclined to lead the life of a sluggard prince, Tiglath-Pileser III or Phul. He bore the Assyrian arms farther than ever before, and organized a system of deportation far more effective than any of his predecessors had ever attempted. This was one of a number of repressive measures, resorted to by Ninevite and Babylonian kings in extreme cases, particularly when a people had not fulfilled the obligations which it had contracted or observed the oaths which it had taken following previous defeats. In these terrible reprisals a part of the population was exposed to the worst forms of violence in order to inspire a salutary fear in those who witnessed them. Then the influential classes of the population, such as the ancients, townsmen, owners of land, warriors

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 25.

and educated people, were deported. Only the common people were left in the country, and the inhabitants who had been deported, often in very great numbers, were replaced by settlers imported from elsewhere. The conqueror's principle was to quench the flame of national spirit in the conquered. The ties binding the individual to his native soil were stronger then than in our day. Religion and fatherland were inconceivable as apart from the soil on which the god dwelt; so, in the first place, the mingling of foreign settlers with the rest of the population eventually brought about a new racial unity, and secondly the effect of deportation was that the god or gods of the country where the deportees lived gradually supplanted in their minds the memory of their national god.

Another result was that in this way a nomadic people could be transformed into a sedentary people, agriculturists or merchants, and all to the greatest advantage of the Assyro-Babylonians.

Conduct of the Prophets of Israel.

In the kingdom of Israel, and especially at Beyth-El under Jeroboam II, Amos the prophet, a native of Juda, had issued grave warnings; let not the people imagine that the kingdom's brilliant prosperity was a proof that Yahweh was satisfied. No! the armies of the northern kingdom will be vanquished because Israel has gone to seek Yahweh in a sanctuary not his own. The presumptuous have confidence in 'the day of Yahweh', that is, God's final great intervention in the world, the day of national triumph; they think to stay the hand of God by external manifestations of religion, but feasts, panegyrics, and sacrifices will not arrest the exercise of divine justice.

A few years after Amos, about 750-735, Osee, probably a native of the kingdom of Israel, spoke to his countrymen in similar accents. Yahweh was always full of kindness to his people:

When Israel was a child, I loved him;
Out of Egypt, I called to my son.

His people are, therefore, especially guilty and shall be severely punished.

After many successful expeditions to southern Babylonia, Tiglath-Pileser III took the title of king of Shumer and Akkad, and turned his gaze westwards. The peoples situated between the Amanus, the Euphrates, and Urartu, who were allied with the king of Hamath and some others, put up a stout resistance against him; yet he defeated them, and we find among the eighteen kings enumerated by the scribe Menahem of Samaria and Rezon of Damascus.

After many fruitful conquests in Media, the king was obliged to return to the West.

The energy of Azariah, or Osias, and Yotham had made Juda powerful and prosperous.¹ But Rezon II, who had liberated Coelesyria, allied to the weak Peqah of Israel, marched against Juda; King Achaz was defeated, his territory ravaged, and its inhabitants sold as slaves in Syria. The result was that, in spite of Isaias the prophet's opposition,² the king of Juda sought the aid of Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser answered the appeal, struck a last blow at the northern and eastern regions of Israel, and then returned to Syria. Within two years (733-732) Damasconia was an Assyrian province.

But the conqueror had to hasten to Babylonia, where Merodach-baladan (Marduk-abal-iddina) was threatening his supremacy. In 728 Tiglath-Pileser had himself proclaimed king of Babylon. He died in 727 at Kalakh.

First Phœnicia and then Israel made unsuccessful attempts at rebellion; Salmanazar IV (or Ululai) reduced Tyre to submission, levied tribute from the coast towns and prepared an expedition against Samaria, which submitted without offering any resistance to him.

Isaias had begun to exercise his prophetic ministry under Osias in the kingdom of the south, in Jerusalem itself. The fact that he had easy access to the king's presence, his knowledge of the intrigues in use at court and among the nobles, and a certain aristocratic haughtiness which distinguishes his thoughts, all

¹ In Israel, Menahem had been obliged to sacrifice his treasures as a bribe to the Assyrians to retire.

² 2 Kings xvi; Isaias vii-ix.

point to his having belonged to a good family and having had all the advantages of education and social relations which a son of the foremost citizens of Jerusalem at this time could enjoy. His personal status, the effect produced by Amos at Beyth-El, and the interest which Jerusalem, the traditional capital, had in observing the phenomena which revealed the decline of its rival give grounds for believing that, previously to the divine call, Isaias's mind was deeply imbued with the great ideas of the two northern prophets, to which he himself later gives such strong expression that many people have almost forgotten that they had been formulated before him.

Achaz, weak, given over to paganism, and dominated by his courtiers and by the foreigners with which the capital was crowded, lent an unwilling ear to the words of the great prophet. Isaias reappeared upon the scene under Ezechias, probably about 720. Meanwhile, momentous events had taken place in the East since 735. In Canaan the two kingdoms of Damascus and Samaria had been destroyed successively by the Assyrians and transformed into a province of the Ninevite empire. Sargon had replaced Salmanazar on the Assyrian throne. In the country of Juda the impious Achaz had been succeeded by the pious Ezechias. The small Palestinian kings, and Ezechias himself, paid tribute to Assyria, but they smarted under the yoke and looked to Egypt to free them. Isaias opposed any alliance with the foreigner, be it Assyria, Egypt, or Babylon. He considered that such conduct would show a lack of trust in Yahweh, and would create difficult relations from the religious point of view between the Hebrews and the pagans, without conferring any advantage from the national standpoint. He considered Egypt to be notably incapable of resisting Assyria.

In the Nile valley, Sheshonk's successors seemed to be indifferent to events outside their own frontiers, and occupied themselves only with works of public utility, especially in their capital Bubastis, at Tanis, and at Memphis. But the empire was hastening towards its fall; the Bubastite dynasty was supplanted by a Tanite family, and henceforth the provincial governors, more eager to advance their own interests than those of their

common fatherland, called in foreigners to help them. From this arose the Ethiopian invasions of Piankhi-Miamûn, the king-priest of Napata, who by a succession of victories asserted his supremacy up as far as the Delta.

Tefnakht of Sais succeeded in obtaining the official investiture, and under Piankhi's successor, Kashta, was the real suzerain of the Delta. In the eyes of foreigners he really represented the might of Egypt. It was probably he whom Hoshea of Israel asked to aid him in a final struggle against Assyria, with the result that Salmanazar IV, who had learnt of the negotiations, undertook a second campaign against Samaria. His successor, Sargon, attacked upon another front (722) by Merodach-baladan, was unable to prevent the capture of Babylon. This was a serious reverse; its effect was to urge his general in Israel to press on more actively the siege of Samaria. After a two years' blockade the town was captured (722); its inhabitants were transplanted to Assyria and replaced by settlers from Hamath, then by Babylonians and Kutheans, and finally in 715 by Arab tribes. And thus, a mixture of all the Semitic cults contaminated for all time the religion of Yahweh and made odious in the sight of the Judeans all contact with their brethren of Samaria.

Some of the inhabitants of Israel could not bear the foreign domination and they went into exile—some to Judea, others to Egypt.

Assyria had increased its territories at the expense of semi-barbaric tribes and small kingdoms unable to resist the clash with superior forces for long. Having systematically destroyed some of them and progressively annexed the others, it found itself face to face with strongly organized states, powerful enough to resist and even to defeat it—Egypt to the south-west, Urartu on the north-east, the Old Empire of Elam and Chaldea to the south-east and south. For more than half a century, Sargon and his successors waged war against these countries and finally triumphed over them. Then they established in each their system of armed occupation and of vassalage. In the long run they had used their enemies for their own purposes, but they

had also worn themselves out, and finally were powerless against the inroads of newer peoples.

Bakenrenef (Bocchoris) reigned at Sais and Memphis. He succeeded in annexing the whole of Egypt. His general-in-chief, Sib'i, had long encouraged the Israelites in their hope of shaking off the Assyrian yoke. Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, where the exiled Hamatheans willingly espoused the cause of the mother-country, allied themselves with the Pharaoh.

Influenced by Isaias, Ezechias, king of Juda, took no part in this coalition; the advice was good, for Sargon was victorious and his victory was followed by a terrible oppression.

The Chaldeans.

There existed at that time in southern Mesopotamia five great Chaldean clans—Bit Dakkuri and Bit Amukkani, the most important of all, and Bit Sa'alli, Bit Shilani, and Bit Yakin. Each clan was ruled by its own sheik. The towns, and in particular the ancient Sumerian towns, preserved their individual existence under the authority of a princelet. Before Sargon's day there was no cohesion between these different groups. The first necessity for any Chaldean sheikh who aspired to reign at Babylon was to achieve union amongst them. Merodach-baladan understood this and achieved it. He further allied himself with Elam and, when Sargon mounted the throne, cast off the yoke and entered Babylon.

In 720 the king of Assyria marched against his enemies in the south and encountered the Elamites at Der. The issue of the battle was not decisive. Other enemies came to divert Sargon's attention, and for the moment, the existing state of affairs continued. The new 'king' of Babylon did not spare the Babylonian towns, either because the Assyrophile group predominated in them, or for other reasons.

After a lapse of seven years, during which the Assyrians were continually engaged in expeditions to Urartu, Media, and Asia Minor, the Syrian princes, in a new effort to preserve their independence, appealed to Egypt, whose ruler was then Shaba-

ka, of Ethiopian descent. Juda was desirous of entering this coalition, but was again dissuaded by Isaias. An adventurer, who had succeeded in seizing the reins of power at Ashdod, fearing for his authority and for his life, entered actively into negotiations with his neighbours Juda, Edom, and Egypt for the purpose of gaining their alliance. The Assyrian hastened thither and Juda and Edom made no attempt to resist him; the adventurer of Ashdod, who had fled to the country of Meluhha, was left to the enemy's mercy (711). A clash seemed imminent between Egypt and Assyria; Isaias prophesied the victory of Ashur, without assigning to it a precise date.

Meanwhile, the time seemed opportune for breaking Mero-dach-baladan, for his power had been weakened by the internal discords in Elam and by the hatred stirred up in Babylonia by the marked preferential treatment he had accorded to his Chaldeans. Sargon set out southwards, defeated the indefatigable rebel, transplanted some of the population of Hattu and of Commagene, whom he had formerly conquered, into his country, and had himself crowned at Babylon (709). Then he had to return to Urartu. In 708 he deported into Commagene the defeated peoples of Bit-Iakin. He was assassinated in the palace of Dur Sharrukin, north of Nineveh, which he had built in 705.

Sargon's reign marks the apogee of Assyrian greatness; his successors continued and even enlarged upon his work, but were unable to consolidate it.

Sennacherib devoted the first two years of his reign to finishing Nineveh.

South of Mesopotamia, Merodach-baladan was very powerful. The union of the Chaldean clans had been achieved, and their chief could count upon the Arameans from the East, in the region of Gambula. The ancient Sumerian towns, Ur, Uruk, Nippur, could not withhold their aid from the Chaldeans, while Kish, Kuta, and Borsippa, farther north, were practically obliged to help the Aramean tribes. In Elam, where Shutrūk-Nahunte reigned ill, Ashur's steadily increasing power was regarded with jealous disfavour, as was its intrusion into

principalities which Susa looked upon as its tributaries, such as Ellipi. The Chaldeans were, therefore, assured of the Elamites' help.

The supervision which Sargon had exercised over the Arabs had irritated the desert nomads. Their queen Ya'tie could hardly raise large disciplined contingents, but the Arabs were none the less very valuable allies, and thanks to their friendship it was possible to send envoys over the route of the caravans to advise Ezechias, and doubtless other princes, to resist the Assyrians by whom their independence was threatened.

The only danger to the Chaldeans came from Babylon, where bitter memories of Merodach-baladan's rule were still alive. To prevent his return, the Babylonians placed one of themselves, Marduk-zakir-shum, on the throne. The Chaldean prince answered this move one month later by dethroning the new king; Merodach-baladan succeeded him and transferred his residence to Borsippa. Intervention on the part of the Assyrians was now to be expected, and preparations for withstanding it made. Kutha and Kish were ordered to oppose Sennacherib and placed in the charge of the Elamites; but these could not resist the Assyrian onslaught. The weakness of the Chaldeans' other allies was soon revealed. Merodach-baladan took to flight. None of the documents mention Elamite prisoners. The principal Babylonian towns, except Ur, were taken. The Assyrians, having made incursions among the Aramean tribes and along the western frontiers of Elam, returned home laden with booty.

The inhabitants of Eqrone, dissatisfied with Padi whom Sargon had forced upon them, sent him to Ezechias in Juda. The latter hesitated at first, then, yielding to the offers made to him on behalf of Merodach-baladan, he caused Padi to be cast into prison, set up a garrison in Eqrone and sought the help of Egypt. The resources of the country had been increasing for some years and seemed sufficiently strong to prove a decisive factor in his struggle with his rival, so Shabaka welcomed Ezechias's overtures.

But precisely at this moment, Chaldea fell into the power of Sennacherib who, proceeding from victory to victory, arrived

to give battle to the Egyptians under the walls of Altaku (Elteqeh, in the tribe of Dan). Shabaka's son, the Pharaoh Shabataka, was defeated.

Although Ezechias had done no act of open hostility, Sennacherib invaded the country of Juda, putting all to fire and sword, and laid siege to Jerusalem. Ezechias, on the advice of Isaias, came to terms with him and payed him a heavy tribute (701).

New dangers threatened Assyria from the south, in Trachean Cilicia, and Melitene. Sennacherib defeated all his enemies, and then with the help of Phoenician builders he formed a fleet upon the Persian Gulf and sent it against Chaldea. The rebels, who had not foreseen such a move, were defeated.

Meanwhile, a formidable coalition was made between the Elamite provinces and the Babylonian empire, which Mushezib-Marduk had gained over to the Chaldean cause. In 691 the allies advanced as far as the town of Halule, on the left bank of the Diyala, not far from Baghdad, and were there met by the Assyrian army. The Babylonian chronicles attribute the victory to the Babylonians, and Sennacherib's account to the Assyrians, which proves that the battle was indecisive.

This expedition was followed by a campaign in Arabia, which ended in a victory after which Lachish was put to siege. It was at this juncture that Sennacherib threatened Ezechias, king of Jerusalem. Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, was coming up behind the Assyrians, but they, decimated probably by an epidemic, were forced to return to Nineveh.¹

Chaldea was again in turmoil, and a new expedition set out to quell the disorder. Babylon was taken and sacked. An account of the sack is engraved on the rock of Bavian:

The town and the houses, from its foundation to its summit I devastated, destroyed and consumed by fire. The wall and the ramparts, the temples of the gods, the many-storeyed towers of stonework and earth, as many as there were I demolished and I threw

¹ The interpretation of the *sources* for Sennacherib's incursion in Syria-Palestine allows of different hypotheses—one campaign which was successful, at least at the beginning; or *two* campaigns, of which the first was successful and the second disastrous; or one successful and the other a failure.

them into the Arakhtu canal. In this town I dug canals, I made their land disappear under water, I annihilated the whole structure of its foundations, I treated them worse than after a deluge. In order that in the future none of the soil of this town or of the temples of its gods may be found, I destroyed them with water and made it like a swamp.

Babylon's day was over!

This systematic destruction of their holy town left a very deep impression on the Babylonians. The chronicler set it down simply, without commentary: 'The first of the month of Kislev, the town is taken, Mushezib-Marduk is captured and carried off into Assyria.'

In 681 Sennacherib was assassinated at Nineveh.

Asaraddon set out against his father's assassin and his partisans, 'the fear of the great gods, my lords, overthrew them. When they beheld the rush of my terrible battle, they were outside themselves. The goddess Ishtar, goddess of battle and of fighting, she who loves my priesthood, remained at my side and broke their arc. She broke their serried battle line, and in their assembly they said "It is our king!"' Asaraddon remained sole master of Sennacherib's vast empire.

Being himself born of a Babylonian woman, Naqi'a, he had always treated his semi-compatriots well during the eight years he had governed them in his father's name; they therefore were attached to him. As a reward for their steadfastness, he set about the restoration of Babylon, but the revival of this city gave rise to uneasiness and jealousy on the part of the Chaldeans. Their revolt was suppressed. Asaraddon restored to their town the divinities of Der (Dur-ilu, 'wall of the god').

An echo of the internal strife in Babylonia had crossed the Euphrates and revived the hopes of the Sidonians, who trusted in Tirhakah. In 677 a revolt broke out over the whole of Phoenicia; it ended in an oppression of appalling ferocity, pillages and mass deportations. Sidon, the capital, was completely destroyed, and an attempt made to found another capital to which were deported some of the Chaldeans who had previously been reduced to submission.

Asaraddon was further engaged in quelling attempts at rebellion in Cilicia, then again in Chaldea and in the direction of Egypt. Aryan hordes had long been threatening the eastern and northern frontiers of the Empire—Medes (Media) and Scyths, nomadic Scyths (Ashkuzai), and sedentary Scyths (Gimirrai or Cimmerians).

The Ashkuzai entered into an alliance with Asaraddon, whereas the Cimmerians joined the Medes and advanced into Asia Minor. The Assyrian king defeated them and pushed on towards Egypt. Egypt could not endure seeing its rival's supremacy stretching from the Euphrates to the *wed el-Arîsh*, so hardly had the Assyrian armies withdrawn from Phœnicia and Syria than she sent soldiers to help Nineveh's vassals in their struggle for independence.

After a first attempt, which seems to have been unsuccessful, Asaraddon set out again for Egypt, on this occasion passing through the tribes of the Arabian desert. He placed at the head of these tribes a woman from his harem, named Tabua, and increased the tribute already exacted from them. Meanwhile, the eastern frontier was in danger of yielding to the pressure of the Medes and Elamites, and his army had to return hastily without reaching the Delta. Asaraddon defeated his enemies and obtained by his victory undisputed dominion over all the country from the Mediterranean to Media and from Arabia to the Persian Gulf.

Egypt and Assyria.

During the half century in which Egypt and Assyria had periodically come into conflict the kings of Ashur had proved on more than one occasion that the Pharaoh could not withstand their attacks. His main defence was the almost waterless region dividing Judea from the Delta, and if a large army could be brought beyond this desert Memphis would prove as easy a prey as Babylon had been. The Assyrians' regular army, their machines of war, and their system of colonization which had gradually transformed Syria, Palestine, and northern Arabia into so many relays on the road to Egypt, the insatiable greed

and ever-increasing ambition of the Sargonides had all prepared the way for the final catastrophe. The prophets of Israel had long understood that it was dangerous to lean upon the 'broken reed' of the banks of the Nile.

In 670 Asaraddon arrived at the Egyptian frontier with the main body of his army. Tirhakah and Memphis fell before him. The attack had been so sudden that the Pharaoh had not had time to remove his court to a safe distance, but the victory had been bought so dearly that the Ninevite monarch renounced the pursuit of his retreating enemy. He accepted the homage of the minor princes, confirmed them in the possession of their estates, levied tribute upon them and placed Assyrian residents near them to supervise them.

Asaraddon was the least merciless of the Assyrian kings; he set about repairing the ruins with which his father and grandfather had strewn the soil, and built for himself a palace at Nineveh which surpassed all that had been seen hitherto.

In 672 he had taken Ashurbanipal as his associate in sovereignty in preference to Shamash-shumukin, his eldest son. It was probably the latter who stirred up or at least fanned the flames of discontent in Babylonia, so the king thought it wise to grant his son the viceroyalty of this part of the empire.

Egypt, meanwhile, was again restless, and the need of speedy action became apparent. Asaraddon set out at the head of his army, but he died on the way (669 B.C.), and Ashurbanipal succeeded him and carried on the expedition. Tirhakah was defeated; 'thanks to the protection of Ashur and of Sin, the great gods, my lords, who walk by my side', the Assyrian soldiers defeated the Pharaoh in a fight on a level ground, and put his regular soldiers to the sword. Ashurbanipal reinstated the Egyptian princes whom the Ethiopians had banished.

Further turmoil necessitated another campaign. This time Thebes itself was sacked and the devastation remained in the minds of men as a typical example of reprisals upon a town. The Assyrian, realizing no doubt the impossibility of making Egypt an Assyrian province, acted mercifully towards Necho, sovereign of Memphis and of Sais.

The Assyrians bore their victorious arms to Phoenicia and brought under their vassalage the princes of Tyre, Arvad, Cilicia, and the Lydian Gyges. Meanwhile, further disturbances occurred among the Mannai, north of lakes Van and Urmiah, among the Medes to the east, and the Elamites to the south, which gave rise to further expeditions all crowned with success.

In the south the fires of war and jealousy were smouldering under the ashes. Babylon could not submit to Nineveh's tutelage, so Shamash-shumukin resolved to oppose the ever-increasing encroachments of the Assyrians. For this object he needed the support of considerable forces, and to obtain them he made many alliances and soon found himself at the head of a formidable Chaldean coalition to which were joined the Elamites and Gutium on the east, the inhabitants of Amurru and as far as Meluhha to the west, and the Arabs on the south-west. The campaign began in 650.

Ashurbanipal conquered Babylonia (648 B.C.) and proceeded into Elam. Susa was put to fire and sword (about 640 B.C.). Its treasures were plundered and far the greater part carted off to Nineveh—gods and goddesses with their treasures and sacred attendants, the statues of ancient kings, even the sacred oxen which guarded the temples and the trophies which the Elamites had previously borne off from Babylonia. The king's tombs were violated in order to deprive them of eternal rest: 'I carried off their bones to the country of Ashur; I allowed not their shades to rest, I deprived them of the funerary offering and of the libation of water.'

In Egypt Psammetichus, Necho's son, aimed at forming a confederation against Assyria, which should include the forces of Asia Minor represented by the Lydian Gyges, who had agreed to the proposal and landed his troops in the Delta. But the Cimmerians inflicted a heavy defeat upon the king of Sardis, which the Assyrians believed to be a direct intervention of their god Ashur (652). Ardys, Gyges's son, was afraid of a monarch who was so clearly under the protection of the Assyrian gods, so he wrote to Ashurbanipal, 'You are a king whom the gods recognize. You cursed my father and misfortune befell

him. Bless me, your humble servant, and I will fear your yoke.'

Ashurbanipal then set about punishing the Arabs who had helped Shamash-shumukin. Their king U-a-a-te' had to take refuge with the Nabateans. Ashurbanipal carried the war into their territory and harassed them by continual forays. U-a-a-te's army was so decimated by plague and hunger that 'for their hunger they ate their children', and the Arabs, asking themselves why they were obliged to endure such hardships, answered: 'Because we have not kept the great oaths of the god Ashur.' Finally, the soldiers betrayed their leader; U-a-a-te' was captured and brought to Nineveh: 'On the order of the god Ashur and the goddess Belit I pierced his jaw with the sharp knife which my hand held. I had a rope put through his chin and put a dog's chain on him and confined him in a cage.' After an expedition in Phoenicia, the Assyrians defeated the last leader of the Arab revolt, in the Hauran. 'I took him alive in the midst of the fight. In Nineveh, town of my seignory, I flayed him.'

Ashurbanipal returned to Nineveh, carried in triumph by the conquered kings. He then devoted himself to prayer, exalting the gods of his country who had granted him the victory over all his enemies.

Ashur's victory had never been so complete, and yet upon close examination it is clear that the struggle had weakened it almost as much as Elam. In order to preserve his authority Ashurbanipal was obliged, like Tiglath-Pileser, to undertake continual expeditions from one end of the empire to the other. Worn out by his struggle against Elam, he was forced to give up his perpetual warring and resign his rights to the suzerainty of Egypt, of Tabal, and of Lydia. He none the less was still the most powerful monarch of the Eastern world.

The Greeks in Egypt.

Egypt had remained unsubmissive. Psammetichus worked until his death (611) at re-establishing the empire of the Pharaohs upon new foundations; he gave lands to settlers of various races,

Ionians and Carians and later to other Greeks. These were struck with admiration for Egyptian civilization which was still strong, and became enamoured of it. They linked up the origins of their own gods to the Egyptian gods and connected the genealogy of their heroic families with the Egyptian royal families. Moreover, the Pharaoh realizing the increasing usefulness of the Greek language had it taught to his children.

Still the Egyptians despised and distrusted the Greeks; the higher classes regarded them as an inexperienced people without a past, the others as impure beings beside whom one could not live without sullyng oneself. They could not imagine how contact with this active, industrious, and enterprising people, full of youth and vigour, could contribute to Egypt's good; on the contrary, they held that the favours granted to them by the court were excessive, particularly when Psammetichus established a bodyguard of Ionians and Carians for himself and entrusted them with the post of honour on the right wing of the army. Two hundred and forty thousand native soldiers deserted with their arms and baggage and went to Ethiopia, where the king heartily welcomed them. This mass desertion prevented Psammetichus from undertaking any expeditions against Syria.

The kingdom of Juda, a vassal of Assyria, was relatively quiet. When internal dissensions broke out at Jerusalem Manasse had endeavoured to follow the example of the kings of Ashur by ruthlessly putting down all attempts at resistance. His son Amon, less fortunate, was assassinated in his palace, and succeeded by his son Josias who ascended the throne amid popular acclamation. During his reign (637-607) occurred the two important events which upset the whole course of eastern history—Ashurbanipal's death and the ruin of Nineveh.

Ashurbanipal, in spite of his fierce instincts, had a taste for letters and he did his best to foster intellectual culture and artistic taste among his subjects. He collated at Nineveh the most important documents of the religious, magical, historic, and juridical history of Chaldea and Assyria.

He died in 625 B.C.

The time had now come when the invaders from the East could take advantage of the instability of Assyrian authority and guide the world towards a new destiny. The Biblical countries which had for long centuries been subject to Egypt and then to Assyria once again changed their master. The only safeguard of their autonomy would have been a coalition, but this, unfortunately, was made impossible owing to the individualistic spirit of each small kingdom.

Israelite Religion under the early Prophets.

In the lands of Israel and of Juda, the prophets expressed a creed which was clearly and definitely monotheistic. Thus, in Amos and Osee all cosmic phenomena are attributed to Yahweh alone; neither of these two prophets knows of a god of the wind, nor of the mountains, nor of the sea, &c. Yahweh alone commands all natural phenomena. Osee tells us that it is to him the people pray to obtain beneficial rains, it is he who gives wheat and new wine. Amos proclaims that Yahweh created the stars, the winds, and the mountains.

In Biblical countries¹ it had been believed from time immemorial that every people had its own god who directed its destinies and who with this object in view sometimes engaged in bitter struggles with the gods of neighbouring peoples. In these two prophets Yahweh does figure as the special god of Israel, the god who benignly watched over the origin and early history of the people of Israel, but he is also God in other nations just as much as in his beloved nation which is *His* people; He also watched over their birth; it was He who brought the Philistines from Kaphtor and the Syrians from Qyr just as He brought Israel out of Egypt. He enjoined his law on this people whose author he was; from his favoured dwelling-place on Sion he demands an account of their misdeeds from the Syrians of Damascus, the Philistines of Gaza, the Tyrians, and even the powerful Assyrians, just as from Juda and Israel.

Yahweh's justice is one of the divine attributes emphasized

¹ The countries and the peoples of which the Bible speaks, and in particular those with whom Israel was directly or indirectly in active or passive relations.

especially by Osee, and even more so by Amos, not in an abstract fashion but by showing it in act. This justice consists in giving to each one what is due to him without respect of privilege, in punishing evil and recompensing good, and in a wider sense it consists also in the totality of all the duties and all the virtues enjoined on mankind.

When Amos and Osee—and also the later prophets—foretell the future their oracles are dominated by one main idea, the triumph of Yahweh. Yahweh, the god of hosts, is the god of victories:

The Canticle of Asaph¹ sings:

Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength,
Thou brakest the heads of the monsters in the waters.
Thou gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.

In the Canticle of Ethan the Ezrahite:²

O Yahweh, god of hosts, who is like unto thee? . . .
Thou rulest the pride of the sea . . .
Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain . . .

Thus, these poets and others represent Yahweh to us at the origin of things triumphing over chaos and the powers of darkness. The prophets refer to the triumph which Yahweh is to obtain in the present world in the course of centuries; 'Yahweh's days' succeed each other, pending the great day of the Messianic triumph and the last day.

The people believed that by increasing the number of pilgrimages to the holy places and their offerings thereat they did all that lay in their power to win divine favour; besides, the victories of Jeroboam II of Samaria seemed to prove that these homages were acceptable to Yahweh, since He thus blessed His people. Could they then believe the 'day of Yahweh' to be far away?

Amos and Osee show that Yahweh, God of Justice, must especially and speedily punish those who have sinned against his virtue, and with these punishments, which are disasters, they associate all nature,

¹ Psalm lxxiv. 14.

² Psalm lxxxix. 8 seq.

I will cause the sun to go down at noon,
And I will envelop the earth in darkness in the clear day.¹

To these immediate prospects are closely allied more distant ones—how far apart they are is not stated—and the latter are consoling, for after the punishment Yahweh will give proof of his love.

How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?
How shall I deliver thee, Israel?
How shall I make thee as Admah? . . .
Mine heart is turned within me,
My compassions are kindled together.
I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger,
. . . for I am God, and not man.²

Already in the message which he had delivered at the period of which we are treating, Isaias had laid stress on the majesty, the sanctity and the glory of Yahweh. The magnificent description in the sixth chapter shows that Yahweh is a transcendental and glorious being in whose presence no mortal can appear who has not been specially consecrated. This majesty is further expressed by the fear of dying which the prophet experiences as he contemplates this solemn mystery, by the symbol of his prophetic cleansing and the nature of the divine message.

The word *QoDeSh*, which is translated 'Holy', had in Semitic circles a rather vague meaning, that of divinity in so far as it is *distinct* from every other kind of existence, without implying the idea of moral purity. In Isaias, as in the other authors of the Bible, this word has a very definite meaning quite different from that which it had among the Canaanites even at the time of which we are speaking. In applying the term HOLY to Yahweh, what was meant to be conveyed was the fundamental idea that in the God of Israel and in Him alone were exclusively concentrated all the attributes of divinity. In Isaias, sanctity clearly implies the moral element.

Isaias has written of Yahweh,³

The fulness of the earth is His glory.

¹ Amos viii. 9.

² Osee xi. 8, 9.

³ Isaias vi. 3.

The general idea here expressed seems to be that all that the earth contains is the exterior expression and the symbol of the majesty appertaining to Yahweh, inasmuch as he is the God of all the earth.

The great King is represented deliberating within himself on the interests of his kingdom and calling a messenger to represent him upon earth. This brings Isaias to the idea of a divine plan which is gradually worked out in the providential government of the world, namely, the 'work' of Yahweh, and by that he means especially the manifestation of Yahweh's divinity and the establishment of Justice upon the earth on 'the day of Yahweh'. It is this conception of the continuous providential work of Yahweh which allows the Prophet, so to speak, to bring the idea of God into practical contact with the happenings of the period and which makes the idea of a universal divine sovereignty so vital and efficacious a principle of his ministry.

Isaias stresses almost exclusively Yahweh's 'austere' attributes, and yet God's human image is the basis of all the religious relations between Yahweh and Israel, as if He could be understood only when represented as endowed with the attributes and emotions of a human person. Again, even in Isaias, religion does not appear to be before all else something which exists between God and the individual, although this idea is not excluded, but as something existing between Yahweh and the nation.

During the period which we have studied, Isaias' conception of the Messianic fulfilment centres around two main ideas, to which are added other elements, the idea of a personal Messiah and the idea of the inviolability of Sion.

Once, when Achaz appears to the Prophet as the incarnation of what a king of Israel should not be, Isaias utters words of which the least doubtful meaning may well be 'Yahweh soon will punish Achaz's unbelief'. This is so 'certain that if the promised Virgin¹ should now conceive and bear a son, before

¹ It can be plausibly inferred from this text taken as a whole and considered in itself, without reference to the witness of the Bible and of Tradition, (i) that Isaias considered Emmanuel's birth as an outstanding event; (ii) that the use of the word *alma* gives grounds for believing that Isaias considered the mother of this child as a virgin. (Isaias vii. 10 seq.)

her son Emmanuel had reached the age of discretion he would be face to face with accomplished facts. He would be obliged, like everybody else, to live upon milk and wild honey, the only food which will be found in the country after the passage of its enemies.¹

In another text¹ also the destiny of the nation hangs upon the birth of a child, and in this child Isaias sees attributes which seem to apply only to the Divinity:

His name shall be called:
Wonderful Counsellor,
Mighty God,
Everlasting Father,
Prince of Peace.

Elsewhere,² he is represented as a shoot which will come forth from the stock of Isai (Jesse) and 'the spirit of Yahweh shall rest upon him' and help him in the execution of his functions as judge.

The two ideas 'Sion is the seat of Yahweh's sovereignty' and 'Sion shall be the capital of God's future kingdom' are often expressed by the Great Prophet, but it is not easy to determine with accuracy the exact scope he desired to give them; sometimes³ he seems to refer to the complete ruin of Jerusalem.

Assyrian Literature.

Ashurbanipal of Assyria had become the most powerful monarch of the Eastern world. He exceeded his predecessors in energy and in cruelty. He had, nevertheless, a taste for literature, and applied himself to developing amongst his subjects the taste for intellectual culture and the arts. He collected at Nineveh the most important documents of Babylonian and Assyrian literature. This 'library' had been begun and continued under Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asaraddon (722-668), but Ashurbanipal developed it to such an extent that he may be called its founder. It contained a complete historical literature—epigraphs, that is to say, short inscriptions on clay

¹ Isaias ix. 6.

² Isaias xi. 1 seq.

³ Isaias xxxii. 9-15, xxxii. 1 seq., xxxix. 10.

tablets intended for sculptors or other artists to engrave on bas-reliefs, statues, chariots, &c.; texts dealing with chronography and chronology such as the Chronicle of the early kings of Babylon, the synchronological history of the events which took place between 1600 and 800 B.C., the Canon of the Eponyms or list of the royal officers whose names were given to each year in which they filled their offices at Nineveh, with indication of their titles and the principal events of their 'eponymate'.

Then came the letters, dispatches, and reports written either by the king himself or his officials, and contracts. But the greater part of the documents in this library treat of astrology, medicine, and religion, which were closely connected, and especially of omens and presages.

To heal their patients the physicians used plants, certain parts of the bodies of animals, and stones, which they believed effective in warding off the influence of the stars, but the priests laid special stress upon the virtue of the prayers and incantations which were to be recited at the same time as the prescribed remedy was being administered to the patient. The documents from Nineveh inform us of the whole system.

In the same library have been found prayers to Ishtar, Sin, and Tashmitu, Shamash, Anu, Bau, Nusku, and other divinities, hymns, texts of rituals and ceremonials for the feasts of the gods and of the New Year, the offering of sacrifices, &c.

The royal scribes of Nineveh have also preserved for us some very important epic texts (the Epic of Gilgamesh, Story of the Creation, Ishtar's descent into Hell); legends and myths and vocabularies or word-lists.

In these epic poems the poet fills up the gaps left by tradition in the memory of the past. He does so by utilizing his ideas as to the state of the world at the period of which he treats. He connects the political happenings, the intellectual activity and the position of society at the very dawn of historic times with the acts of the gods, for it is believed that the gods preceded mankind in the government of the world and that the heroes previous to the Flood formed the connecting link between the gods and

At Shuruppak, on the banks of the Euphrates, the gods have decided upon the Flood. The god Ea discloses the design of the immortal gods to his protégé, Uta-Napishtim, and advises him to build a boat and flee upon the Ocean:

Build a boat,
 Leave riches behind, seek life,
 Hate possessions and preserve your life,
 Bring up with you into the vessel the seed of all
 Let its dimensions be measured!
 The vessel which you will construct,
 Let its width and its length be in proportion!

Uta-Napishtim obeys this order, and the gods let loose the tempest and conflagration.

When the morning shone somewhat
 From the foundation of the heavens a black cloud rose up,
 Adad¹ bellowed in it.
 Nabu² and the King³ march on.
 They, the heralds, go through mountain and country;
 Nergal⁴ tears away the mast.
 Inurta⁵ goes to press forward the attack;
 The Annukai⁶ have carried the torches:
 By their flame they set the country on fire;
 The tumult of Adad reaches the skies.
 Everything bright is changed into darkness.

The very gods are terrified:

The gods were fearful of the flood,
 They fled, they mounted to Anu's heavens.
 The gods crouch down like a dog; they are lying on the wall.

Ishtar appears; she it was who caused the Deluge, but she had not intended it to be so terrible.

On the seventh day the Flood abates. Uta-Napishtim looks down; he sees all mankind 'changed into mud', and he weeps. An island appears on the horizon, it is the summit of Mount Nitsir where the vessel has come to earth.

¹ *Adad*, god of tempests.

² *Nabu*, 'herald'.

³ This King is Marduk.

⁴ *Nergal*, god of the Sheol.

⁵ *Inurta*, god of war and of hunting.

⁶ *Annukai*, spirits of the earth and of the lower world.

Then

I released a dove, I set it free;
 The dove flew away, she came back:
 As there was no place, she came back.
 I released a swallow, I set it free;
 The swallow flew away, she came back;
 As there was no place, she came back.
 I released a raven, I set it free;
 The raven went out and saw the drying-up of the waters:
 It eats, it splashes, it croaks, it does not return.
 I set birds free to the four winds.

Uta-Napishtim comes from out the boat and offers up a sacrifice in thanksgiving:

. . . I poured forth a libation,
 I placed an offering on the summit of the mountain.
 . . . I spread out reeds, and myrtle and cedar-wood.
 The gods smelt the odour,
 The gods smelt the good odour.

The gods gather like flies above the sacrifices. The god Bel also comes. Ishtar and Ea reproach him with having caused the Deluge, and Bel atones for his fault by the apotheosis of Uta-Napishtim and his wife.

If Gilgamesh is desirous of escaping the common fate, let him fish up from the bottom of the water *the thorny plant which restores youth*. The hero succeeds in spite of immense difficulties, but while he is bathing near a fountain a serpent steals the plant from him.

The poem concludes in a rather sad strain. All that one may love falls to dust; the fate of all people is not, however, the same—life in Hell is not pleasant, the better part is reserved for the heroes who have fallen on the field of battle and are reverently remembered by their descendants.

It would not be possible to quote all the known texts of this period, but a few words about the *Suffering just Man* would not be out of place.

This little poem, which falls quite naturally into strophes,

treats of a sort of Babylonian Job, abandoned by all, even by the gods, and a prey to the most terrible suffering.

And yet he knows that he is innocent!

He cannot understand the designs of the gods.

'My illness', he says, 'will not yield to any treatment. I seemed stricken like an unbeliever, and yet I was always faithful to the gods and to the King':

I learned in my country	to keep the name of the god;
To honour the name of the goddess	I taught my people.
The King's majesty	I extolled to the heights.
And the fear of the palace	I taught to the people.
I know that to a god	that is pleasing.

The gods' designs are obscure, and man is moreover so changeable:

He sang, at one moment	he exulted!
A moment later	he frets like one weeping.
Like opening and closing	his will changes.

Man goes from one extreme to the other.

Be a man in want,	he is like a corpse;
Be he satiated,	he is like his god.
Be he happy,	he says 'I wish to mount up to heaven'
Be he in sorrow,	he says 'I wish to go down into hell'.

'My limbs are bound by paralysis and I am abandoned by all men.'

My god has not succoured me	he has not stretched forth his hand to help me;
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My goddess has not had pity on me	she has not walked by my side.
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The grave is open . . .

Before I am dead,	the lamentation is over.
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All my country has said:	he is lost!
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My enemy heard it	and his countenance shone,
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The joyous tidings was announced to him	his heart brightened
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I know the day when my entire family,
In the midst of the gods its was beloved of their divinity.
patrons

The Assyrian commentary supplies us with the name of this Babylonian Job—Tabi-utul-Bel, an inhabitant of Nippur. Now there exists a list giving the explanation of the names of some ancient kings of Babylon which contains this name, and the conclusion drawn from it is that the Tabi-utul-Bel in the poem is the same person as Tabi-utul-Bel, king of Babylon, inasmuch as the form in which we at present possess this composition of Nippur is the Assyrian copy of a Babylonian recension, as is proved by the fact that Marduk, god of Babylon, is several times mentioned in it.

Our 'suffering just man' would, therefore, seem to have been a king, and this would give us a Babylonian Messiah who was willing to endure suffering!

This hypothesis, however, seems to be definitely ruled out by lines 27 and 31—our upright man was not a king, and we may add that he did not suffer resignedly nor with a view to expiating the crimes of others.

The 'historical' documents of this period are of a peculiar character, or at least are very different from all that composes our modern historical literature. It is indispensable to be acquainted with them in order to understand the data which can be obtained from them upon the origin and evolution of a civilization which is particularly interesting for us.

The Assyro-Babylonian texts, with few exceptions, have no author's name. This was a matter of small importance as the writing had a value in itself.

Again, it is to be noted that the official annalists set down only the monarch's glorious deeds, frequently exaggerating them greatly. The fundamental principle of modern criticism by which, when we want to determine the respective value of our sources, we must take as the basis of our study the latest edition published during the author's lifetime, cannot normally be applied to cuneiform texts; in Assyria the most faithful and most complete description of any event is the earliest, the one nearest

in point of time to the events described. When a great lapse of years had intervened the scribes exaggerated, sometimes out of all proportion, the importance of the king's victories; they took the liberty of attributing to him those won by his generals, they multiplied ten or even one hundredfold the number of prisoners taken from the enemy, the number of towns captured or destroyed.

Besides, the scribes allowed themselves a great amount of latitude in the chronology of the events of each particular reign. They might condense several campaigns into one, or omit one out of many, especially if it had not been quite successful, or for some other reason which we do not know. Sometimes, one scribe would set down in detail what another had condensed. It can be stated in general that when a new deed caused a scribe to engage himself anew upon the king's history to bring it up to date, he summarized more and more briefly each time the documents which contained the narrative of previous events and related in detail only the most recent happenings. There are, of course, exceptions.

Again, in dealing with these historical texts, as with all ancient Semitic literature, we must make allowances for the complete lack of criticism of the sources or of detailed working out of the materials of the composition; the scribe's function was limited to copying out and placing in some sequence fragments taken from older histories, without at all informing the reader of their various origins.

Another distinctive characteristic of these historical texts is what we shall term their *religious character*—religious in the sense that for a long time the narrator limited himself almost entirely to the narration of facts directly concerned with the beliefs and practices of religion, and further because from the very earliest down to the latest times the writer did not worry himself about secondary causes, but ascribed all happenings to the god, even those which in themselves were most indifferent, such as a lucky lance-thrust which brought down a fine beast at the chase. Take, for example, the words of Tiglath-Pileser: 'The gods In-Urta and Nergal have placed in my kingly hands their powerful arms and their august bows. In the service of In-Urta

who loves me, I killed four wild oxen, strong and powerful, in the desert in the Mitanni country . . .’ And again, ‘Aided by the august power of the god Ashur, my lord, I marched against the country called Kharia and the troops, of the vast Qurti. The god Ashur, my lord, directed me to traverse the mountains which no king had hitherto trod.’ The text we are quoting relates this expedition, which was a succession of victories. ‘. . . They flew like birds into the thickets of the high mountains, The brilliance of the god Ashur, my lord, laid them low . . .’ Ashurbanipal undertook his eighth campaign on the order of the gods Ashur and Ishtar. ‘. . . With the strength of the god Ashur and the goddess Ishtar, I set out. . . . My troops saw Ididi, like unto a headlong flood; his approach filled them with terror. The goddess Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, sent a dream to my troops, towards the end of the night, and she said to them “I walk before Ashurbanipal whom my hands have created”. This dream inspired my troops with confidence.’ And thus victory was assured.

It is clear that the point to be remembered with regard to the external policy of these monarchs, and of others who are spoken of in the texts in a similar manner, is that in certain given circumstances they made war upon a certain king because he had freed himself from their yoke and refused to pay tribute, or because he himself had planned conquests.

These fashions of speech reveal for us deep convictions which are, so to speak, innate in the eastern soul, and as such are met with everywhere among the Semites—for example, in Moab ‘Kamosh, my god, saved me from all my attackers and showed me the spectacle of all my enemies defeated. . . . And Kamosh said to me, “Go! take Nebo from Israel!”’

Egyptian Literature.

From the artistic standpoint, the New Egyptian Empire was very brilliant. Ramesses II, for example, built rich temples and superb monuments in the principal towns, such as at Luxor and Abu Simbel.

Literature reached a high degree of attainment, higher even

than under the Old Empire. A sort of literary Renaissance took place, which, however, did not bring any further developments in its wake.

The *Book of the Dead* entered on a new phase; it was now written on papyrus-rolls and placed with the body in the sarcophagus. Many scribes considered the copying of the sacred text as merely a matter of business; they did not all understand the writing of hieroglyphics, simply copying the signs slavishly. Some of them were skilled at drawing vignettes and illustrations which commanded high prices and gave rise to considerable differences in the value of the texts.

One of the most famous passages of this *Book of the Dead* is the one called the *Protestation of Innocence* or *Negative Confession*—

Homage to thee, great god, lord of Justice!
 I have come to thee, O my master,
 I come to see thy beauty.
 I know thee;
 I know the names of the forty-two gods,
 Who are with thee in the hall of justice,
 Who live upon the artisans of evil,
 Who devour their blood,
 In the day of Judgment before Un-nefer.¹
 Behold, here I come to you;
 I bring justice to you;
 I have turned away every fault.
 I have committed no iniquity against mankind.
 I have not killed my kinsman.
 I have not told falsehoods in place of truth.
 I am not guilty of any betrayal.
 I have done no evil.
 I have not exacted as the first-fruits of each day,
 More work than was done for me.
 My name did not come in the barque of the god
 Who is at the rudder.
 I am not a transgressor of the divine will.
 I am not a tale-bearer;
 I am not a detractor.

¹ That is, 'He who is good', namely, Osiris.

I have not done what the gods detest.
 I have set nobody against his superior.
 I have caused nobody to suffer from hunger.
 I have caused nobody to shed tears.
 I have not killed.
 I have not ordered anybody to kill.
 I have caused suffering to nobody.

I have not stolen the temple-offerings.
 I have not lessened the bread of the gods.
 I have not stolen the gifts of the dead.

I am not an adulterer.

I have done no impure thing in the sanctuaries of the local god.
 I have neither increased nor diminished the bushel of corn;
 I have not falsified the cubit-measure;
 I have not shortened the field-measure;
 I have not weighed down the beam of the scales;
 I have not falsified the index of the balance.
 I have not taken away the milk from a child's mouth.
 I have not banished the cattle from their pasture.
 I have not captured with a net the birds of the gods;
 I have not fished in the pools of the gods.

I have not turned aside the river in its time;
 I have not prevented the current from passing.
 I have not extinguished the fire in its time.

I have not cheated the Divine Circle of its offerings;
 I have not taken away the cattle from the lands of the gods;
 I have not stopped a god as he goes out.

I am pure; I am pure; I am pure!

Two papyri, one in Turin Museum and the other in the British Museum, contain love-songs. There are striking resemblances between these songs and the Cantic of Canticles. The heroine is described in the same way as a sister, we find the same poetic imagery of the voice of the dove and the turtle-dove and the same comparisons. This, however, is no proof of direct borrowings. A sufficient explanation of the literary problems which arise from these comparisons may be found in

the fact that the Egyptians and Hebrews had almost identical conceptions of love and thus they spoke nearly the same language.

The Egyptians have long been considered a stay-at-home and self-sufficient people, imbued with the idea of the superiority of their civilization and fond of their own country to such an extent as to leave it only by force. This was doubtless true in archaic and perhaps in Graeco-Roman times, but it is certainly not true of the Middle and the New Empire. The exodus of workers and pedlars who left Egypt almost yearly to follow the armies of the Pharaohs made the travel theme so familiar to the Egyptians that it became a subject for the scribes' exercises.

The heroes of the romances are great travellers. A Pharaoh's son who becomes discontented at home goes in search of adventure to Naharin, in Northern Syria. In the same region, at Joppa, Thutii exhibits his qualities as a cunning soldier. The seafaring romance of Wenamun relates the periplus of an official whom Amûn's high-priest sends to purchase wood on the Syrian coast in the twelfth century B.C.

Earlier still, under the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, the stories of the *Shipwrecked Mariner* and of *Sinuhe* brought us far afield from Egypt.

The Medes.

The Medes called themselves Aryans. The Aryans, or Kharri, make their appearance for the first time among the signatories of a peace treaty between Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites, and Mattiuza, king of the Mitannites, in the fourteenth century B.C. Those Kharri, who had made themselves supreme in Mitanni and with the king constituted the governing class, had come from Armenia. Other bands of Aryans had likewise come from Armenia and had spread out over the northern steppes of the Persian plateau. They established themselves along the frontiers of Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam and took the name of Medes. Another contingent had come down from the heights of the Caucasus; these were the Scyths, also Aryans, of whom some, who became a sedentary people, were called Cimmerians,

and others, who remained nomadic in the country of Mannai between lakes Van and Urmiah, were known by the name of Ashkuzai. These latter are the Scyths properly so-called.

Ashurbanipal's two sons—he died in 625—Ashur-etililam-ukin and Sin-Sharra-ishkun, or Saracos, succeeded him on the throne. Chaldea remained obedient to them only through force of habit, and between 620 and 617 a pretext offered for breaking the bond which united it to Assyria. The Chaldean Nabopolassar, a vassal of Saracos, received an order from his suzerain to march against an immense army of Barbarians which was advancing from the south. Nabopolassar declared his independence and called upon the Medes to help him. Their king, Cyaxares, marched against the Assyrians and, in 614, laid siege to Nineveh. But an invasion of Media by the Scyths, instigated perhaps by the Assyrians, obliged him to raise the siege. Having laid waste Assyria and Media, the Scyths joined forces with the Cimmerians, and passed like a whirlwind over northern Syria, Phoenicia, Damascus and Palestine. The onrush of the invaders was checked at the Egyptian frontiers. The Barbarians retreated, ravaged the land of the Philistines and disappeared for ever.

In Egypt Psammetichus' successor, called like his grandfather Necho, an energetic and enterprising ruler, completed the establishing of the army which his predecessor had set himself to organize and then, wishing to have his share of the booty of the Ninevite Empire, swooped down on Syria. Tyre and Phoenicia welcomed him as a liberator. Josias had been reigning some ten years at Jerusalem. He was desirous of arresting the Pharaoh's onward march and preventing the establishment of an Egyptian military colony on the banks of the Euphrates. This policy appeared to be a wise one, for if the Egyptians' designs were realized, Juda would be surrounded by Egypt and the whole of Syria threatened with absorption by her.

According to the Book of Chronicles,¹ Necho tried to dissuade Josias from fighting against him. He sent messengers to negotiate with him as is related in the *Chronicle of the Temple*:

¹ 1 Chronicles xxxv. 21 and 22.

What have I to do with thee, O king of Juda? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; and God hath commanded me to make haste, Forbear to do against God, who is with me, lest he kill thee. Nevertheless Josias would not turn his face from him but prepared to fight against him, and hearkened not to the words of Necho, which came from the mouth of God, but went to fight in the field of Megiddo.

The silence of Jeremias the prophet on Josias' life and all his actions would go to prove that he disagreed with him, at least from the political point of view, for the prophet constantly recommended strict neutrality as between the two great adversaries.

It is certain that at this time the Judeans paid little heed to the political, and even to the religious and moral teaching of the Prophets. In Josias' reign they still practised polytheistical cults.

For according to the number of thy cities,
Are they gods, O Juda;
(And according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem)
Thou hast set up altars to a shameful idol,
Altars to burn incense unto Baal.¹

And these disorders cannot be hidden:

How canst thou say: 'I am not defiled:
I have not gone after the Baalim?'
See thy ways in the Valley,
Know what thou hast done, O swift young camel,
Traversing her ways.²

As they think of their children,
Thus do they think of their altars and their idols of Astarte
By the green trees upon the high hills.³

Jeremias had already said:

Hast thou seen what unfaithful Israel hath done?
She is gone up upon every high mountain
And under every green tree, and there hath played the harlot.⁴
Upon every high hill and under every green tree
Thou didst bow thyself, playing the harlot.⁵

¹ Gen. x; Jeremias xi. 13, 17, ii. 28.

³ Jeremias xvii. 2. Hebr.: *ashêryhem*.

⁵ Jeremias ii. 20, cf. vii. 18.

² Jeremias ii. 23.

⁴ Jeremias iii. 6.

Josias engaged in battle near Megiddo and was defeated.

The Books of Kings and of Chronicles¹ tell us that the book of the Law which had been lost was recovered in the eighteenth year of Josias' reign, and that the people gave public expression to their sorrow when they found how greatly their mode of life was at variance with the sacred precepts. A religious reform movement followed upon this discovery.²

Meanwhile Necho had advanced to Carchemish, then returning southwards he had deposed Josias' successor Joachaz and placed Elyaqym on the throne, giving him the name Yehoyaqym.

Egypt was once more supreme in Syria-Palestine. Nineveh, on the other hand, was on the point of succumbing, in 612 B.C., to the attacks of a Median King who was at the head of a coalition composed of Medes and Scyths.³

Upon the ruins of the Ninevite Empire two great kingdoms arose—Cyaxares took to himself Assyria proper and its dependencies on the Upper Tigris; Nabopolassar joined with the possession of Babylon the suzerainty of Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine and Elam, and he even regarded the kings of Egypt as his feudatories because for some years they had been subject to Nineveh.

Cyaxares spent fifty years overcoming and regularizing the chaos of tribes situated first to the north and then to the south of his kingdom. He advanced to the Halys, where he found himself face to face with the Lydians. This people, who were a powerful people as early as the seventh century, had received a fresh impetus from Gyges, founder of the Mermnades dynasty,

¹ 2 Kings xxii; 2 Chronicles xxxiv.

² The exact meaning to be attached to this discovery is a problem which Biblical scholars have not yet solved definitely.

³ Tradition is divided as to this king's name, who may have been either Cyaxares, Arbaces, or Astyages. It most likely was Astyages' father, Cyaxares; cf. P. D'Arbo, *R.B.*, new series, viii (1911), 364. The commentators of the Book of Tobias are generally agreed that Cyaxares is referred to (Tobias xiv. 15) by the word *Ἀχαιαρος* or *Ἀχαιαρος* (*Cod. Sinait.*), Achicar (*vers. Itala*), as conqueror of Nineveh with Nabochodonosor. The term used in the *Cod. Sinaiticus* or the *Itala* most closely resembles the name Cyaxares. (Nabopolassar was Nabuchodonosor's father; it is not unlikely that the son accompanied his father, although History does not state so.)

and his successors. It was the third king in the succession after Gyges, Alyatte, whom the Median troops encountered on the Halys. The struggle lasted six years and was ended by an alliance, Alyatte marrying his daughter to Astyages, Cyaxares' son. The Aramean nomads, joined with bands of Cimmerians, frequently attacked the towns of Mesopotamia. Nabopolassar, who was too old to take command of his troops, probably entrusted it to the son whom he had chosen to succeed him, Nabuchodonosor, husband of the Median princess.

Nabuchodonosor.

This prince by his qualities as a soldier, as a statesman, and as an architect is one of the greatest men of his time in the Near East. In 604, when he had already spread Babylonian supremacy as far as Mount Masios, Nabuchodonosor found himself face to face with Necho's armies at Carchemish. The Egyptians were completely defeated. The victor advanced upon Egypt, and was at Pelusium when he learned of his father's death. Fearing a rival for the succession to the throne, he returned to Babylon.

Nabuchodonosor, master of Syria, was a perpetual menace to Egypt's existence. Necho secretly rebuilt and reorganized a fleet and an army, trusting to the restless spirit of the Phoenicians and of the Jews to supply him with an early chance of revenge.

Ever since its disastrous struggles with Assyria, Phoenicia had nourished a deep hatred for all of its masters who came from the East. The same was true, moreover, of the greater part of the Syrian States—Ammon, Moab, the Nabateans, Juda. Necho was able to exploit these hatreds.

Jeremias.

Meanwhile in Jerusalem Jeremias had for some years been keeping a watchful eye on the course of events. The pressure of new peoples and the disappearance of the old empires showed clearly to him the terrible danger which threatened Juda. One day, in the middle of the courtyard of the Temple, he announced

to the assembled people the coming ruin of the thrice-holy place.

But the Jews refused to believe that Yahweh could desert Juda as he had deserted Israel. The prophet's sinister threat would have cost him his life were it not for the timely intervention of the chiefs of the people, and especially of Ahikam, who opportunely reminded them of a similar prophecy which Micheas had made in the time of Ezechias.

Listen now to this, leaders of the house of Jacob,
Judges over the house of Israel,
You who hold justice in horror
and pervert what is right,
Building up Sion with bloodshed
And Jerusalem with iniquity . . .
Sion shall be ploughed up like a field;
Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins
The Temple-hill a mere wooded height.¹

Every movement unfavourable to Chaldean interests and any alliance with their enemies seemed legitimate to the mass of the people and they lent a willing ear to Egyptian counsels.

Jeremias reiterated his warning that Juda would be crushed under the formidable invader's heel. The Chaldean armies' triumphs had made a deep impression upon his mind; he had seen in the defeat of the Egyptian armies the prelude to a succession of victories for the Chaldeans. He declared that not Juda alone, but all the adjoining kingdoms would be swallowed up—Syria, Arabia, and even Egypt, and Babylon. In fine, what he foresees and prophesies is the complete overthrow of the Ancient East.

Of Moab.

The spoiler shall come against every town,
Not one shall escape;
The valleys shall be raided and the plains ruined . . .
Come down from thy glory and sit on the arid ground,
O thou daughter that dwellest in Dibon,
For the spoiler of Moab is come up against thee.²

¹ Micheas iii. 9-10, 12.

² Jeremias xlviii. 8, 18.

Of Ammon, Syria.

Damascus is waxed feeble, she turneth herself to flee.
 And trembling hath seized on her;
 Anguish and sorrows have taken hold of her,
 As of a woman in travail . . .¹

The Arabian tribes:

Arise ye, go up to Cedar,
 Exterminate the children of the East!²

Of Egypt: The Prophet begins by chanting a hymn of triumph for the defeat of Carchemish:

Harness the horses, and get up, ye horsemen,
 And stand forth with your helmets!
 Furbish the spears, put on the coats of mail!
 What do I see? They are dismayed and are turned backwards!

Who is this that riseth up like the Nile,
 Whose waters toss themselves like the rivers:
 Egypt riseth up like the Nile,
 And his waters toss themselves like the rivers.
 He said: I will rise up, I will cover the earth,
 I will destroy the cities and the inhabitants thereof.

Go up, ye horses! and rage, ye chariots!
 The Ethiopians and the Libyans that handle the shield,
 The Lydians that handle and bend the bow.³

He then foretells Nabuchodonosor's invasion of Egypt:

I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives,
 Into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon and into the
 hand of his servants . . .⁴

None the less, Juda rose up at Necho's instigation. Yehoyakyn had to surrender. He was sent to Chaldea, the army reduced to slavery and the Temple plundered. Whatever was left over passed to Josias' third son, Mattanijah, who took the name Sideqiyah.

¹ Jeremiah xlix. 24.

³ Jeremiah xlii. 4, 5, 7-10.

² Jeremiah xlix. 29.

⁴ Jeremiah xlii. 26.

The Exile.

The current of opinion in Jerusalem was so strongly on the Pharaoh's side that the king, Nabuchodonosor's creature, was drawn with it in spite of Jeremias' efforts. Juda and Phoenicia took to arms, but the Chaldean army put the country to fire and sword and set out against Apries who had issued forth from the direction of Gaza. History does not acquaint us with the Pharaoh's fate. The Chaldean armies, however, returned to attack Jerusalem, which was taken, demolished and burnt. The soldiers, priests, and scribes and all the influential classes were transplanted into Chaldea. Sideqiyah's eyes were put out and he was sent a prisoner to Babylon (586).

All Syria was now under the Babylonian yoke; the Syrian, Egyptian, and Arabian prisoners were condemned to manual labour on public undertakings.

The Israelites became inured to exile, and many of them refused to return to their fatherland when the edict granting their freedom was issued, but they were inconsolable at first. Their desolation finds moving expression in some of their sacred canticles:

By the rivers of Babylon
We were seated down and we wept
When we remembered Sion.
Upon the willows of its valleys
We hanged our harps.
For there, they that held us captive required of us
Hymns and canticles,
And our oppressors songs of joy:
'Sing us one of the songs of Sion!'
How shall we sing the song of Yahweh
In the land of the stranger? . . .

Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth
If I do not remember thee,
If I make not Jerusalem
The beginning of my joy!¹

¹ Psalm cxxxvii.

Babylon under Nabuchodonosor.

Nabuchodonosor made Babylon one of the most beautiful cities in the world. At the time of the Babylonian captivity, in Ezechiel's and Daniel's days, its circumference measured about 12 miles. Three walls enclosed it, one of them, built of unbaked bricks and about 23 feet thick, was surmounted at regular intervals by numerous watch-towers. The outer-wall, 24 feet thick, was built of baked bricks, as was also the escarp of the moat or dike. Clay was used instead of mortar for the clay walls, and asphalt for the brick walls.

Upon a hill in the city the monarch devoted himself for forty-three years to the fortifications of the town and the building and care of religious edifices. A road called 'the procession road' led up to this acropolis, passing through Ishtar's Gate and then by the temple of E-sag-il. The road was paved upon a brick foundation covered by a layer of asphalt in which large flagstones were laid, each bearing the inscription: 'I am Nabuchodonosor, King of Babylon! I flagged the street of Babylon for the procession of the great Lord Marduk.' The roadway was flanked by overhanging walls made of enamelled bricks, upon which could be seen at regular intervals, on a blue background, lions with open jaws and threatening fangs, guarding the entrance to Ishtar's Gate. The gate itself was ornamented with rows of bulls and fanciful animals.

To the east of this gate was the Nin-Makh temple, built like a fortress, flanked with towers and adorned with votive offerings enclosed in a kind of brick case. At the door was an altar, and a rectangular vestibule, leading out into an open-air courtyard upon which the rooms and stores opened out. At the far end of the courtyard was the shrine of the god.

The inner wall of the town, built by Ashurbanipal, was called Nimitti-Enlil. There was a space of about twenty-four feet between it and the antemural.

Asaraddon had begun the *e-temen-an-ki* tower of the Esag-il, the famous temple of the god Marduk. It stood alone in a veritable *haram*, and like those seen on certain Babylonian

kudurrus, it was built in stories which gradually became smaller as they mounted up. Nabuchodonosor said: 'I set myself to raising up the head of the *e-temen-an-ki* to the level of the sky.'

Nabuchodonosor was succeeded on the throne by three kings of minor importance—Awel-Marduk or Evil-Merodach, who restored Yehoyakyn to liberty and became his friend,¹ Nergal-Shar-usur or Neriglissor, and Labashi-Marduk. Nabuchodonosor did not enter into conflict with Astyages, the last king of the Median Empire, due not only to the great degree of caution the former introduced into his dealings with his powerful neighbour, but also because Astyages, though cruel, superstitious, and effeminate, was of a pacific temperament.

It must not be imagined that the deportees were treated in an absolutely inhuman fashion. They were, it is true, condemned to works of forced labour which were necessitated by Nabuchodonosor's schemes of fortification and improvements, but the texts of the time and the conditions of their existence show that their lot was quite bearable. They could build houses, plant gardens,² establish villages near the rivers and canals.³ The Elders of the people enjoyed their traditional prestige,⁴ and this fact would lead us to believe that the Jewish colonies had a certain degree of autonomy. In the sixth and fifth centuries, under Darius and Artaxerxes I, the occurrence of Jewish names in sale-contracts proves that many of the deportees' descendants had preferred to remain in the country and pursue their trade there rather than place themselves in a precarious position by returning to the land of their fathers.

The Religious Ideas of the Israelites.

The Israelites who had been led away into exile and those who had been left in their own land were now obliged to foster their religious spirit by diligently studying the teachings of their Prophets, especially of the last of them, whose wisdom, sagacity, and courage, they had reason to admire.

Like his predecessors, and especially Isaias, Jeremiah had

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 27-30.

² Jeremiah xxix. 4.

³ Ezechiel i. 1, iii. 15; Esdras viii. 15-17.

⁴ Ezechiel viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1.

emphasized principally two main ideas—Monotheism and Messianism. He had said:

Yahweh giveth rain
Both the early and the latter rain in due season,
He reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest . . .¹

The faithful of Hadad also attributed these powers to their gods, but Yahweh is not only a god of rain and of tempests, he is also the God of the sea:

Will ye not tremble at my presence,
I who have set the sand for the bound of the sea,
An everlasting barrier which it shall not pass over?
The waves thereof toss themselves yet can they not prevail;
They roar, yet can they not pass over it . . .²

And this God, unlike the pagan sea-gods, Ea for example, is also the God of the Stars:

(He) gives the sun
To give light during the day,
And makes laws for the moon and stars
To give light during the night.

Yahweh is the national God of the chosen people but Israel's frontiers are very narrow, its political influence is almost non-existent. It cannot lord it over Edom, or Ammon or Moab or Arabia, and it is helpless against Egypt and Assyria. And yet Israel's national God, Yahweh, expresses through the mouth of the Prophet his imprescriptible right over Ammon, Edom, and Moab, over the Syrians and Arabians, the Edomites, Babylonians and Egyptians.

He declares that He will deliver Amûn to the king of Babylon: Behold, I will punish Amûn of No,
And Pharaoh and Egypt and her gods and her kings . . .
I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives,
And into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon and of his servants.³

Kamosh will suffer a like fate:

Kamosh shall go forth into captivity;

¹ Jeremiah v. 24.

² Jeremiah v. 22.

³ Jeremiah xli. 25, 26.

With his priests and his princes together . . .
For I have broken Moab like a useless vessel.¹

Likewise Milkom:

Therefore, behold the days come, saith Yahweh,
That I will cause a noise of war to be heard against Rabba of the
children of Ammon . . .

Gird you with sackcloth, strike your breasts,
Run to and fro among the fences,
For Milkom shall go into captivity,
His priests and his princes together.²

Does this simply mean that these gods are vassal-gods in
comparison to Yahweh? By no means; these gods are mere
vulgar idols, and an idol

is only a tree that one cuts in the forest,
the work of the hands of the workman with his axe.
They deck it with silver and with gold;
They fasten it with nails and hammers
that it move not.³

The gods of the East had admitted foreign divinities to their
pantheon. Amûn had long since reached Canaan; Ishtar and
Teshub were venerated in Egypt. Syncretism had become
customary; as a political factor it signified the relationships
established between one people and another, and, consequently,
between the gods of the different peoples. Yahweh, on the other
hand, allowed of no compromise. Although Kamosh, Milkom,
and other gods had more than once had their sanctuaries in
Jerusalem, Yahweh was yet the sole God of Israel and the only
true God of the Universe; it is He who

Hath made the earth by his power,
Established the world by his wisdom,
And by his understanding stretched out the heavens.
At his voice, there is a tumult of waters in the heavens;
He lifts up the clouds from the ends of the earth;
He makes lightnings from which the rain pours forth,
And brings forth the wind out of his treasures . . .
Every artist is put to shame by his graven idol,

¹ Jeremias xlviii. 7, 38.

² Jeremias xlix. 2, 3.

³ Jeremias x. 3, 4.

For his idols are only falsehood;
 And there is no breath in them . . .
 The portion of Jacob is not like these;
 For it is He who formed the universe,
 And Israel is the tribe of his inheritance;
 His name is the Lord (Yahweh) of hosts.¹

He can then threaten the nations of the earth:

Behold, evil shall go forth from nation to nation . . .
 And the slain of Yahweh shall be at that day
 from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth . . .
 Howl, ye shepherds, and cry; . . .
 And the shepherds shall have no way to flee,
 nor the principals of the flock to escape . . . !
 Yahweh hath forsaken his covert as the lion;
 for their land shall be made desolate because of the fierceness
 of the oppressing sword,
 and because of the fierce anger of Yahweh.²

Israel is his people, his servant, 'the tribe of his inheritance'. But Yahweh's fate is independent of the nation's political vicissitudes, for it is He who, as He formerly promised, has established Israel in this 'land flowing with milk and honey'; He who threatened them and severely punished his unfaithful people by their exile in Assyria-Babylonia, and it is He who will lead them forth out of captivity.

Yahweh is, then, Israel's national God, but He is at the same time the real master of all peoples—it was He, for instance, who gave 'his countries' to Nabuchodonosor; He is the God of all flesh, who made heaven and earth.

His love for his people is exceeding great:

I have loved thee with an everlasting love,
 therefore have I continued lovingkindness unto thee.
 I will build thee again, and thou shalt be built, O Virgin of Israel;
 Thou shalt again take thy timbrels in thy hands,
 and shalt go forth in the midst of the merry dances. . . .

Is Ephraim, then, a son so dear to me,

¹ Jeremiah x. 12-16.

² Jeremiah xxv. 32-8.

a favourite child?

For as often as I speak against him,
I do earnestly remember him still;
Therefore are my bowels troubled for him;
Yea, I will pity him, saith Yahweh.¹

On the occasion of a great drought Jeremias cries out to Him:

O thou, Israel's hope,
and liberator in time of distress,
how couldst thou be a stranger in the land. . . .
Yet, thou dwellest amongst us, Yahweh;
thy name is invoked upon us,
do not abandon us!

Yahweh is, then, the hope of Israel.

Jeremias, like Osee, attributes the sentiment of love to Yahweh, as we have just seen, but he is concerned only with the people of Israel. The concept of 'the love of God' has not yet reached its full development; it has not yet attained the height of St. John's *Deus caritas est*.

In the Biblical East the gods of the 'Gentiles' were satisfied once they had received the sacrifices of their worshippers, but Yahweh demanded from his followers the homage of a moral life in addition to sacrifices.

Yahweh had already declared by the mouth of Amos, the first of the 'literary prophets':

I hate and despise your feasts,
Your assemblies do not please me.
If you present me with holocausts and offerings,
I like them not . . .
But that equity flow like water,
and justice like a torrent that is never exhausted,

And by the mouth of Isaïas:

I am full of the burnt offerings of rams,
and of the fat of fatlings.
The blood of bullocks or of he-goats
I delight not in!

¹ Jeremias xxxi. 4, 20.

Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth!
 They are become troublesome to me.
 I am weary of bearing them.
 Your hands are full of blood;
 Wash you, make you clean! . . .
 Learn to do well. Seek judgment,
 Relieve the oppressed.
 Give justice to the fatherless,
 Defend the widow.¹

Jeremias speaks in the same terms:

I will bring evil upon this people,
 the fruit of their thoughts
 because they have . . . rejected my law.
 To what purpose do you bring me frankincense from Saba
 and the precious reed from a far country?
 Your holocausts are not pleasing to me,
 nor your sacrifices acceptable to me.²

Thus, Yahweh especially desires the homage of a moral life in conformity with the law, the homage of a holy life because He is 'Israel's Holy One'.

It must, however, be remembered that even those formulae or expressions which seem to us the most charged with meaning have not always or everywhere the same force. The original idea expressed by the word *QDSH* 'holy', in the Biblical East, was perhaps that of 'separation', and hence of distinction between the divine and the human. It would follow from this that the word *QDSH*, 'holy', did not necessarily imply the idea of moral purity, all the more so since the inscription of Eshmunazar applies it to the gods of Sidon—'the holy gods'—who were far from being models of purity, and since the hierodules, both men and women, were called 'holy'.

However, in the eyes of the Prophets, God is holy and He possesses moral perfection. It was this conviction that made Isaias cry out; 'Woe is me, I am undone: because I am a man of unclean lips, and mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord (Yahweh) of hosts!' Then a seraphim 'with his hand took a

¹ Isaias i. 11, 14, 16, 17.

² Jeremias vi. 19, 20.

live coal with the tongs off the altar; and he touched my mouth with it and said:

Behold, this hath touched thy lips;
thine iniquity is taken away and thy sin purged.¹

The Prophets severely censure all transgressions against justice and sincerity; they chastise those who shed innocent blood, who oppress the orphan, and have not pity upon the miserable. Yet it must be remembered that these miserable ones and these innocents are *Israelites*, and that, even in the most touching of their prayers, when they mention their enemies, they never rise higher than the law of retaliation.

Again, the mercy, love, and faith which the Prophets extol are, before all else, faith, love, and justice for the nation considered as a social organism, and the sins which they reprimand, although committed by individuals, are sins in which the whole nation as a body is implicated. Further, the individual is bound to recognize Yahweh and honour Him by his conduct, but in the practice of his religion he acts even to a greater degree as a member of the nation, and his relations with Yahweh are determined by the fact that, in whatever situation he may find himself during life, he belongs to a community which is the direct object of Yahweh's regard. Hence, even for the greatest of the Prophets, religion is, before all else, a special relationship not between the individual and God, but between the nation and God.

The oracles of the Prophets were dominated by the thought of Yahweh's triumph. The struggle between good and evil is continuous, but although the day of God's final triumph may be deferred for reasons which He is not obliged to reveal to his Seers, His triumph is none the less certain.

The cause of Yahweh, then, was identified with the cause of Israel; Milkom's cause was the same as Ammon's, and Moloch's or Hadad's as that of the Canaanites or Syrians. These pagans thought that they could obtain the protection of their national Gods by the mere visiting and sacrificing at the *Bamoth* or temples. Israel, as we have seen, had come under the sway of

¹ *Isaias* vi. 5-7.

similar ideas. Jeremias exclaims:

Shall vows and holy flesh
take away from thee thy wickedness,
that thou canst give thyself to joyousness!¹

The people of Israel, like the neighbouring peoples, kept morals separate from religion, that is to say from religious rites; they went even further, and in order the better to ensure success or prosperity they practised a kind of vague syncretism, for, at times, they even seem to be more devout to the unclean Astarte than towards Yahweh.

The people, nursing its illusion, will not understand, but Yahweh, who in spite of all will triumph, shall Himself come to cleanse His people. In the first place, He will destroy the nations where corruption reigns: 'Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, to me: Take from my hand this cup of the wine of my fury, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and reel to and fro.'²

Jeremias here speaks like Isaias, and like him also he proceeds to develop his threats against Egypt, the Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Syria, the Arabian tribes and Elam. Then he comes to Babylon, which for more than ten centuries had been Queen of the East, whose genius and splendour were admired by all nations.

None the less Babylon shall fall! 'When the seventy years shall be accomplished, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and I will make it perpetual desolations.'³

This oracle was later amplified in eloquent terms:

Declare ye among the nations, and publish it, and lift up a standard!
Proclaim and conceal it not!

Say, Babylon is taken!

Bel is confounded, Merodak is overthrown;

his idols are confounded, his false gods are overthrown,

for out of the North a nation is come up against her,

which shall make her land desolate . . .

And Chaldea shall be made a prey,

¹ Jeremias xi. 15.

² Jeremias xv. 15, 16.

³ Jeremias xxv. 12.

all that spoil her shall be filled . . .
 Rejoice and be glad
 Ye that plunder my inheritance!
 Make wanton like a heifer at grass,
 Neigh like stallions!
 Your mother is sore confounded,
 She that bore you is ashamed, she is the last among the nations,
 A desert, a wilderness, a dry land.
 Because of the wrath of Yahweh, it shall not be inhabited;
 it shall be wholly desolate;
 every one that shall pass by Babylon
 shall be astonished and shall hiss at all her plagues.
 Set yourselves in array against Babylon round about, all ye that bend
 the bow;
 Shoot at her, spare no arrows,
 for she hath sinned against Yahweh,
 Shout against her round about a war-cry.
 She gives her hand;
 her bulwarks are fallen, her walls are thrown down,
 for it is the vengeance of Yahweh.
 Take vengeance upon her;
 As she hath done, do unto her!¹

Throughout two long chapters we hear a succession of threats:

The sound of a cry cometh from Babylon;
 And great destruction from the land of the Chaldeans,
 for Yahweh spoileth Babylon . . .

The threats against the nations conclude with these words:

Thus the peoples have laboured for vanity
 and the nations for the fire, and they are weary.

Israel also shall be punished as Jeremias has warned them since the days of Josias:

Declare ye in Juda, and publish in Jerusalem;
 and say, Blow ye the trumpet in the land;
 cry aloud and say:

Assemble yourselves, and let us go into the defenced cities.

¹ Jeremias l. 2, 3, 10-15.

Set up a standard toward Sion,
 Flee, for safety, stay not,
 for I bring evil from the North and a great destruction.¹

Not content with that, he foretells the siege of Jerusalem:

. . . The comely and delicate one,
 The daughter of Sion, will I cut off ² . . .

But the people, full of confidence in their sacred palladium, the Temple, relying on the mechanical force, so to speak, of sacrifices, think themselves safe. Jeremias warns them unceasingly, during the reign of Sedecias, that their chastisement is near at hand.

Jeremias thus beholds his nation burdened with iniquities; convinced as he is that this people has a mission which it cannot fulfil while it remains in this state, and seeing, besides, that it refuses to cleanse itself and make amends for its transgressions, he declares again and again that God Himself will chastise and purify it with trials; then he announces that their chastisement has already begun. And Israel's punishment is a severe one!

These are the prospects which Jeremias held out to his listeners, but there are others in his book mingled with these, and not always easily distinguishable. We are reminded of those ancient Egyptian or Chinese drawings in which the various scenes are all drawn in the same perspective with the result that it is not always easy to say what constituted the artist's background.

Like the other prophets, Jeremias declared and repeated through all his threats that the nation would not be destroyed utterly:

Fear thou not, my servant Jacob, saith Yahweh,
 for I am with thee;
 I will destroy all the nations among which I have scattered thee;
 but thee I will not destroy;
 I will chastise thee in judgment
 and will not leave thee unpunished.³

¹ Jeremias iv. 5, 6.

² Jeremias vi. 2.

³ Jeremias xxx. 10, 11.

And, in the last years of Sedecias:

Fear thou not, my servant Jacob,
for I will bring thee out of the distant land,
and thy seed from the land of their exile.
Jacob shall return, and shall be quiet and at ease,
and none shall make him afraid,
for I am with thee, saith Yahweh, to save thee.¹

This refers to the return from captivity, but, in the following passage, he suddenly goes outside this horizon and declares as he looks into the more distant future:

The days come, saith Yahweh,
that I will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Juda,
a new covenant,
not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers,
in the day that I took them by the hand
to bring them out of the land of Egypt . . .
But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel,
after those days, saith Yahweh:
I will put my law in their inward parts
and write it in their hearts,
and I will be their God
and they shall be my people . . .
. . . They shall all know Me
from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Yahweh:
for I will forgive their iniquity
and I will remember their sin no more . . .
The days come, saith Yahweh,
that this city shall be rebuilt to Yahweh
from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner.
The measuring line shall yet go out straight onward
unto the hill Gareb
and it shall compass Goa.
And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes,
and unto the corner of the horse gate, toward the east,
shall be holy unto Yahweh
and they shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more for
ever.²

¹ Jeremiah xlvi. 27, 28.

² Jeremiah xxxi. 31-40.

In Jeremias' conception of the Messiah, it is by Israel—he does not state definitely whether it is to be by an individual—the sole trustee of the true God's religion, that the nations shall embrace the religion of Yahweh. Yahweh's kingdom shall be, then, the kingdom of Israel, and its capital Jerusalem, and the nations shall flock to Jerusalem. Thus, it is through Jerusalem and through the kingdom of Israel that the Gentiles shall reach the kingdom of God, the true religion.

At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Yahweh!
And all the nations shall be gathered unto it,
to the name of Yahweh, to Jerusalem,
neither shall they walk any more after the stubbornness of their evil
heart.¹

This future prospect naturally opened up perspectives of material prosperity and progress especially in this period of calamity and later of exile, and these material promises were, so to speak, an envelope enclosing the spiritual prospects in such a manner that it was difficult for the people to separate one from the other. Moreover, when the people saw that the condition of the followers of Moloch, Marduk, and Astarte was not inferior to their own, believing that it was even better, and seeing wicked and unjust oppressors in Jerusalem itself living in the height of prosperity and riches, they began to doubt and incline to the belief that justice, purity, and the other virtues were not necessary conditions of prosperity. Then they fell to imitating the religious practices of those around them, and joined to the cult of their national God that of the other divinities. They envisaged Jerusalem as strictly and exclusively the capital of the new kingdom, to which the ancient capitals of the nations would be feudally subject, and the Temple as the sole true sanctuary whose supremacy the other sanctuaries would recognize.

This was not Jeremias' conception. He denied that Yahweh could even tolerate any other god, however ancient he might be, or however great a people his followers. The God of Israel alone was worthy of adoration because He alone was living and true.

¹ Jeremias iii. 17.

Besides, the cult of Yahweh could not be fixed exclusively in the sanctuary at Jerusalem; this would have placed the Jews in a preponderating position and rendered the idea of a universal religion a practical impossibility.

Jeremias had stated frequently and in very definite terms the conditions necessary for admission to the Kingdom of God. Mere membership of the holy nation is not sufficient. First, Israel must do penance and for this reason God will punish it (He has already done so), but, because He loves it with an 'eternal love', He will restore it and make a new covenant with it. A new covenant, inasmuch as God Himself will reveal His law directly to Israel and to Juda whereas formerly under the Mosaic covenant he announced it by the intermediary of Moses, his representative.

And yet, it seems that the covenant will again be made with the nation:

I will put my law in their inward parts
and write it in their hearts,
and I will be their God
and they shall be My people,

and that is why He speaks not of the individual to whom He reveals His law but of the people of Israel who shall never be able to cease being a nation in His sight.

In the kingdom which is to come God will reign in the person of his representative, who shall be a king of David's line:

The days come, saith Yahweh,
that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch;
and he shall reign as King,
and he shall be wise and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.¹

Thus, this King of the race of David shall be particularly wise and just.

The teaching of Ezechiel, who was deported to Babylon at the same time as Jechonias, is not essentially different to that of Jeremias, but his message bears the stamp of his originality of mind and his priestly training. He stresses very strongly the

¹ Jeremias xxiii. 5.

point of *personal responsibility*, which had already been referred to by Jeremias. God wishes every man to live. The new Israel will include every one who enters the community individually, and all men can enter it on condition that they repent, but every man is responsible only for his own conduct, and not for the sins of his fathers or of his people.¹

Among the Judeans who were carried away after the capture of Jerusalem was a young man of royal blood, Daniel, whom Nabuchodonosor had had brought up in his palace with some other nobles from Jerusalem. They were trained in the ways of courts and instructed in the sciences of the Babylonian country. Daniel had a prophetic mission to accomplish, not by appearing before the people and speaking to them, but solely by writing his oracles. Generally speaking, his aim was to show that God directs all the happenings of history in such a way as to make them help forward the salvation of mankind. He thus came to speak of the spiritual kingdom to come, and he drew attention to the human nature and origin of his king by the original expression 'the Son of Man'.

¹ Ezechiel xviii, and xxxiii.

CHAPTER III

FROM CYRUS TO THE HELLENIZATION OF THE EAST

Cyrus.

CYRUS the Great, 'Persian son of a Persian father, an Aryan of Aryan blood', of the family of the Achaemenidae, grandson of Cyrus I, was born of the marriage of Cambyses with Mandane, the daughter of the Median King. About 553-552 he revolted against Astyages 'King of the Umman-Manda', that is, of the Scyths and Medes, and defeated him. From being merely king of Anshan he thus became the master of Nearer Asia, except the countries situated beyond the Halys or in the suzerainty of Babylon.

Externally there was no change; the military forces of the empire still supplied the satraps, the generals, and court personages.

Beyond the Halys, from the Anti-Taurus to the Aegean Sea and from the Euxine to Pamphilia, the whole country was subject to Croesus. The latter, foreseeing the grave consequences which the fall of Media would entail for Lydia, resolved to combat Cyrus' domination. He allied himself to Lacedaemon, Egypt, and Babylon where Nabonidus reigned.¹ The coalition was strong enough to be victorious but a traitor, a Greek mercenary, precipitated events by revealing to the enemy the danger which threatened him. In 545 Croesus fell at the hands of the Persian.

This victory is an important historical event.

All the kings of the East, great and small, realized that they were at the mercy of the victor and did all in their power to avoid the smallest pretext for a quarrel. The Greeks were dumbfounded at the sudden downfall of Lydian power; it was the first time that they had witnessed one of these great tragedies of which the history of the eastern world is full.

Whilst Harpagus was completing the pacification of Asia

¹ Nabonidus had at first seen in Cyrus an instrument of the gods for punishing Astyages and his Umman-Manda (*Great Cylinder of Sippar*, i. 28 seq.), but by this time the power of his redoubtable neighbour was causing him much uneasiness.

Minor, Cyrus advanced into the distant regions of the Far East; to the north he could advance no farther than the steppes of Siberia, but the plains of Chinese Tartary attracted him eastwards. Our knowledge of these hazardous expeditions is very scanty.

Only two empires were now standing face to face with each other, the Persian and the Babylonian. But the might of Babylon, worn out by her continual struggles with Assyria, was now only apparent. In 555 the son of a priestess of the moon-god of Kharran, Nabonidus formed a conspiracy to depose Labashi-Marduk and himself ascended the throne. The new king was more engrossed in sacred archaeology than in the affairs of his empire and he set himself to restore the temples and the cult of foreign gods in Babylon. His opponents denounced this as madness, and relegated him to a town called Tema,¹ placing the reins of government in the hands of his son Belshar-usur.²

Babylon in the Power of Cyrus. The exile returned to Babylon after some years, and at a very critical moment. Cyrus had crossed the Tigris in 546. Nabonidus concentrated his army and the gods of the cities of the east and west in his capital. But this was of no avail; in 539, Gubaru entered Babylon at the head of the enemy troops without striking a blow, while the city

¹ *Chronicle of Nabonidus and Cyrus*, recto B, 5-23. It is difficult to ascertain the length of time during which Nabonidus was relegated to Tema, on account of the bad state of preservation of this tablet.

² He is the biblical Balthazar (Belsha'ssar), cf. Daniel v. 22 seq. Would not this passage (cf. 18-23; 30) seem to show that Daniel iv-v refers to *Nabonidus* (called Nabuchodonosor) afflicted with madness (iv. 30-2), expelled from his kingdom (iv. 22) and dreaming (Daniel iv *passim*). Cf. the *Great Inscription of Ur*, ii, the *Great Cylinder of Sippar*, i; and Baruch i. 11-12, 'Pray ye for the life of Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon (write the exiled Jews to those who remained in Jerusalem) and for the life of Balthassar his son, that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven; and the Lord will give us strength and enlighten our eyes; and we shall live under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Balthassar his son.' *Small Inscription of Ur*, ii. 19-31: 'I am Nabonidus, king of Babylon. Deliver me from my sin against thy august divinity, and grant me as a favour length of days. As for Bel-shar-usur, the eldest son issued from my heart, put in his heart the fear of thy august divinity! Let him not commit sin, may he be saturated with the fulness of life!' There are striking resemblances between the sacred and profane texts, but the *Biblical* problem of Nabuchodonosor—Nabonidus can only be solved when the problems of the *criticism* of the Book of Daniel are sufficiently elucidated.

was celebrating a religious festival. Bel-shar-usur was put to death, and Nabonidus, whose life was spared, thrown into irons.

The spectacle of the proud capital's humiliation was a great joy to the exiled Israelites, whose feelings are well expressed in the following words of Isaias:

Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth.
Their idols are upon the beasts of burden,
laden and carried with great difficulty.
They stoop, they bow down together;
they could not deliver the burden;
but themselves are gone into captivity.¹

and again:

Come down, and sit in the dust,
O virgin daughter of Babylon!
sit on the ground, there is no throne,
O daughter of the Chaldeans!
Thou shalt no more be called
tender and delicate!
Take the millstones, and grind meal
remove thy veil!
Strip off the train, uncover thy legs,
pass through the rivers. . . .
Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness,
O daughter of the Chaldeans!
For thou shalt no more be called
the lady of kingdoms.²

New hope arose in the hearts of the Israelites at the sight of Cyrus' liberality, for this Aryan, unlike the Semitic conquerors, appeared to the holy city as a real liberator. He proclaimed, 'The town has been saved! Cyrus orders the salvation of all Babylon!'³ He announced himself as the chosen one of the god Marduk of Babylon, entrusted with the task of punishing the defeated monarch who had introduced strange gods:

The god *Marduk* considered all the countries of the world. He saw them and *looked for a just king, a king after his own heart whom he could lead by the hand. He named him Cyrus, king of Anshan! and he designated*

¹ Isaias xlv. 1, 2.

² Isaias xlvii. 1, 2, 5.

³ *Chronicle of Nabonidus and Cyrus*, verso A, 19-20.

his name for the kingship over all things. He bowed down at his feet the land of the Guti, all the Medes. The black-bearded men whom he brought to take his hands, he took care of with justice and equity.

The god Marduk, the great lord, protector of his people, looked with joy upon his pious acts and just heart; he commanded him to go to his city of Babylon. He directed him on the road to Babylon and, like a friend and companion, he walked by his side. His immense armies, of which the number like that of the waters of the river is not known, marched. He brought him into Babylon, his city, without battle or combat. He spared Babylon suffering.

Nabonidus, the king who did not honour the god Marduk, Marduk delivered up into the hands of Cyrus.¹

Cyrus restored the gods to their cities and had their temples rebuilt. He tolerated the divinities of other nations, but he himself like the other Achaemenidae adored Ahura-Mazda, 'the god who created the sky, who created this earth, who created man and gave man his benediction.' The monotheism of Yahweh's followers thus made an impression upon him.

Israel allowed to return to Palestine. The Israelites asked the monarch as a gift to mark his auspicious accession to grant them permission to return to their country. Cyrus, believing that their own gods and their own sanctuaries should be restored to all cities and nations, authorized them to return to their fatherland and rebuild their Temple,² and restored to them the sacred treasures which had been carried off by Nabuchodonosor.

The exiles immediately organized caravans to take them at intervals to Jerusalem.

Among the most notable of the Israelites to return to their country was Zorobabel or Sheshbassar, prince of Juda and grandson of Yehoyakyn. He was specially entrusted with bringing back the riches of the Temple and rebuilding it, and the administration of the new community was confided to him as governor in the name of the Persians.

In spite of the gifts which were spontaneously given towards

¹ *Cylinder of Cyrus*, ii. 25. Cf. *Isaías* xlv. 4: 'I have even called thee by thy name: I have made a likeness of thee, and thou hast not known me.' Cf. *Isaías* xlv. 28; xviii. 14 seq.; and *Cylinder of Cyrus*, 31-4.

² *Esdras* i. 1-4.

the reconstruction of the house of Yahweh¹ seven months elapsed before the restoration of the Altar of Holocausts upon its old foundations was undertaken, and the foundations of the new sacred edifice were laid only in the second month of the second year after the return to Palestine.² Sidonians and Tyrians had been requisitioned to bring cedar-wood from Lebanon to Joppa, the nearest port; stone-masons and carpenters set to work, and the beginning of the undertaking was marked by great solemnities. The young generation made great demonstrations of joy, but the contrast between the humble beginnings of the new Temple and the splendour of the former one wrung tears from the old people.

The Samaritans. After the fall of Samaria the Israelite population which was deported was replaced by settlers from Babylon, Kutha, Avah, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, who had brought with them their own religions. The Israelites who remained behind preserved their 'schismatic' religion of Yahweh which, no doubt, they expounded and propagated amongst the people who surrounded them. From this mixture of peoples thus thrown together there resulted an ill-defined race called Samaritans and from the different religions arose a syncretism in direct opposition to the strict monotheism of the Hebrews.

Since they had included Yahweh with the other gods in their sacrifices and sacred libations, the Samaritans considered that they had a right to take part in the reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and consequently in the restored religion. Sheshbassar and the Elders of the people opposed this claim. The Exile had been the punishment of the transgressions of former generations and the present generation must be preserved from similar errors and from all contact with heterodox elements. The Samaritans' request met with an absolute refusal which caused extreme disappointment and bitterness at Samaria, and they purposely obstructed for nearly seventy years the rebuilding of the Temple and of the town of Jerusalem.

Cyrus' memory was a happy one not only in Israel, but among the Persians upon whom he had conferred freedom, the

¹ Esdras ii. 68, 69.

² Esdras iii. 8.

Babylonians whom he had delivered from the 'impious' Nabonidus, and the peoples of Asia Minor whom he governed with justice and restraint.

The king's last years are shrouded in mystery.

The Mediterranean World and the East.

Amasis had during a lengthy reign brought all Egypt to a high degree of prosperity. Externally all his attention was concentrated upon those who seemed to the Egyptians like the Barbarians of the West—*hanebu*, the Greeks. He married a Cyrenean woman, conquered Cyprus, and was the friend of Polycrates of Samos. He hoped thus to obtain the help of the Greek mercenaries against Persia with which he foresaw that war was imminent. In this he was not mistaken. In 525 Cambyses, Cyrus' successor, crossed the Arabian Desert. Amasis was dead but his son Psammetichus III fought a decisive battle against him. Cambyses won the day and Memphis surrendered to him. With this Pharaoh, the last of the twenty-sixth dynasty, the independence of Egypt disappeared.

Cambyses aimed at joining Africa and Asia together. Cyrene paid tribute to him, but the armies sent against the Ethiopians and Libyans of Amûn's oasis perished in the sands and the Tyrians refused to serve against Carthage.

Cambyses' reign had begun with the secret murder of his brother Smerdis, but his victim's followers had not all disappeared, and when a usurper appeared and claimed that he was Smerdis he was accepted as such. In order to assert his authority Cambyses set out for home immediately, but died as the result of an accident, in 522, as he was passing through Syria. Gaumata, the usurper, reigned only a few months before his assassination by the heads of the seven leading Persian families. Darius, son of Hystaspes, who had engineered the plot reaped the benefit of it and became king. The crisis had given rise in many provinces to dynastic or national hopes; besides Media, which had always wished for the return of Cyaxares' dynasty, pretenders appeared in Hyrcania, Bactria, Arachosia or Beluchistan, and Armenia. Babylon rebelled twice. In the

west the affair resolved itself merely into a question of dealing with undisciplined governors, Croetes in Lydia and Aryandes in Egypt. The Persian army whose pride had been greatly exalted by the victories of Cyrus and Cambyses, remained in the main faithful to Darius and rendered certain his success. By 517 or 516 all the revolts had been suppressed.

Darius was an accomplished warrior and especially a highly efficient organizer who endowed the East with something that neither the great Pharaohs nor the Ninevite kings had been able to give it—a central government, which was both stable and liberal. Like Cyrus, he took great pains to discover the characteristic tradition of each of the peoples under his sway and he respected and fostered it, letting every people live its own life provided it fulfilled its obligations towards the Empire. The application of this principle under the successors of the two great kings was carried out more or less wisely and met with varying degrees of success—it succeeded only partly with Egypt and Chaldea, failed with the Greeks, but succeeded completely with the Jews.

In the middle of the sixth century the Mediterranean world was confronted with three great movements of reaction caused by (i) the pride of the Persians, who considered the peoples outside their satrapies as mere recalcitrant vassals, (ii) the fierce emulation of Carthage, and (iii) the rise of the Etruscans. The movements of reaction were quite well defined and of grave import.

About this time also occurred the rise of Sparta.

In 500, the Spartans had revealed to the world the earliest example of an extensive and self-contained Greek power whose nucleus was formed by the Lacedaemonian army and whose sphere of influence already extended beyond the limits of the Peloponnesus. It was to prove itself in the hours of danger 'the acropolis of Hellas' but the successful issue of decisive conflicts was to call for the action of two other powers, hitherto of secondary importance, Athens and Syracuse.

Athens was the disruptive factor, and brought about the rupture caused primarily by the imperialistic spirit of the Persians

and the ever-recurring intrigues of the Greeks. Attica since the Minoan epoch had been an important centre of civilization, as is proved by the expansion of the cult of its local divinity. It was at first free from colonization, a fact which made the domination of the Eupatridae the more heavily felt. They had made the king a magistrate elected yearly with eight other archons (archon eponymus) for colleagues, dependent on the council of former archons (Great Council or Areopagus), and they administered, besides, the Naucraries. The peasants suffered especially when the diffusion of metal coinage led them into debt. First Solon and then Pisistratus (560-527) brought an early period of greatness to Attica.

Meanwhile the satrapies were drawn into the maze of Greek intrigues. The expedition which brought the ruin of Miletus (494) and the domination of Persia over Ionia and the Hellespont revealed the centre of agitation existing upon the other side of the Archipelago. The Persians returned, Athens being their objective. The town, which was undefended save for its phalanx of hoplites, appealed to the Spartans and, as they did not reach them in time, the hoplites marched alone against the Persians and defeated them at Marathon. Darius' generals were obliged to leave Attica.

Many of the Greeks hesitated with regard to the line which they thought should be adopted in foreign policy; Sparta, on account of her past and the dominating position she occupied, could not hesitate, and her leaders bent all their efforts towards consolidating the union of the Peloponnesian confederation. Faction and strife were in Athens. In 487 a law ordained that the archons would be selected by sortition from among the rich and thus lessened the future power of this College. Further, Themistocles, by means of the institution of *ostracism* of which he was the protagonist, ridded himself of his rivals, and in 483 was the real head of Athens. He favoured a naval policy, and created a navy which put Greece in the foremost place as a maritime power. Sparta acquired as a result of this policy what she had always lacked, a fleet equivalent to that which Ionia and Phoenicia placed at the service of the Persians. Her greatest problem then

became the necessity of humouring the rather intractable temperament of the Athenians in whose hands this force was, and her leaders succeeded therein.

It is at this moment that the Iranian nation, held to the east, north, and south by natural barriers, set out resolutely to find in the west an outlet for its energy, and that the Greek states, who were decidedly not amenable to the oriental mode of life, group themselves around Sparta. The crisis definitely is reached in 480 and gives rise to the Medic Wars.

Zorobabel and the Reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

In Darius' second year two Hebrew prophets, Haggai and Zacharias, had arisen to stimulate afresh the zeal of their compatriots.

Haggai implied that the cessation of work on the Temple had not prevented certain people from rebuilding their own dwellings where sumptuously panelled houses had taken the place of crumbling walls, and he declared that Yahweh was leaving his people in penury and want because every man was more occupied with his own material interests than with restoring the House of the Lord.

Consider attentively your ways:

Ye have sown much and bring in little;

Ye eat, but ye have not enough;

Ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink;

Ye clothe you, but there is none warm

and he that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag pierced through.

... Build the House:

and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith Yahweh.¹

Moved by the Prophet's remonstrances, Zorobabel and the High Priest, Jesus, urged the people to hasten on the work. Twenty-four days later work was resumed and vigorously pushed forward. This activity disturbed Thathanai, the Persian governor of Cis-Jordania. He reported the matter to Darius, who recognized and confirmed Cyrus' edict and even ordered a levy upon all taxes raised in Cis-Jordania to supply funds for

¹ Haggai i. 5, 8.

the reconstruction. Very severe penalties were drawn up against any transgression of the King's orders.

The work was quickly completed and dedicated in 515.

The Persians and Greeks.

Xerxes succeeded Darius in 486-485. For three years he organized the mobilization of his resources and the route which his army was to follow so as to put all chance of success on his side. On the 25th October 480 he burned Athens to avenge the burning of Sardis and sent an envoy to Susa,¹ with the news of his victory. On the following days two-thirds of his fleet was destroyed at Salamis.

After many intrigues and much hesitation the Greeks set out to meet the Persian armies and defeated them at Plataea, in the autumn of 479.

Xerxes had remained at Sardis. He was recalled to Babylon in 478 by a revolt inspired by the priests, who reproached him with having neglected the performance of the religious ceremonies which every Iranian king was obliged to observe before being legitimately recognized as national and religious sovereign of the Chaldeans. Babylon was severely punished and henceforth remained quiet but the king, tired of his Mediterranean expeditions, did not again turn his attention to the west for many years to come.

The Iranian expansion was, therefore, arrested on the west, yet the Empire remained a powerful one. In the fifth century palaces worthy of the great king were built at Susa and Persepolis.² The mighty eastern monarchy impressed the Greeks greatly, in spite of the disdain with which they often affected to speak of it.

In the west the life of the Greek cities had been troubled by frequent and bitter quarrels, the last of which had destroyed the

¹ Daniel had one of his visions in the very Acropolis of Susa according to Daniel vii. 2. Susa is frequently mentioned in the Bible, cf. Esther i-iii and viii-ix.

² 1 Macchabees vi. 1 would seem to show that the Persepolis of 2 Macchabees ix. 2 should be rendered 'town of the Persians', in the sense of capital of Persia, which would be Susa, for the incident referred to in the first passage took place in Elymais and Persepolis was in Persia.

rich city of Sybaris in 510. These struggles had become intensified just at the time when the barbarian forces capable of co-ordinated action and intelligent co-operation were rising up. Happily for Greece, at the decisive moment a new power, sufficiently enterprising to grasp the critical situation and end it satisfactorily, arose; this was Syracuse.

Sicily had been the scene of recurring civil wars between the descendants of the early colonists and the new Greek immigrants. Gelo, who was supported by the oligarchical landed proprietors and all the conservative element, made Syracuse his capital in 484 and built up a strong military force second only in the Greek world to the Peloponnesian confederation. Moreover, Anaxilas the Messenian, chief of Regium, repopulated a town which was called from then on Messene or Messina. When fortified the town commanded the Straits which he was thus able to close against all non-Greek pirates.

Carthage, which had witnessed the wide expansion of the Greeks during the sixth century, did not look favourably upon their establishing themselves in Sicily, and spent those years in forming an enormous army to combat them. Hamilcar led this army which landed at Himera, but was defeated by Gelo in the same year that the Greeks won the victory of Plataea over the Persians (479). This victory focused the attention of all the Greeks upon the powerful tyrant of Syracuse. In 474 Cumae invoked his aid against the Etruscans.

The Etruscans.

By 500 the Etruscans had already overrun the Tuscan plateau from all sides, driven the Umbrians before them, colonized the plain of the Po as far as the Alps and made Capua a great town which was constantly stirring up the mountain tribes against its enemies; they suddenly encountered strenuous resistance from two points—firstly, the small Latin nation whose strongly defined individuality prevented its absorption, and, secondly, the Greeks of Syracuse to whom Cumae had appealed for help against them. The Etruscans were defeated at Cumae in 474, and the Greeks were triumphant both in the east and in the west.

Liberal and Democratic Movement in Athens.

These national victories gave rise to a strong liberal and democratic movement, in Athens especially. In Ionia the defeat of the Persians caused the downfall of the tyrants whom they supported; in Ephesus popular risings had led to the establishment of a semi-democratic form of government, and generally speaking the movement in the whole Aegean region was supported by the constitution of the Athenian league. The evolution towards democracy reached its culminating point in Athens in 462-461, the result being, paradoxical though it seem at first, that the Greek state became more exclusive and more dictatorial. This is explained by the fact that, whereas former governments considered the mass of the people as their subjects and looked favourably upon any increase in their numbers, now that every one had his part in the government of the state the right of entry into the association was jealously guarded by all. Athens went so far as to expel, in 445, every citizen whose birth was suspect and subjected all foreigners domiciled in the state to a long probationary period as an alien. Political life slowly killed the independence of all secondary institutions, the state intervening by its regulations even in the education of children. The ordinary individual had to fulfil a great number of different obligations, apart from the compulsory military service, but he accepted them willingly since he was in return freed from many forms of irritating supervision. The citizen was responsive to the pride and dignity of his new situation; the change reacted even upon the slaves. At the same time, the religious feeling of the country was weakening. Those gods who personified the fatherland were still venerated, but when the old gods no longer sufficed, new ones were not sought after. Religious aspirations disappeared except among the slaves, the women, and the dwellers on the outskirts of the city. All new religious movements were suspect and even punished by the authorities.

Relations between Peoples.

Commercial relations between the peoples stimulated intellectual relations, the exchange of religious and other ideas,

Originally, the few civilized countries, Egypt and Babylonia, had formed separate economic entities; the communications between them, when they existed at all, were too slow and too few and far between to produce lasting reactions. In the middle of the second millenary (the period of the Hebrew prophets) Egypt, Canaan, Babylonia, and the Aegean Sea formed a comparatively self-contained economic unit where coastal navigation for trading purposes was regularly pursued. In the eighth century, at the time of the early 'literary' prophets, this maritime trade was supplemented by a continental trade which joined the borders of the Iranian plateau with Greece; at the same time ships proceeded as far as Tharsis in Spain, a veritable exploit for the period. In the sixth century, the century of Haggai and Zacharias, Greek colonization had extended the maritime front of this continental trade over the whole Mediterranean, taking in Greece and Italy and extending as far as *Massilia* and Gaul. But the undertaking was still an extremely hazardous one on account of the piracy rampant in the Archipelago. The early maritime trading was conducted without using any form of money; it was indispensable, however, for the continental trade and thus invented. The use of money was spread by Greek Colonization. About 480, metal money is the current medium of exchange and the customary standard for the value of objects in the whole Mediterranean region; it yet, however, serves only for local exchanges for those who strike money do so on widely differing systems.

The Thinkers.

Towards the end of the Medic Wars the ordinary individual placed his hopes in the goods of this world and his trust in the institutions which seemed most likely to guarantee his possession of them. But since the time of the Seven Wise Men, there had been happily some men whose state of mind inclined them towards a life of reflection and speculation. About 460, Heraclitus of Ephesus was meditating upon motion. But the nation's peril loosened violent reactions and the times were difficult ones for the thinkers. There were, nevertheless, some who despite

the combative instinct of their contemporaries believed that the training of the intelligence is a powerful weapon in the social mêlée, and they forged and tempered this weapon and sold it to the youth who came out of the elementary schools and could not devote themselves to patient years of study. The Greeks, comparing these men to the Wise Men of old (*σοφοί*) called them 'professional wise men' (*σοφισταί*). These intellectuals appeared simultaneously in many different places. Their influence was immediate and powerful, but transitory. The characteristic trait of all of them—Protagoras of Abdera, Hippias of Elis, Prodikos of Ceos—is firstly their skill as orators and dialecticians and, secondly, the fact that they declare themselves ready to speak upon any subject and that they have theories about everything. Socrates understood that it was an abuse of the mind to make the human intelligence merely a weapon against the mass, and he devoted all the power of his logic to proving and persuading his contemporaries that the art of sophistry was really a mortal danger to intelligence.

The 'scientific' activity of the Greeks was rather sporadic. Scientists are at first hardly distinguished from the 'Wise Men' about whom quite a tradition has grown up. In only one case do we find a definite association for the purpose of furthering mathematical or medical investigation, namely, the 'Pythagorean Institute', which was besides in continual danger of destruction through the frequent revolutions in Greater Greece. Learned pursuits bear a universally esoterical character.

Intellectual activity is manifested principally in the realm of art. The list of athletes' statues mentioned in Pausanias' account of Olympia suggests an astoundingly large number. There is no town however small or however deeply hidden in the recesses of the valley of the Ladon which does not produce, not merely a sculptor or a family in which the statuary art is hereditary, but also a school of sculpture which makes it unnecessary for local artists to visit the great centres of artistic production—Sicyon, Aegina, and Regium. This predominance of the artistic outlook over the scientific appears clearly in the national education which, however scanty or extensive it may be, always aims at

developing, besides the religious sentiment, a taste for rhythm and harmony rather than for truth.

The most striking factor, in 480, is the consciousness, justified no doubt by events, which the Greek race has of its superiority both in fact and in right. Doubtless, the best informed Greeks, and some of these are to be found in the Mediterranean ports, realize that a few million authentic Greeks are of small material importance even in the limited world which they believe to be the universe, but Greece appears to them as the sole organized force in the midst of the sluggard and drifting masses of mankind. The most clear-sighted among them feel that it is essential to group together this array of small states which constitutes, politically, the superior race, and that the material future of this race which they already believe to possess the whole intellectual capital¹ of the Mediterranean population depends upon Athens.

Athens and Sparta.

For fifteen years after the Medic War the official policy in Greece continued to be the union between Sparta and Athens against Persia. Athens, however, monopolized all effective action, whereas her rival had to contend with ever-increasing internal and external difficulties.

Sparta had renounced her supremacy by sea with a fairly good grace, and concentrated upon expeditions by land which, however, she soon discontinued also. Besides, a new movement arose which had its origin mainly in economic influences and was not favourably regarded by the ruling cities—the tendency of the rural populations to flock to the large towns, like Mantinea, Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns. The condition of the Peloponnese was disquieting for Sparta: internal trouble threatened constantly.

The Helots rose in revolt. Sparta called upon Athens to help in quelling the rising. Athens at first hesitated, but sent four thousand hoplites. The discussion which this expedition gave

¹ The Greeks paid scant heed to the small people down by the Jordan who so jealously preserved their Monotheism.

rise to in the Athenian assembly caused a breach between them and Sparta sent back the Athenians who alone of all her allies had come to help her (462). The Helots held out for years in their fortress of Ithome; this degree of success emboldened Sparta's enemies, and from that time onwards her rulers were hypnotized by the national peril.

In Persia Xerxes had been assassinated in 465-464. The early reign of his successor, Artaxerxes, was troubled by court intrigues and revolts of the satraps. It had needed all his resourcefulness and energy to preserve the machine which had been Darius' creation. One province especially, Egypt, was always ready to furnish a pretext for rebellion to the malcontents. A minor king of Libya, Inaros, established himself strongly in the Delta and summoned the Athenians to his aid.

The religion of the Israelites had been restored in Jerusalem, but their old enemies continued raising up difficulties in their way under Xerxes I, and especially Artaxerxes. Upon receipt of a report from the Governor Rehum, Artaxerxes ordered the work of reconstruction of the Temple to be discontinued and force had to be employed to have the royal decree obeyed. The work already completed was destroyed or soon fell into ruins.

Israel was indeed at this time sadly deficient from the moral and religious point of view. An Israelite would have been very careful not to offer the Governor a blind, halt, or sick animal, but they were not so scrupulous where Yahweh was concerned.¹ They withheld their tithes and contributions to the treasures of the Temple.² The strong exploited the weak³ and these injustices occasioned murmurings against Yahweh. 'It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinance, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord (Yahweh) of hosts? And now we call the proud happy; yes, they that work wickedness are built up.'⁴ Mixed marriages were practised among them even to the extent of repudiating 'the wife of their youth' in order to marry 'the daughter of a strange god'.⁵

¹ Malachias i. 8, 14.

² Malachias iii. 8, 9; Nehemiah x. 32, 38.

³ Nehemiah v. 1, 9.

⁴ Malachias iii. 14, 15.

⁵ Malachias ii. 11-16; Nehemiah x. 30.

Nehemiah.

Amongst the Judeans who had remained in exile some had reached high positions, such as Nehemiah, the cup-bearer of Artaxerxes I at the court of Susa. In 445 a delegation of his repatriated countrymen came to him to put before him the lamentable condition of Jerusalem. Nehemiah obtained from the king the title of Governor of his native town and a commission to rebuild it and he set out for Jerusalem¹ under military escort and furnished with credentials for the Persian officers in Palestine. In Jerusalem he found himself frequently in conflict with both external and internal enemies, but his bravery and clear-sightedness overcame all obstacles. He rebuilt the town and undertook the moral and religious reformation of the people.²

Upon the expiration of his mission, Nehemiah returned to Artaxerxes' court. Some years later he went back to Jerusalem and found that his compatriots had again fallen away. Eliashib, the High Priest, had gone so far as to place a special apartment in the Temple at the disposition of the sworn enemy of the Jewish restoration, Tobias the Ammonite. The Levites' share was no longer levied on the harvests and many of them had returned to their homes and were not fulfilling their sacred duties. Mixed marriages were again being contracted.

Nehemiah vigorously suppressed all these abuses.

The Democratic Movement in Athens.

Ever since the military supremacy of the Greeks had become a definitely established fact the Great King had been planning to take advantage of the internal divisions which divided the Greeks as an expedient to overcome them. The break between Athens and Sparta was now known at Susa. Megabyzes was sent to Greece with a large sum of money to be used to further the Persian king's aims. He arrived at an inopportune moment. A revolution broke out in Athens in 462. The class of small agricultural workers, who were the mainstay of the fleet, had been transformed by the crowding of the population to Athens

¹ Nehemiah i; ii. 1-8; v. 14.

² Nehemiah ii. 9-20; iii-x.

and especially to Peiraeus, and was now dominant in the Assembly of the People, not only by force of numbers but also by its continual presence in the heart of public life. On the other hand, public offices were nearly all confined to the higher classes both by law (the Areopagus was still confined to Knights) and by the fact that the holders of office were not remunerated. Hence arose among the urban lower classes the desire to strengthen the political power of those assemblies in which they predominated. The struggle began at the time when the question of sending help to Sparta against the Helots arose. In 461 the revolution was accomplished by a mere enunciation of votes. Cimon was banished, the Areopagus deprived of all its powers except its jurisdiction in cases of homicide. These changes naturally aroused great passions and resentment. Aeschylus in the *Eumenides*, in 458, adopted a conciliatory tone but could not console himself for the downfall of the old order.

Pericles.

The new government felt that its position was a precarious one. It could only rely with certainty upon the plebs of the towns and of the ports, so it linked up Athens with Phalerum and the Peiraeus, both through political necessity and in the national interests. As an orator, and then as a general, Pericles did good service to the rising democracy by imparting to it a certain aristocratic polish and reconciling many wavering opponents of the new régime. He checked the imperialist spirit by which the Athenians had been carried away for a generation. This spirit of moderation had been rendered necessary by a succession of serious events. In Egypt a squadron of forty vessels manned by 8,000 men aided Inaros in his revolt against the Persians. When his attempt upon Sparta had failed Artaxerxes, the victor of the Bactrian insurrection, set out against Egypt. The Egyptians and Athenians were defeated in 454, and the country recaptured except for the low-lying lands of the Delta where Amirtaios still held out.

Athens realized at least for a time that she must renounce her

inordinate hopes and her ambitious designs which were out of all proportion to her resources. Her whole effort now tended towards maintaining the empire as she possessed it. The government, which had its origin in the Revolution of 462-461, was now in a strong position; the People's Assembly was undisputed master, and the power of its leaders, the orators, so clearly accepted that their responsibility was officially recognized by being mentioned in its decrees. Only one authority with any degree of independence survived—the body of the six *strategi* who were re-elected annually, but who could be dismissed during their term of office.

An unparalleled economic revival had marked the last thirty years.

The Jews of Elephantine.

The analysis of the Elephantine papyri and other outside evidence shows that between the sixth and the fourth centuries B.C. this island of the Nile was inhabited by a sort of military colony composed of Judaeo-Arameans, intermingled with a certain number of Babylonians and Persians. This colony had been established near the First Cataract as an outpost for the defence of the country against Ethiopian attacks. Its immediate heads, officers and officials, were subordinate to a governor-general or satrap charged with the government of Egypt.

The Elephantine Jews, who had always spoken and written only Aramaic, formed a striking contrast to the Palestinian Jews. Mixed marriages seem to have met with no opposition in Elephantine; the foreign element, Babylonian or 'babylonized', was relatively large, which probably accounts for the fact that its matrimonial law is very similar to Babylon's. Woman's legal status is widely different from the institutions and customs of the Old Testament.

The principal object of adoration is Yaho (Yahweh) who is venerated in a real temple—*beyth midbeha*, 'house' or 'temple with an altar'—but foreign gods are also adored, Ashan, Anath, Bethel.

The Judaeo-Arameans seem to have enjoyed an extraordinary

degree of tolerance from the very outset, since there were Egyptian houses to be found in the very heart of the Jewish quarters, but towards the end of the fifth century the jealousy of the priests of the god Khnum, and the national feeling which was beginning to make itself felt and was later to cause the Egyptians to rise in rebellion against the Persians, gave rise to acts of hostility. In 410, while Arsham, the governor, was absent at Susa, Yaho's temple was ruined with the connivance of Widarnag, a Persian commandant. A counter-revolt followed in which many people were killed, including Widarnag. The priests of the colony sent a report of the occurrence to Bagoli, Governor of Judea, the High Priest of Jerusalem and the other priests, his colleagues. The Governor did not reply. Three years later, he was again written to, and he sent word to Arsham that the Temple was to be rebuilt and oblations of incense and vegetable substances, but no blood sacrifices, offered since the latter would manifestly have constituted a violation of the Mosaic Law.

We do not know whether this Temple was in fact rebuilt.

The nature and characteristics of the Elephantine colony are readily understandable if we admit that these Judæo-Arameans were mostly descended from inhabitants of Samaria, whose religion was syncretic, and who had gone into Egypt before Zorobabel had refused the aid of the Samaritans to restore the Temple of Jerusalem.

Athens.

The theatre had been organized in 521-520. Tragedy already existed and a competition for tragic actors was established in 449. But comedy, instituted in 488-487, was daily taking a foremost position, being full of political allusions.

The financial reserves had been brought back to Athens from Delos, and now that peace was established they were used in the first place in the construction of buildings of public utility and as a form of state-aid to the inhabitants of the fourth class, and secondly in the erection of luxury buildings, such as the Odeon, and in the restoration of temples.

Pericles, whose repeated re-election as *strategus* had made him all-powerful, put strongly into force the policy which had been initiated before him, and which falls under three main heads—(i) external peaces, especially in the case of a strong foreign power; (ii) the political unification of the empire especially on those points where a stubborn resistance had to be overcome; (iii) exploitation of the Hegemony for Athens's benefit, especially where the active elements, rich or poor, demanded a development of riches.

In 427 the Athenians responded to an appeal for help from Leontini, an ally of five years' standing, and the centre of resistance against Syracuse. A conflict did not materialize, for the deputies of the towns in a congress held at Gela upheld the principle of 'Sicily for the Sicilians'. The Athenians departed profoundly impressed by the wonderful island and persuaded of the utility of a common monetary system for trade with the country. Hence, when the Sicilians appealed to them to settle their internal quarrels they availed themselves of the opportunity which offered to seize control of the Mediterranean. The expedition was entrusted to Alcibiades, the people's idol. Unfortunately he fell into disgrace, and throwing democracy and patriotism to the winds, turned his arms against Athens and persuaded Sparta and Corinth to send help to Syracuse. The Athenian forces were annihilated (13th September 413) in spite of the prodigious valour they displayed and the intelligence and courage of their leader, Demosthenes. The news of this defeat soon spread in the Mediterranean region, and stirred up to action all who had been watching for the downfall of Athens for twenty years. Negotiations and alliances were formed on all sides, with Sparta as their centre.

Sparta and Athens: the Persians.

The war began on sea in 412. Athens at first gained some victories, but at home the citizens were divided on the question of the Constitution, and political rivalry hastened her downfall. In 403 an opportunity presented itself to Sparta to annihilate her rival; she purposely did not avail herself of it, her action

being the more meritorious in that she knew the danger with which she herself was threatened from Thebes. Sparta thus made possible all that Athens subsequently accomplished for Greek civilization in the course of the fourth century.

In the Persian Empire since the suppression of the Egyptian and Chaldean revolts at the time of the Median Wars, the only serious particularist movement had been that of the Medes, about 409. On the whole, the provinces had prospered. Even Egypt, which had so often rebelled, had increased the number of its inhabitants under Persian rule. 'The most disturbing factor was the insubordination of the hill tribes who were encouraged by the absence of expeditions into other countries to prey upon the richer and more civilized plain-dwellers. This restlessness lessened the combined strength of the provinces by endangering the culture of those districts near the mountains and interrupting communications. Especially it deprived the royal army of some of its best contingents, and was a standing encouragement to revolt for the maritime provinces who were constantly irritated by the near spectacle of Greek liberty. But the great danger for the Empire came from the lack of any definite principle upon which the order of succession was founded. The King's absolute power went even to the extent of nominating his successor, but the law of primogeniture was still deeply rooted; again, a tendency to leave the throne to the first son born after his father's accession seemed to prevail. These two factors supply a sufficient explanation of the disorders which had accompanied almost every change of ruler, and which again appeared and became a real state of war between two brothers—Artaxerxes, son of Darius II, and Cyrus the Younger, who was aided principally by Greek mercenaries, Xenophon among them. In 401 Cyrus was defeated and killed at Cunaxa, about forty-four miles from Babylon.

To the west Sparta and Syracuse, having triumphed over Athens, bent their endeavours towards maintaining a certain political unity in the Greek world, small, scattered and threatened with grave dangers. Sparta tried to bring together all the Eastern Greeks and unite them in a war against Persia. Resistance

on the part of the Greek cities rendered her efforts fruitless, but if she was obliged to renounce her aims in so far as the Greeks of Asia were concerned, she succeeded in achieving the hegemony over the others—a short-lived supremacy which did not survive the battle of Leuctra in 371. On his side Dionysius of Syracuse endeavoured to unite all the Western Greeks in a common attack upon Carthage. His plans were thwarted by the hostility of the Italian cities; he then turned his arms against them. Regium fell in 387 and from that time forward Dionysius was master of Western Greece.

At this time, Artaxerxes II Mnemon conceived as the main aim of Persian external policy the conquest of Egypt, which was continually encouraging and helping his enemies. He organized an expedition against Nectanebo I, but it was defeated.

Esdras.

At the time of Nehemiah's reformation of the Israelites, Esdras had played a very minor part and then returned to Babylon. In the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, 398–397, he returned with even greater powers than had been given to Nehemiah, and brought with him 1,496 men, 38 Levites and 220 Temple servants.¹ The caravan took nearly five months to accomplish the journey.

The priests, Levites, chiefs of the people and the people themselves had again transgressed the law concerning mixed marriages. Esdras summoned them all to Jerusalem and ordered them to send away their foreign wives. The chiefs of the people were engaged for three months in examining the different cases. From this time on we learn no more of Esdras' life and activities.

The High Priest of Esdras' day, Yahanan, had a brother named Jesus who aimed at obtaining the high-priestship for himself and was on friendly terms with Bagoses, Artaxerxes II's military governor in Syria. Bagoses promised to help Jesus to achieve his aims. It seems probable that Yahanan knew of these intrigues, for he killed his rival in the very Temple, a crime which earned for him many vexations on the part of Bagoses.

¹ Esdras vii.

The influence of the Prophets was, then, very ephemeral! One would think upon reading their works that the teachings of Amos, Osee, and Isaias, reiterated with force by their successors, would naturally have been before the minds of the exiled Israelites, and that when they returned to their fatherland they would have lived in accordance with the great ideas which Ezechiel and Daniel had put before them with such emphasis in the midst of their period of exile. We find it hard to imagine how the Israelites could have forgotten, for instance, the scenes recalled to their minds by this picture of the Servant of the Lord:

Surely he hath borne our infirmities,
and carried our sorrows;
Yet we did esteem him stricken,
smitten of God and humiliated.
But he was wounded for our sins,
and bruised for our iniquities;
the chastisement of our peace was upon him,
and with his bruises we are healed.
. . . . He is oppressed and he humbles himself,
he opens not his mouth,
like to a lamb that is led to the slaughter,
and to a sheep that before her shearers is dumb;
he opens not his mouth.

By oppression and judgment he was taken away,
and who of his generation considered
that he was cut off from the land of the living,
that for the transgressions of my people he was stricken?
And they made his grave with the wicked,
and, in his death, he is with the rich,
although he has done no injustice
and there is no deceit in his mouth.¹

It would seem that men lived more in the spirit of the impression produced by words like these—

Though the mountains should depart
and the hills be removed,
my love shall not depart from thee,
neither shall my covenant of peace be removed.²

¹ Isaias liii. 4-9.

² Isaias liv. 10.

The Originality of Israel.

It may not be out of place here to draw attention to some interesting facts. Israel's territory had been several times invaded by foreign armies, Hittites, Egyptians, Assyro-Babylonians, Arameans, and Moabites. Having been the vassal sometimes in name, sometimes in fact either of Egypt, Assyria or Babylonia, Israel had been transplanted to the Tigris and Euphrates, a fugitive in the Nile valley. But as facts prove it was never wiped out.

Israel, again, had never had a civilization really its own—no specific industries nor foreign trade worthy of mention, no painting, sculpture, or architecture. Leaving aside questions of mere detail, it can be said that Israel copied everything even in the minor arts. As far as its literature is concerned, the *forms* in which its thought is expressed are similar to Sumerian, Assyro-Babylonian or even sometimes to Egyptian forms of expression.

From another viewpoint, Israel like other Semites of old times, had warm voluptuous blood in its veins; from the time of the Judges and under the Kings, not only in Samaria but in Jerusalem itself, we can continually hear the *men of god* remonstrating with the people of Israel and endeavouring to lead them back to the life of virtue. And this is true not merely of the common people, but also of the Kings who lead an evil life—David, Solomon, and Roboam;¹ the constant oburgations of the Prophets are ample proof of this. In religious affairs, Israel offers almost incessant homage to the *Baals* and *Astartes* and tolerates her effeminate children.

Israel is, however, monotheistical in principle. It is true that the people attach too much importance to external forms and that their hearts are capable of harbouring at one and the same time feelings of adoration for Yahweh and of veneration and piety for the gods of the *bamoth*, but there is among the Jews an *élite*, very small at times, which is faithful to monotheism both in theory and practice and hands down the torch from generation to generation; and this 'chosen few' see not in the past, but in the future, a golden age, a kingdom of God whose King shall

¹ 1 Kings xiv. 22-4.

be the Messiah. They proclaim this belief, or rather this certainty, both in adversity and in prosperity, when all bids fair for their people, and in the hour of the nation's direst trials.

Monotheism and Messianism, then, are the two dominating ideas of the 'chosen people'. But it must be remembered that here the select few are not composed of thinkers such as were Socrates, Aristotle, and Plato in classical Greece; the Wise Men of Israel, if they may be called such, were not philosophers. They do not prove either Monotheism or Messianism, they affirm them. They proclaim them not as natural intuitions of their minds, but as communications, as revelations from Yahweh himself.

It is that which gives to Israel its special character, which makes it a people apart.

Artaxerxes III Ochus, who had succeeded his father after the usual vicissitudes, set out on an expedition against Egypt. Contingents of Greek mercenaries had long been held to be indispensable to a good army. Ochus hired some for a considerable price, but Nectanebo also had some Greek mercenaries on his side, and they won the day. Darius' empire, although hard hit both without and within, was still rich and virile. The large amount of the treasure of Persia which was put into circulation through payments to Greek mercenaries during the fourth century caused a fall in the value of gold in the Aegean area of from fifteen to twelve points in proportion to one of silver. Ochus undertook another expedition to the western states of his empire, about 350, and took possession of Sidon which had fallen away from its allegiance to him. The rest of Syria remained docile. Egypt next demanded his attention, but he was obliged to wait until the Greek soldiers whom he needed and who were then engaged in the Holy War, were available. When in 347-346 Philip forced his opponents to capitulate, the king of Persia was enabled to enlist his mercenaries. Nectanebo was defeated and Egypt was made to pay dearly for its long resistance. Ochus showed no respect for the religion of the conquered country and thus stirred up hatreds and bitterness which were never subsequently appeased. The victor then went to Asia Minor to clear it finally of rebels.

The triumphs of Philip, king of Macedon, drew the attention of the Great King and of his generals to what was happening at the gates of Asia.

The Greek Period.

Philip, whose more intelligent contemporaries saw in him the most complete statesman which the Mediterranean countries had produced, was gradually replacing Thebes as patron of the small Greek states, for it was through Greece and for Greece that he hoped to fulfil his highest ambitions. To this end he caused his son, Alexander, to be given the best literary and scientific education available, by the most renowned teachers of whom the most famous was Aristotle.

From about 346, many voices in Greece and in Athens itself—first Isocrates, then Demosthenes—hastened the struggle between Macedonia and Persia which Philip ardently desired but whose great difficulties he realized. On all sides he encountered the opposition and obstruction which the Athenians put in his way—even at Byzantium, because the city on the Bosphorus commanded the grain-route of the Crimea. In 338, Athens had become the centre of a big Grecian league against Macedonia, thanks to the efforts of Demosthenes. Philip set out to wage war upon them, and defeated successively Thebes, Athens, and Sparta. In 337, he summoned the envoys of the Greek towns to Corinth and had the simple title of generalissimo of the federal contingents conferred upon himself. In the following year he was assassinated.

The Greeks endeavoured to free themselves from the Macedonian yoke. At the very time when the Persian emissaries arrived in Athens and Thebes, an offensive campaign broke out in Asia Minor. The empire founded by Philip was in great danger, but Alexander was there to defend it. He was persuaded that all the hopes of the discontented elements were centred in the monarchy of the East and that consequently the future must be decided on the battle-fields of Asia, so he set out to wage war upon the Great King.

Darius III Codoman was now king of Persia, Ochus having

been poisoned by Bagoas, a eunuch, and his successor Arses having reigned only a short time. He counted mainly upon the financial resources of his empire, huge quantities of wealth which had been amassed for the past 190 years in the treasuries of his capitals—8,000 talents in Babylon, 40,000 in Susa, 120,000 in Persepolis, 8,000 in Ecbatana. But Darius had not time to avail himself of them.

Alexander set out from Pella in 334. By May he had crossed the Granicus and defeated the Persians. In 333 he gained a further victory at Issus. Having reduced Phoenicia and assured his supremacy by sea by the capture of Tyre, he undertook the conquest of all the maritime provinces. Gaza held out for two months before he captured it. He then went on to Egypt where he was assured of a sympathetic reception on account of the hatreds stirred up by Ochus's repressions. The priests of Amon hailed him in virtue of his kingship by the name of son of the god. He laid the foundations of a new town destined to form an important centre to replace the former centre of commercial activity, Naucratis, which had hitherto sufficed for the relations between Egypt and Greece. The new town was Alexandria. In August, 331, the conqueror crossed the Euphrates; in September he crossed the Tigris, and on the second of October gained a decisive victory at Arbela. He then occupied successively the capitals of the Persian empire, Babylon, Susa, and finally Persepolis which he burnt. In the spring of 330 he was at Ecbatana. Darius fled with a small band of followers to Mount Demavend. There was now little resistance to be feared, but it was stubborn. The Greeks easily overcame it. Bessus himself, who had assassinated Darius and taken the title of Artaxerxes IV was killed in this struggle. In 328, Alexander crossed the Indus-Kush, entered India, defeated Porus in the battle of the Hydaspes in 326 and reached the mouth of the Indus in the following year. The indomitable warrior was then thirty-two years of age. He died at Babylon in 323.

Prolonged contact with the East had developed in Alexander a liking for the grandiose, but as he had been reared by Greek masters and lived in the intimacy of the Greeks, he always

preserved a love of moderation and a taste for reality. He had spent several months in organizing the territories he had acquired in an orderly fashion and in laying down the principles upon which his empire was to be ruled.

Alexander had always been fond of the company of men of outstanding intellectual ability and was always accompanied by such on all his campaigns. It was these men who mainly helped to spread the Greek spirit right to the frontiers of India.

Hardly had the great conqueror closed his eyes than dissensions arose among the states of his vast empire. The rivalries, jealousies, and greed which had paralysed so much of Greek effort immediately spread to the whole of Asia. Each of his generals desired to have his share of the immense empire which had been brought into being by the valour of all. Hence arose endless and bloody rivalries.

The definite result was that very few of his thirty-four generals founded great or lasting kingdoms. The Lagides occupied Egypt and reigned there until the country was taken by Caesar. Syria and Persia fell to the Seleucidae, forming an immense but incoherent kingdom incapable of resisting the attacks of the Parthians and Romans.

By 146 B.C. Rome had shattered the independence of Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece. As for the Hellenic possessions in Asia, they became divided up into a crowd of petty states perpetually at war one against the other. The kingdom of Pergamos, which had arisen out of the wars between Seleucus Nicator and Lysimachus, became the most extensive of all and soon comprised the whole of Asia Minor.

These political changes were accompanied by economic changes, which made their significance felt more deeply. The most immediately visible was the development of the towns. When Alexander entered Asia he restored ancient Ilium, he replaced the decadent Naucratis by flourishing Alexandria. He studded the whole area of the Indu-Kush with towns of his creation, founding them even in the distant Punjab. All his successors followed his example. Ptolemy Soter founded Ptolemais in Egypt; Asia Minor became covered with towns named

Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, Laodicea, and Stratonice. Rome to the east, furthered this urban development by creating Venusium, Beneventum, and Spoletium. Even the Celtic world followed the movement. These towns caused a marked transformation of the areas of population as they attracted the inhabitants towards them and extended their sphere of influence. Nevertheless, the land still continued to be the basis of life in the Mediterranean area from the strictly economic point of view.

In the population taken as a whole a distinction must be drawn between the masses—composed of the rural and urban masses, immigrants and slaves—and the bourgeoisie of the Greek or Hellenized towns. They cannot, however, be divided into watertight compartments especially in the new towns, for from the outset the Greeks intermarried freely with the native populations and as early as the third century we encounter families in Egypt whose names are indifferently Egyptian or Greek and into which the foreign wives have brought with them the practice of their religion. Still the difference does exist and is emphasized by the use in public life of the language which is common to all the higher elements of the population, namely, Greek.

All that part of the life of the common people which is not devoted to the satisfaction of mere material interests is occupied mainly by religion. Religion is still an entirely local affair at the beginning of the fourth century, but in the third century the increased facilities for intercommunication between the inhabitants of the various regions tends towards a certain unity in religious practices.

The bourgeoisie is not entirely foreign to religious affairs, but the predominant interest among them is to be sought in the expansion of philosophic doctrines. The schools of philosophy take on a veritable sectarian character and become animated with a highly propagandist spirit which finds its echo even in the theatre.

Ideas and creeds penetrate even the palaces of the Kings. The Kings and their Courts had preserved a strong Macedonian

spirit, deeply tintured with Atticism. Ptolemy IV Philopator and the Attali were followers of Dionysos, Antigone Gonathas frequented all the great philosophers, and Epicureanism was in favour at Antioch in the second century. The Carthaginian aristocracy knew Greek, but the Roman nobility still resisted for a long time the influence of Greek ideas.

In the third century the only people of account in the Mediterranean world from the intellectual point of view are those who speak Greek. This Greek is called *κοινή*: it is the Attic of the fourth century, slightly Ionized and containing an admixture of dialectical forms and expressions. The Gymnasium as an instrument of education was widely prevalent. In the free towns only those men who had received their education in the college of ephebi were admitted to a political or military career. This education comprised, as well as physical training, the study of the poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers.

ANCIENT EGYPT

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Late Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford

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ANCIENT EGYPT

I. INTRODUCTORY

Climate and Geography—Chronology—Sources.

CIVILIZATION is hardly to be attained except by a people of a settled mode of life. The huntsman is almost incapable of it, for he must follow the migrations of his prey; and the herdsman is almost equally so, for he must move from place to place seeking pasture for his flocks and herds. It is only when man takes to agriculture and thus ties himself to the soil that he becomes capable of high development. Consequently it is to the fertile areas of the world that we may most reasonably look for the beginnings of all that differentiates the civilized man from the savage. Two of the most fertile parts of the Old World are the valley of the Nile and the basin of the Euphrates and Tigris; and in both these we find, before 3000 B.C., highly developed metal-using civilizations based on agriculture. Whether these were wholly independent in origin we do not know, and perhaps never shall. All that can at present be said is that there is no evidence to indicate that either area was indebted to the other for the gift of a ready-made civilization. Though they started with what seem to us very similar material equipments at the dawn of history, their different geographical situations and the different characters of their inhabitants caused them to diverge rapidly in historical times.

The geography of Egypt is unique. The country consists of two wholly distinct parts: Lower Egypt, which is mainly the delta formed in past ages by the Nile, and Upper Egypt, which is the valley—held by some to be water-worn and by others to be a rift—in which the river flows. This valley, whatever be its origin, is sunk from two to three hundred feet into the surface of the desert, and is in effect a flat ribbon of land, often only a few hundred yards broad, and never more than 12 miles, bordered on either side by limestone cliffs. Its length, from the First Cataract at Aswân to the apex of the Delta at Cairo, is 600 miles. The Delta forms a complete contrast to this in

everything but fertility. In shape it is roughly an isosceles triangle with sides of about 160 miles in length and a base consisting of over 250 miles of coast-line.

Egypt may thus be regarded almost as consisting of two separate countries having one thing in common, the Nile. And indeed the history of Egypt is the history of the attempt of these two geographically distinct areas to form a political unity. Upper Egypt was ideally situated for defence against an enemy; on two sides it was completely protected by the desert, and at many points in the valley itself an invader from north or south could be held up by a handful of men. The Delta was far less well protected. Its sandy shores lay open to attack from the sea. What was worse, it lay at the south end of the narrow land-bridge which joins Africa to south-west Asia, one of the most unsettled areas in the Old World during the last four millennia before Christ. Whenever the pressure of population became intolerable in this region it found a safety valve in the Isthmus of Suez, with the result that the Delta was overrun by Asiatics more than once during the period we are here to survey. These catastrophes, however, did not necessarily extend to the much more easily defensible Upper Egypt, which generally managed to resist the intruders and to reassert its sovereignty over the Delta when the invasion had spent its force.

The climate of Egypt is easily described. Upper Egypt has a rainfall which is almost negligible. In the Delta a little rain falls in the winter, especially near the coast. The whole country is very hot in summer, say from May to October, and, except for occasional cold winds in December and January, especially in the Delta, enjoys a warm sunny climate during the rest of the year.

The Nile rises early in July and overflows its banks, subsiding only in October. The silt deposited on the fields during this flood-season is extremely fertile, and generally yields two crops in the year, but only at the cost of constant irrigation by human labour. The country is fertile, but only for an industrious population.

The dates attributed by modern historians to various events

in Egyptian history vary enormously. The explanation is very simple. All dates previous to 2000 B.C. are pure guesswork, and the figures given for them depend mainly on the individual taste of the historian. Thus for the foundation of the First Dynasty dates as variable as 5546 B.C. (Petrie), 4186 (Borchardt), and 3400 (Breasted) have been suggested. The general consensus of opinion is now in favour of the lowest of these dates, and indeed some recent writers are inclined to come lower still, to 3300 or even 3200.

In the case of dates after 2000 B.C. we are on firmer ground. The Egyptians had at an early date (possibly 4241 B.C.) established a calendar based on a year of 12 months of 30 days each plus 5 so-called 'additional days', a year which was of course roughly a quarter of a day shorter than the true solar year of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. They were in the habit of observing the heliacal rising of the star Sirius or Sothis, an event which interested them because it coincided with the beginning of the annual rise of the Nile; in fact it would seem that when they established their calendar they thought they had correctly determined the length of the year, for they called the rising of Sirius 'The Beginning of the Year'. This event, however, moving according to the sidereal (which is almost identical with the solar) year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, fell every four years a day later in the civil calendar of 360 days. In 120 years the discrepancy amounted to a month of 30 days, and in 1,460 years (365×4) the event had gone all through the civil months and come round once more to coincide with the first day of the civil year. A statement in the Latin writer Censorinus enables us to fix the dates of these coincidences or Sothic Points as A.D. 139, 1321 B.C., 2781 B.C., and 4241 B.C.

Now if we read in an Egyptian inscription or papyrus that in a certain year Sothis rose heliacally on a certain day of the civil calendar we can work out the distance of the year in question from a Sothic Point, though we cannot determine mathematically which point to take. Two such Sothic datings have been preserved from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and they prove to lie 228 and 152 years respectively before a Sothic Point.

Common sense and a comparison with Babylonian history make it certain that in this case the Sothic Point to be taken is 1321 B.C., and the two datings give us respectively 1549 B.C. for the ninth year of Amenophis I and 1473 B.C. for an unnumbered year in the reign of Tuthmosis III.

A similar Sothic dating from the seventh year of an unnamed Twelfth-Dynasty king, who can be shown to be Senusret III, fixes this year to 1876 B.C. if we reckon downwards from the Sothic Point 2781 B.C., but to 3336 B.C. if we reckon from the Sothic Point 4241 B.C. Egyptologists are practically agreed that the former is the correct date, since the other would leave us with an intolerably long interval between the end of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A few, however, feeling that the adoption of the lower date would make this interval rather too short suggest that there may be some flaw in the system of Sothic Datings which has so far escaped our detection. (See below, p. 472.)

Apart from these Sothic datings we are dependent for our chronology on parallels with Babylonian history, and on figures obtained by adding together the known lengths of reigns. The figures here adopted are based on the acceptance of the lower date for the Twelfth Dynasty and on a conservative estimate for still earlier dates.

The sources on which our knowledge of Egyptian history is based are of several kinds and vary greatly in value. They may be conveniently classed as follows:

1. Purely archaeological discoveries, i.e. finds of objects which, though not bearing historical inscriptions, enable us to draw inferences as to the trend of historical events.

2. Monuments bearing historical inscriptions. These are the most satisfactory of all sources, for they are in the main trustworthy. The whole body of inscriptions existing either on separate stelae or on the walls of temples and tombs amounts to many hundreds. Among the more important may be mentioned the Palermo Stone and the fragments of the same or a similar stone now in Cairo, which, when complete, contained a year-by-year record from the beginning of the First Dynasty

to the middle of the Fifth; and the various lists of kings, notably those of Abydos and Saqqâra.

3. The statements of Greek and Latin writers. Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch and others have preserved valuable information with regard to the Egypt of their day. In the third century B.C. an Egyptian priest called Manetho wrote a history of Egypt, which is lost to us except for epitomes and fragments preserved in Africanus, Syncellus, Eusebius, and Josephus. All these late sources are to be used with caution.

2. PREDYNASTIC EGYPT

The period of Egyptian history which precedes the First Dynasty, wholly dark to us forty years ago, is now rapidly clearing up. The light has come, however, from the archaeological rather than from the historical side. The civilization which immediately preceded that evinced by the First Dynasty has since 1896 been known as Predynastic. The Egyptian of this period was already an agriculturalist, acquainted with copper, and with the arts of making pottery, of glazing, and of making vases and other objects of hard stone. He was buried in a simple hole in the sand, at first circular or oval, but later rectangular, surrounded by what he had worn and carried in life, and by vases containing a provision for his needs in the next world, which must have been imagined as very similar to this. The period has in Upper Egypt been subdivided into Early, Middle, and Late Predynastic, to which the names Amratian, Gerzean, and Semainian have unfortunately now been given. There is some reason for believing, however, that the 'Early' Predynastic civilization developed in Upper Egypt while the 'Middle' flourished parallel with it farther down the Nile and perhaps in the Delta, and afterwards overwhelmed the 'Early' throughout the country.

During the last six years excavation has taken us back a stage farther. It may now be regarded as beyond doubt that the civilization known as Badarian is to be dated earlier than the Early Predynastic, though it does not go back beyond the knowledge of metal, for a few objects of copper have been found in Badarian tombs. A still earlier phase called Tasian

was discovered only two years ago, and details as to its nature have still to be published.

For the present it would be unwise to attempt to correlate these early groups with the remains recently found in the Fayyûm, which appear to represent a still more primitive stage in civilization, though one in which agriculture already played a part.

On the historical side the evidence is slight, and we are almost entirely dependent on inference. Since Menes, the founder of the First Dynasty, is said to have united the two kingdoms, it seems clear that before his time Upper Egypt and the Delta were under separate rulers. There are, however, good grounds for believing that Heliopolis, the city of the sun-god, lying a short distance north of Cairo, was at one time the capital of a kingdom which included both Upper and Lower Egypt. In a recent publication Sethe tentatively reconstructs the early history of the two kingdoms as follows. The separate clans who inhabited Lower Egypt were united into a single kingdom dominated by the town of Damanhûr, whose local god was Horus. This united kingdom next conquered Upper Egypt and its god Seth of the town of Ombos. In the time of a Delta king called Osiris, who was later deified, the Upper Egyptians successfully rebelled, but were reconquered. The reunified kingdom now fell into the hands of Heliopolis, and enjoyed a period of great prosperity and development. Once more, however, the two lands fell apart, and we find in the Delta a kingdom with Buto for its centre and in Upper Egypt another with its capital at Hieraconpolis. These were once again reunited under Menes, the semi-historical founder of the First Dynasty.

This reconstruction, obtained by utilizing every shred of evidence which later myth and legend, together with divine, personal, and geographical names, can be made to yield, is, as Sethe himself admits, to be regarded as highly conjectural. However incorrect it may be in detail it embodies a fact which is of importance, namely, that the two kingdoms were at one time separate political entities, and that unity was only obtained gradually and through a series of violent struggles. The complexity of these events as seen by the early Egyptian annalists

themselves is reflected by the top line of the Palermo Stone, where instead of yearly annals we have merely the names of Predynastic kings; some of these wear the crown of Upper Egypt and some that of Lower, but between the two groups are yet others who wear the double crown of both.

3. THE ARCHAIC PERIOD. DYNASTIES I-III

The First Dynasty.

The Egyptians of the New Kingdom believed that the First Dynasty had been founded by a king whom they placed at the head of their king-lists under the name of Men or Meni. This is clearly the same name as the Menes of the Greek writers, but it must be remembered that in spite of this tradition no monument of the First Dynasty has yet been found which can be shown to bear a king-name Men. Nevertheless we do know the names and a few of the deeds of a number of rulers of this early period. The early votive deposit found in the archaic temple at Hieraconpolis yielded objects inscribed by a king called 'The Scorpion'—who, since he wears only the Upper Egyptian crown, may be considered a predecessor of Menes—and by a king called Narmer, who wears both crowns. Narmer's famous slate palette shows him conquering a district which has with some probability been identified with the Harpoon nome in the extreme north-west of the Delta, and he has consequently been hailed by some historians as Menes, the Uniter of the Two Lands. On an ivory cylinder he is shown taking numerous prisoners from the Libyans, and that he was an important figure in the early history is beyond doubt.

Though Memphis—said to have been founded by Menes—was probably the seat of government under this First Dynasty, the kings were buried at Abydos, and objects found in their tombs have furnished us with seven royal names which can with probability be identified from the later lists. The first of these is Aha, 'The Fighter', objects belonging to whom have also been found in a large brick tomb at Naqadah. In view of his name and his early place in the series, and on the base of a questionable interpretation of an inscription on an ivory tablet,

this king is by some equated with Menes. His all too brief records tell mainly of wars, in particular of one with Nubia, and show Libyan and even Egyptian prisoners. Of his successor Zer we know nothing except for the uneventful records of a few years preserved on the large Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone. Of Zet, whose Horus-name was written with the figure of a serpent, we know nothing except the grave and its stela. King Den built a tomb with granite flooring—the first use of stone for building known to us. A tablet from this tomb records a year named after ‘The first occasion of smiting the East’; this perhaps refers to a defeat of the bedawin of Sinai rather than to an expedition into Palestine or Syria. Azab is little more than a name, but Semerkhet opens a new chapter in history, for he set up a rock-tablet at the turquoise mines in Sinai, the earliest Egyptian monument found beyond the frontiers. Of Qa-Sen, perhaps the last king of the dynasty, we know nothing whatever.

The Second Dynasty

A statue in the Cairo Museum bears on its shoulders the three king-names Hotepsekhemui, Raneb, and Neteren, in that order. Of the first two nothing is known. Neteren figures on the Palermo Stone, where the peaceful events of fourteen years are recorded; from the position of his name in relation to the preserved year-spaces and from the numbers of cattle-censuses mentioned it can be shown that he reigned at least thirty-six years. His tomb is unknown. Those of certain other kings, however, have been found at Abydos. One of these kings, Perabsen, replaced the Horus-bird (falcon) which had stood over the throne-names of his predecessors by the animal form of the god Seth of Ombos. This must signify some kind of reaction against the Horus-kings, and the vast brick fortresses built at Abydos during this dynasty suggest that a split may have occurred in the kingdom. Perabsen’s grave and the fortress known as the Shunah have yielded mud-sealings of a King Sekhemab-Perenmaat, whose position in the dynasty is unknown. With Khasekhem the Horus-bird resumes its rightful

place over the throne-name. At Hieraconpolis this king dedicated a stela in memory of a campaign against Nubia, and two statuettes of himself recording a victory over the 'rebels', with the taking of over 40,000 prisoners. It is quite possible that the King Khasekhemui who built a large tomb at Abydos and a building at Hieraconpolis, of which only a door-jamb remains, is to be identified with Khasekhem. His throne-name is surmounted by both the Horus-bird and the Seth-animal, and it seems possible that Khasekhem, after the victories commemorated by the statues at Hieraconpolis, reunited the two parts of the kingdom represented by Horus and Seth respectively, and changed the element *sekhem* (The Sceptre) in his name to *sekhemui* (The Two Sceptres). We cannot yet interpret these events geographically, and all that is certain is that Horus and Seth do not here, as they would in later times, stand for Upper and Lower Egypt respectively.

The Third Dynasty.

An early king of this dynasty called Hemnekht or Sanekht had a brick mastaba-tomb at Bêt Khallâf, near Abydos, and dedicated a tablet at the turquoise-mines in Sinai. The only name of any importance in the dynasty is, however, that of Neterkhet or Zoser. This king has long been known to us as the builder of the Step Pyramid at Saqqârah—an immense brick mastaba at Bêt Khallâf has also yielded objects bearing his name—and also as the hero of a late legend which told how during a seven years' famine he had dedicated to Khnum of Elephantine the Dodecaschoenus, a strip of land 12 miles long above the First Cataract. A rock-tablet in Sinai shows that Egypt still controlled the 'Easterners', if only in the narrow sense. But Zoser's chief glory lies in what he accomplished in Egypt itself. A vizier of his, by name Imhotep, was regarded in later times as a demigod and finally deified. He was said to have been the author not only of the science of medicine but also of the art of building. This man, long regarded as a semi-mythical figure, has recently become an historical personage, for in the statue-chamber of the Step Pyramid was found a limestone statue of the king bearing

an inscription in the name of his vizier Imhotep. The superbly delicate limestone architecture of the buildings attached to the pyramid and only brought to light in the last five years has completely surprised students of Egyptian art, who naturally expected the severe heavy style of the Fourth Dynasty to be preceded by something infinitely more crude and elementary than this. Little wonder that Imhotep became the father of architecture. Whether he was as good a doctor as an architect we do not know, but evidence is on all sides accumulating to show that the Third Dynasty was one of the high-water marks of Egyptian civilization. Of another king, the last of the dynasty, called Huni nothing beyond the name is known.

Archaic Period. General.

The importance of early Egypt for the history of political institutions cannot be over-estimated. During the Predynastic period, in which she passed from a group of independent clans to a kingdom, the conception of kingship must have developed considerably. The chieftain of the clan had been ruler, priest, and lawgiver to his people; and so in theory was the king, though in practice he had to delegate many of his powers. He could no longer serve the god in every temple, and so there arose a priesthood; he could no longer administer justice in every court, and so there arose a bench of judges. At first these delegations of power in no way affected the prestige of the monarchy. The king was a god, the earthly representative of Horus, and when he died he would become identified with Osiris, the personification of dead kingship. For his benefit, and for his alone, existed an elaborate funerary ritual with provision for a life beyond the grave. Gradually, however, the necessity of delegation created a class of officials; how far these were chosen from the royal family and how far the offices were open to merit we do not know. The chief officer of the State next to the king was the vizier, who seems already to have existed in the time of Narmer, and who persists throughout Egyptian history. Under him are numerous others whose titles make it clear that considerable differentiation of departments already existed. It was inevitable

that this official class should eventually begin to trespass on the privileges of royalty.

The Egyptians were a highly conservative people, and the fiction of a Double Kingdom was kept up both in the royal titles and in the names of some of the State departments through more than three thousand years.

Of religion at this early period we know very little. The local gods of the tribal age continued to be worshipped in their own areas, but the political events of the Predynastic period had brought certain of them, such as Horus and Seth, Nekhbet and Buto, to the front, and these now enjoyed more than merely local popularity. The most important of them was Horus, originally the god of Damanhûr in the Delta, and afterwards transferred to Edfu in Upper Egypt. The last house of Predynastic kings was known to Manetho as the 'Worshippers of Horus', and the early dynastic kings celebrated every second year the festival of the Worship of Horus. We shall not be wrong therefore if we regard Horus as a State god in much the same sense in which Rê and Amûn were in later times.

There is little evidence concerning the state of knowledge. Writing was already highly developed at the beginning of the First Dynasty. Inscriptions of that date are not easy to read, and it is only towards the end of the Third Dynasty that the hieroglyphs become wholly intelligible to us. The amount of development within the three dynasties was thus clearly considerable.

Nowhere was the progress made more astonishing than in architecture. The advance from buildings of wood, through the use of mud brick, to the highly artistic stone-work seen in the buildings around Zoser's pyramid is a testimony to the vigour and elasticity of the Egyptian mind. Equally rapid was the development of the arts of drawing and sculpture, and it may be said that by the end of the Third Dynasty the main forms of Egyptian art were laid down for all times.

4. THE OLD KINGDOM

The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties constitute what is usually known as the Old Kingdom. Though they include a

number of famous names and have left many monuments, our knowledge of them is still quite superficial. Our most valuable sources, apart from the monuments themselves, are the biographical inscriptions of the nobles, which begin in the Fourth Dynasty and continue, not without serious gaps, throughout Egyptian history.

The Fourth Dynasty begins with King Snefru, who built for himself two pyramids, one at Mêdûm and one at Dahshûr. The Palermo Stone preserves the record of three years of his reign; the building of ships and palaces, the bringing of ship-loads of cedar wood, doubtless from Syria, seem to be the chief events, though one year records a campaign against the Nubians and the taking of 7,000 prisoners. A rock-tablet in Sinai shows that the turquoise-mines were still being worked, as, indeed, they continued to be throughout the Old Kingdom.

With Snefru's successor Khufu or Cheops begins the series of builders of the Gîzeh pyramids. Khufu himself built the Great Pyramid, the largest monument that a human being has ever set up for himself. His successor Dedefre made his tomb a few miles farther north at Abu Rwâsh; but the next king, Khafra or Chephren, returned to Gîzeh, where he built for himself the Second Pyramid, in the precincts of which he included the Sphinx, a mass of natural rock carved into the form of a lion with the head of the king himself. The third of the Gîzeh pyramids was built by Menkaure or Mycerinus. The only other name of importance in the dynasty is that of Shepseskaf, who built the tomb known as the Mastabat el-Faraûn at Saqqârah.

That the historian should find himself compelled to chronicle these details of the kings' tombs is clear evidence of the scantiness of true historical material for the period. With the Fifth Dynasty, however, information becomes more plentiful. A story still current in New Kingdom times told how King Khufu was warned by a magician that after the reign of his son and his grandson the sceptre would pass into the hands of another family, beginning with the triplet sons of the wife of the high-priest of Rê at Heliopolis, named Userkaf, Sahure, and Kakai, children miraculously begotten by the sun-god himself.

There can be no doubt that this story preserved a popular version of a change in the royal line and in the nature of the State, which took place at the end of the Fourth Dynasty. Whether the new line originated in Heliopolis, as the story suggests, is not certain, but it is clear that the new kings raised the worship of the sun-god of Heliopolis to the dignity of a State religion. Each of them assumed, in addition to the already existing Horus-name, a throne-name which indicated some quality of the god, e.g. Dedkere 'Abiding is the *ka* of Rê'. The claim of the king to be the actual son of the god, already foreshadowed in the Fourth Dynasty, becomes more and more insistent in the Fifth and Sixth, and before the Middle Kingdom every king assumed as a matter of course a Son-of-Rê name, enclosed, like the throne-name, in a cartouche. Each of the Fifth-Dynasty kings built for the god a special temple, in which the deity was symbolized by a huge obelisk set on a truncated pyramidal base.

The Palermo Stone has preserved the record of a few scattered years of this dynasty, from the reigns of Shepseskaf, Userkaf, Sahure, and Neferirkere. The fact that the events recorded are almost entirely pious benefactions to the various gods of the land is perhaps an indication of the strongly religious tendency of the monarchy at this period. With Unas, the last king of the dynasty, begins the series of pyramids with inscribed chambers, from which so much of our knowledge of early Egyptian history, myth, and religion is derived.

The Sixth Dynasty contains great names such as Teti, Meryre-Pepi, Merenre, and Neferkere-Pepi, but its history is to be sought rather in the tombs of the nobles than in the pyramids of the kings. The dynasty marks the full development of that feudal system which had gradually grown up under the Old Kingdom. The country was long and unwieldy in shape, and consequently the nobles had gradually become more independent of the throne and more important in their own districts. They were no longer buried in the royal pyramid-field at Memphis but in rock-tombs near their native towns, in which they now inscribed boastful records of their own careers.

The funerary ritual, which had once been the sole prerogative of the king, had now been extended to the nobles, no doubt with the king's full approval, for the phrase used for a nobleman's funerary outfit and tomb was 'a boon which the king gives'.

These nobles took their due part, however, in the concerns of the country. A certain Weni, who passed his boyhood in the reign of Teti, reached high honours under Meryre-Pepi. He received a funerary equipment from his master, and was chosen to hear in secret a lawsuit involving a charge against the queen. In a war against the Asiatic Bedawin, probably in the south of Palestine, he led an army gathered from the whole of Egypt and even from the tribes of Nubia, and in the last campaign he transported his forces by sea and fell upon the Asiatics from the rear. Under Merenre he was made Governor of Upper Egypt, where he was mainly employed in the more peaceful tasks of procuring various kinds of valuable stone for the royal buildings. Another noble of this period, Herkhuf, was sent three times on expeditions to Yam, a country probably in Upper Nubia or the Sudan. On the third occasion, finding that the chief of Yam had gone off to the west on an expedition against the Libyans of the oases, he followed him thither and brought about a settlement of the quarrel.

It is not difficult to draw a rough sketch of the condition of Egypt under the Old Kingdom, though when we come to fill in the detail we soon find ourselves dependent on conjectures often based on little more than the interpretation of official titles. It is clear that the seat of government remained throughout at Memphis, whither it had definitely been moved by the Third Dynasty. The Fourth Dynasty saw the full development of the power of the monarchy; the fact that the king could employ a large proportion of the able-bodied labour of the land for the whole of his reign on the building of his pyramid needs no comment. The nobles, whatever their powers over their own dependants may have been, were completely under the royal control, and the chief officer of the State, the vizier, was a member of the royal family. The Fifth Dynasty marks the beginning of the decline of the monarchy and the rise of the

feudal system. The nobles now become more and more independent of the throne, partly in consequence of the hereditary system which is now firmly established. Side by side with this, though probably quite independent of it in origin, goes another great change, the close association of the king with the worship of the sun-god Rê, and the adoption of a State religion which in one form or another persisted throughout Egypt's history. The decrease in the power of the king as against the nobles and the priests is well exemplified in the royal pyramids, which both in size and material are far inferior to those of the Fourth Dynasty. The Sixth Dynasty saw the completion of the change; the nobles had now become so powerful that the king could no longer control them. The confusion that resulted threw the Delta open to the Asiatic invaders and for the moment arrested the march of civilization in Egypt.

During these three dynasties Egypt had been constantly at war with her neighbours. Since Den of the First Dynasty had recorded his 'first smiting of the east' there must have been many campaigns against Syria-Palestine, and some historians take the existence of an Egyptian temple at Byblos, with votive offerings dating back to the Archaic period, as an indication that Egypt actually held at least a piece of the Syrian seaboard, which ensured her access to the precious cedar forests of the Lebanon. From the Fourth Dynasty we have as yet no evidence, but the scenes from the pyramid-temples of Sahure and Neuserre showing Asiatic prisoners, and the relief in the tomb of Anta at Deshashah representing the capture of an Asiatic fortress, are decisive evidence for the Fifth; while the campaigns of the Sixth have left their record in the tombs of the nobles, as we have already seen.

On her south frontier Egypt was in continuous hostile contact with the Nubians (not negroes). Nubia itself, a wretched land, she did not attempt to colonize; but it was the channel by which the valuable products of the south, gold, ivory, hides, and ostrich feathers, reached her, and she held it open by means of garrisoned posts, one of which existed as far south as Kerma above the Third Cataract as early as the Sixth Dynasty. At

this date, and probably much earlier, she was already obtaining her supplies of incense from the country of Punt, probably situated on the African coast at the lower end of the Red Sea.

The Libyans who inhabited the coast-land west of the Delta and the oases farther south had been formidable foes in early dynastic times, but their power seems afterwards to have waned. Nevertheless Libyan prisoners are shown along with Asiatics and men of Punt in the reliefs of Sahure's pyramid-temple.

The Old Kingdom saw the highest development of Egyptian art. The reliefs which decorated the walls of the tombs of the nobles, and the portrait statues which were buried with them in their tombs to take the place of the body if this should decay, were in later times never surpassed and rarely equalled. It is not improbable that in this period is also to be placed the rise not only of Egyptian literature but also of the sciences of medicine and mathematics, which, owing to the loss of all early material, seem to us to spring up ready-made in the Middle Kingdom.

5. THE EARLIER INTERMEDIATE PERIOD. DYNASTIES VII-X

The period which followed the break-up of the Sixth Dynasty is the darkest in Egyptian history. Manetho speaks of a Seventh and an Eighth Dynasty at Memphis, followed by a Ninth and Tenth at Heracleopolis. The Saqqârah king-list ignores all four, and that of Abydos inserts seventeen names, most of them wholly unknown to us, between the end of the Sixth and the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty. What is quite certain is that these four dynasties cover a period of internal dissension and foreign invasion. A Leningrad papyrus containing a *post eventum* prophecy concerning this period says, 'Foes are in the east, and Asiatics shall descend into Egypt.' It foretells a saviour, a king who shall come from the south, whose name is Ameny: 'The Asiatics shall fall by his sword. . . . There shall be built the Wall of the Prince to prevent the Asiatics from coming down into Egypt.' Now Ameny is a shortened form of Amenemhet, and we know from the 'Story of Sinuhe' that the Wall of the Prince was built across the east of the Delta by Amenemhet I,

the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty, which came from Thebes. In another Leningrad papyrus of the same period, which purports to contain the advice given by a king of the Heracleopolitan house (Ninth or Tenth Dynasty) to his son Merikere, the king describes how he had smitten the Asiatics, and gives instructions for the fortification of the north-east frontier. A Leyden papyrus containing a copy of a work which must refer to this same period also speaks of foreigners in the Delta and civil war throughout Egypt.

This literary evidence is supported by archaeological. In most parts of Egypt at this date are found numbers of so-called 'button-seals' of a type which both in form and in the designs they bear are totally un-Egyptian, but have their parallel in Nearer Asia. Two of the foreign princes who are known to us from their seals, Khendy and Tereru, were of sufficient importance to appear among the names in the Abydos king-list.

Out of the confusion rose the house of Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt. Manetho assigns two dynasties to it, and the Turin king-list appears to mention eighteen kings. Their founder was one Khety, and his career must have begun with a successful struggle against the legitimate Memphite house of the Eighth Dynasty. We know little of the history of this king or his successors except what can be learnt from the tombs of certain nobles of Asyût. From these it is clear that the Heracleopolitans came into conflict with the rising House of Thebes, which finally established itself as the Eleventh Dynasty. The scene of these battles seems to have been mainly the Tenth and Eleventh Nomes, and success seems to have swung from one side to the other, to rest eventually with the Thebans.

Art and literature flourished during the Heracleopolitan period, and original minds seem to have been at work. There are not wanting those who think that the victory of the Thebans was, from the intellectual and artistic point of view, a disaster for Egypt.

6. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM. DYNASTIES XI-XII

The name Middle Kingdom is frequently used to designate the Twelfth Dynasty alone, but since a new era in history

begins rather with the Eleventh it is reasonable to include this in the term. The Middle Kingdom is marked by the rise of the town of Thebes, which from now on was to play a predominant part in Egyptian history. Of its earlier history we know little or nothing; the remains found there show that it was an insignificant provincial town. What caused it to rise triumphant out of the chaos of the First Intermediate period we cannot tell, unless it was the personal qualities of its ruling family. Curiously enough, however, the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, the Intefs and Mentuhoteps, were not actually Thebans, but came from the neighbouring town of Erment, capital of the nome, where the worship of Month the war-god prevailed; why a family of rulers whose connexions with Erment were so strong chose Thebes for their seat of government is not yet known.

The actual succession of kings in this dynasty is uncertain, and it is not even possible to decide whether the throne-name Nebhepetre, of which there are two quite distinct writings, conceals two kings or only one. The historical significance of the dynasty is fortunately much plainer. Its earliest rulers were not kings of the whole of Egypt; indeed the first Intef assumes no royal titles and is merely a nomarch. The grave-stela of the first who claimed kingship, Horus Uahankh-Intef, tells us that he conquered the whole nome of This (Eighth Nome), destroyed the fortresses of the Tenth, and made it his northern boundary. That the enemy against whom Uahankh fought was the rival house of Heracleopolis there can be no doubt, for we have an account from the other side in the tomb of Tefib of Asyût, who tells us how he fought for his lord against the Southern Nomes. An official of Uahankh named Zari relates, moreover, that he fought against the House of Khety (of Heracleopolis) in the district of Thinis.

This Intef reigned more than fifty years. No extension of territory seems to have occurred under his successor Horus Intef II-Nekhnebtnefer, for, as late as the fourteenth year of the next king, Mentuhotep I-Sankhibtau, a rebellion had to be crushed in the Thinite nome. Under Mentuhotep II-Nebhepetre the Theban power seems to have become definitely

established. The king now assumes the full Egyptian titulary with two cartouches. If the reliefs in his temple at Gebelên are to be trusted, he waged war with success against Egyptians, Libyans, and even Asiatics, the last of whom were still, perhaps, despite the efforts of the Heracleopolitans to dislodge them, in possession of the Delta. The fact, if fact it be, that Mentuhotep was in a position to attack them indicates that he was now without a serious native rival in Egypt.

His successor Mentuhotep III-Nebhepetre¹ is known to us chiefly as the builder of the great funerary monument known as the Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Dêr el-Bahrî, which, however, had been begun by his predecessor. Mentuhotep IV-Nebtauire probably ruled for a short time only, and we know nothing of him except that he was able to send a force of 10,000 men to the Wâdî Hammâmât for stone to make his sarcophagus. Mentuhotep V-Sankhkere, the last king of the line,² was a ruler of greater importance, who has left traces of his building activity in various parts of Egypt.

The monuments of this dynasty do not by any means correspond to its importance in Egyptian history. Its rulers produced order out of chaos, reunited a divided Egypt, and probably took all but the final steps in the expulsion of the Asiatics. In addition to this they brought to the forefront their city of Thebes, which was in one way or another to rule the destiny of Egypt for more than a thousand years.

With the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty we find ourselves quite suddenly upon comparatively firm ground. The beginning of the dynasty is fixed, if we accept the Sothic Dating discussed above, to 2000 B.C. The Turin king-list gives a total of 213 years for its length, and the list of kings with the lengths of their reigns is remarkably well corroborated by the dated monuments. It was a period of great events. It saw the restoration after the foreign invasion and the suppression of the feudal nobles; it was a time of conquest abroad both in Asia and in Nubia; and it was an era of prosperity at home which witnessed the undertaking

¹ Assuming him to be distinct from Mentuhotep II.

² Some historians, however, place this king before Nebtauire—perhaps rightly.

of great irrigation schemes and the high development of literature and art.

When Amenemhet I-Sehetepibre came to the throne about 2000 B.C. he found himself confronted with serious problems. The local barons had reached the height of their independence during the Intermediate period, and it was perhaps only their exhaustion by mutual strife that had enabled Thebes to seize the throne of the entire land. Among the first measures which he took to consolidate his position was the moving of his capital from his native town of Thebes to Lisht, 40 miles south of Cairo, from whence he could control the Delta as well as Upper Egypt. His adoption of his son as co-regent in the twentieth year of his own reign was clearly intended to increase the stability of the royal line, and the policy was followed by his successors. A mutilated biographical inscription in the tomb of one of his nobles, Khnumhotep the First, of Beni Hasan, shows that the times were not wholly peaceful. Perhaps the work of clearing Egypt of Asiatics was not quite complete when the reign began; the inscription speaks, too, of an enemy leader who had to be attacked by going downstream with a fleet of twenty ships, and of a defeat of Nubians. The last is corroborated by an inscription of year 29 at Korosko between the First and Second Cataracts, where an official says 'We came to overthrow Wawat (Lower Nubia)'.

A series of instructions to his son which have been preserved on papyrus show that at some period of the king's reign an attempt was made to assassinate him. Into this reign and the next falls the history of the famous Sinuhe, who was returning with an army from an expedition in Libya when news of the king's death and fear of what might happen in the capital (was there, then, some doubt as to the crown-prince's ability to hold the throne?) led him to flee into Syria, whence he was to return only after many years.

Senusret I-Kheperkere enjoyed a co-regency of about ten years with his father, and the dates of his own reign run as far as a forty-fifth year. The chief event of the reign was the conquest of Nubia. It will be remembered that the Sixth Dynasty

had established a post at Kerma, above the Third Cataract. In the confusion of the Intermediate period the Egyptian hold on Nubia had weakened, and, as access to the Nubian gold-mines and free passage for the valuable products of the Sudan were essential to Egyptian prosperity, one of the first tasks of the Twelfth Dynasty was to reopen Nubia. We have seen the first stage under Amenemhet I. Under his successor the task was carried much farther. An inscription of year 18 at Wâdî Halfa, above the Second Cataract, shows the king facing the war-god Month and saying 'I have brought to thee all the lands which are in Ta-seti (Nubia)'. A row of bound captives is shown, each of whom is inscribed with the name of a town. The positions of the towns are mostly unknown, but since one of them, Shaat, furnished stone for the temple of Kummeh, 27 miles above Wâdî Halfa, it would seem as if Senusret I extended his conquests as far to the south as his more famous follower Senusret III.

An obelisk which the king set up at Begîg in the Fayyûm is perhaps an early sign of the interest which this dynasty took in the oasis and in the possibility of reclaiming a greater area of it for cultivation.

A leather roll preserved in Berlin records the building of a new sun-temple at Heliopolis, and one of the two obelisks set up there on the occasion of the king's *sed*-festival¹ is still standing.

Amenemhet II-Nubkaure came to the throne in 1938 B.C. probably after a co-regency of at least three years with his father. Although he seems to have had a long reign, possibly thirty-six years (the highest date on a monument is 32), we know little about him. There are inscriptions of years 4 and 24 in Sinai, where the turquoise-mining enterprise was, early in this dynasty, removed from the Wâdî Maghâra, now presumably exhausted, to the neighbouring Serâbît el-Khâdem. Two of the king's officials have left short accounts of their careers. Sithathor, a deputy treasurer, tells us that he worked on the pyramid at Dahshûr and superintended the making for it of sixteen statues;

¹ What the *sed*-festival celebrated is unknown; it was in some way connected with a period of thirty years.

he also brought turquoise from Sinai and 'made the chiefs of Ta-seti (Nubia) wash gold'. Another official, Khentikhetiw, in year 28, set up a tablet at Wâdî Qasûs on the Red Sea recording his return from an expedition to Punt; it would seem that at this period, as later, these expeditions to Punt left the Nile valley at Koptos (Quft) and struck across the desert to Qusêr on the Red Sea coast, performing the rest of the outward journey by ship.

In 1906 B.C. Senusret II-Khakheperre succeeded, the highest date from whose reign is year 19. His tomb is the famous pyramid of el-Lâhûn near the entrance to the Fayyûm; the town occupied temporarily by the builders of this pyramid was excavated many years ago. Of the events of the reign we know literally nothing, but to it is to be dated a biographical inscription of a nomarch called Khnumhotep, the second of that name, from his tomb at Beni Hasan, which is a valuable document for the social history of the times. This man's grandfather, Khnumhotep the First, had by Amenemhet I been appointed count of Menat Khufu, a strip of land east of the Nile, opposite the Oryx nome but apparently not forming part of it. Amenemhet I is said to have made this appointment when he came to 'cast out evil, shining like Atum himself, when he restored that which he found ruined and that which a city had taken from its neighbour. He caused city to know its boundary with city.' Later he appointed Khnumhotep the First to rule the Oryx nome. Senusret I renewed these favours for Khnumhotep's sons, giving Menat Khufu to the eldest, Nakht, and the Oryx nome to the next, Amenemhet, in year 18. The third child, a daughter, Beket, married the vizier Neheri, probably chief of the Hare nome, immediately south of the Oryx. Their son was Khnumhotep the Second, who inherited Menat Khufu through his mother on the death of his uncle Nakht, in year 19 of Amenemhet II. This Khnumhotep married Khety, the eldest daughter of the chief of the Jackal nome, immediately to the north of the Oryx, and their eldest son, Nakht (the Second), inherited the Jackal nome through his mother, while their second son, Khnumhotep the Third, received Menat Khufu.

The full importance of this document will be realized when we come to discuss social conditions under the Twelfth Dynasty.

Senusret III-Khakaure, probably the greatest of the Twelfth Dynasty kings, came to the throne in 1887 B.C., and the highest known date of his reign is year 33. He is generally regarded as the conqueror of Nubia, though, as we have seen, his actual conquests may have extended no farther than those of Senusret I. Two inscriptions on the island of Sehêl, just above Aṣwân, record the making of a canal (for the circumnavigation of the cataract) called 'Beautiful are the ways of Khakaure' (no date), and the restoration of this same canal in year 8 'when his majesty went upstream to overthrow the wretched Kush' (Upper Nubia). An inscription at Elephantine, also of year 8, records a command given to a certain Imeni to make some alterations in the fortress there. In this same year a boundary stela was set up at Semneh, opposite Kummeh, 40 miles above the Second Cataract, bearing an inscription forbidding any Nubian to pass it northwards by land or by river except for purposes of trade. Another stela at Semneh, with a duplicate on Uronarti Island close by, records an expedition in year 16, and reaffirms the establishing of the boundary at Heh (Semneh). The king here calls on his descendants to protect this boundary and relates the setting-up of his statue on it 'that ye may fight for it'. The success of this expedition may be judged from a passage in the tomb-stela of a certain Ikhernofret, who in year 19 was sent to Abydos to spend in adorning the temples the gold captured in Nubia.

The southern boundary of Egypt was thus definitely established a short distance above the Second Cataract. At the same time the country even farther south must have been held by garrisons, for there is archaeological evidence that the fortress of Kerma, already built in the Sixth Dynasty, was held by Egyptians throughout the Twelfth and into the Thirteenth.

Senusret III also made war on the Asiatics, and it may be convenient to sum up here the rather scanty and scattered information regarding Egypto-Syrian relations under this dynasty. The building of the Wall of the Prince across the

north-eastern delta by Amenemhet I must have marked the expulsion of the last of the invaders from Egyptian soil. The inscription of Khnumhotep the First of Beni Hasan, who lived under King Amenemhet I, merely tells us that 'Asiatics fell'. The tomb-stela of Nesumentu,¹ who lived under the same king, records a defeat of the tribes of the Mentu (one of the numerous Egyptian names for the peoples of Syria-Palestine) and of the sand-dwellers. As the latter seem to be the desert tribes north of Sinai it may be that this campaign did not take the Egyptians far beyond the southern boundary of Palestine. In the tomb of Dhuthotep of el-Bersheh a herdsman congratulates his cattle, who are described as 'cattle of Retenu' (part of Syria), on their good fortune in having exchanged their sandy home in Syria for the herbage of Egypt; these cattle must surely have been captured in war. In the same direction points the frequent use of the word Aam, 'a Syrian', for certain servants in the temples of this dynasty; they can hardly have come in voluntarily; and when the enamelled pectoral of Amenemhet III shows him slaying Asiatic enemies (Menthui and Sethetiu) we have no reason to regard the scene as purely imaginary.

Much more definite is the stela of a certain Sebekkhu, who began his military career under Amenemhet II and was still alive in year 9 of Amenemhet III. He relates how he went downstream with his majesty to overthrow the Mentui of Sethet (Asia). A battle in which the Egyptians had to fight a rearguard action took place near Sekmem, a town which we cannot locate, but which was probably somewhere in South Palestine.

These indications are slight but certain, and seem to show that in the Twelfth Dynasty, as later in the Eighteenth, the Egyptians regarded the offensive as the safest kind of defence, and that an Asiatic invasion of Egypt was as a matter of course followed by reprisals.

The military exploits of the earlier kings of the dynasty enabled Amenemhet III-Nemare, who came to the throne about 1849 B.C., to enjoy the fruits of peace during a reign of at

¹ The supposed reference to the Hittites on this stela is non-existent.

least forty-five years. Numerous rock-tablets at the turquoise-mines in Sinai show that the route thither was clear of foes and that the arts of peace were in full swing.

Amenemhet's great work, however, consisted in the carrying out of a vast water-engineering scheme in the Fayyûm. The Fayyûm is a depression more than 120 feet below sea-level into and out of which the Nile had from early times flowed unchecked. A statue of Amenemhet I at Medînah (Crocodylopolis) and the Begîg obelisk of Senusret I indicate that earlier kings of the dynasty had turned their thoughts to this area. The exact nature of the work carried out by Amenemhet III is unknown. It is often stated to have consisted of two parts, the reclaiming of inundated or marshy land for cultivation, and the formation in the Fayyûm of a reservoir, with controlled inlet and outlet, in which water could be stored during high Nile to be turned back into the Nile valley for irrigation purposes when the river was low. That Amenemhet accomplished the first of these tasks is very probable, and the two colossal statues of himself which he set up at Biahmu are doubtless a monument to the work. But that the Fayyûm was used as a controlled reservoir for supplying the Nile valley has been shown by recent research to be impossible; and this in despite of the testimony of Herodotus, who says he himself saw there an artificial lake (Moeris), and of Strabo, who claims to have seen the channels of entry and exit.

Strabo also tells of a vast building called by the Greeks the Labyrinth, which adjoined the pyramid of Amenemhet III at Hawâra at the entrance to the Fayyûm. The building itself seems to have disappeared, though on the spot where, according to Strabo, it should have lain, a bank of limestone chips 1,000 feet by 800 has been found, together with inscribed blocks bearing the name of Amenemhet III, to which was roughly added that of the last ruler of the dynasty, Sebekneferure. According to Strabo this building contained a separate hall for each nome. Should he be correct it may have been an administrative centre for the whole kingdom, and it would testify to a very advanced political sense on the part of its builder.

Amenemhet IV-Maakherure ruled from about 1800 to 1792.

Little is known of his reign except for several tablets at Sinai dating up to year 9 and a record of the Nile-level at Kummeh in Nubia in year 5. Of his successor and sister Sebekneferure little is known save the name, which occurs, as we saw above, at Hawâra. The dynasty came to an end shortly after 1800 B.C.

The picture that can be drawn of Twelfth-Dynasty Egypt is clear in its main lines, though the detail, being often matter of inference from too scanty information, is once more very uncertain. Amenemhet I can only have obtained the throne by a temporary suppression of the great feudal nobles who had made settled government impossible at the end of the Old Kingdom and throughout the Intermediate period. We do not know what measures he took, but they were clearly effective. The inscription of Khnumhotep the Second, referred to above, shows clearly that in the early part of the dynasty the king was not only in a position to make grants of land to his followers, but that the inheritance by the children of such gift-lands was dependent on a fresh bestowal by the king. Gradually, however, the local barons recovered more and more of their former independence, and it is generally supposed that the crisis was reached under Senusret III and rigorously dealt with. This alone seems to explain the almost complete disappearance after his reign of the magnificent tombs which the nobles of the early part of the dynasty set up for themselves.

There is little information available concerning the religious history of the period. The temples, which have for the most part perished, were certainly not on the scale of those of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Their staffs, however, were large and highly organized, and the charters of immunity from all other service granted to them by various kings from the Fifth Dynasty onward show the importance attached by the crown to religious worship. The worship of Rê, well established in the Old Kingdom, continues to be the official State religion under the Middle. Every king now bears the title 'Son of the Sun', and bears a name compounded with Rê. At the same time the rise of Thebes had brought Amûn into prominence and the syncretistic combination Amun-Re is already heard in this dynasty. Amûn

was not altogether without rival, however, for the interest of the kings in the Fayyûm had brought to the front Sebek the crocodile god of Shedet (Medīnah). Osiris was now definitely established at Abydos as god of the dead, under the title 'Lord of the Westerners'; he had become a prominent figure in the popular religion of the country and, to the ordinary man, doubtless much more real than either Amûn or Rê.

It is often stated that Egypt now had a standing army. The constant expeditions to Syria and Nubia must have kept large numbers of men continuously under arms, and we read of levies of troops from among the young men of the nomes, and of a few Nubian mercenaries. Whether any or all of these constituted a standing army in the modern sense seems very doubtful. In any case the numbers employed on these foreign expeditions were probably very small.

The arts of peace flourished. The many temples which must have been built have all gone, leaving even fewer traces than those of the Old Kingdom, and we are literally unable to say what a temple of this period looked like. Sculpture, however, has been more generous to us, and the stern powerful portrait-statues of the kings are by some ranked even higher than the work of the Old Kingdom. Literature flourished, and, though some of the works known to us only from Middle Kingdom versions probably had their roots in the Old Kingdom, the Twelfth Dynasty is held to be the high-water mark of Egyptian literature. Considerable progress had been made in surgery and in medicine, the latter being, however, sadly encumbered by magic; and mathematicians were handling whole numbers and fractions with ease, and had explored with success and accuracy almost the whole field of simple geometrical figures in two and three dimensions.

7. THE LATER INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The Later Intermediate period, Dynasties XIII–XVII, was, like the earlier, a time of internal confusion and foreign invasion. Manetho recorded a Thirteenth Dynasty of sixty Thebans ruling for 453 years, followed by a Fourteenth of seventy-six

kings ruling for 184 years at Xoïs in the Delta. His account of the rest of the period is very differently given by the two authorities who have preserved it. Africanus gives a Fifteenth Dynasty consisting of six Shepherd Kings ruling 284 years, a Sixteenth of thirty-two more Shepherds ruling 518 years, and a Seventeenth of forty-three more Shepherds ruling with forty-three Thebans. In Eusebius these three dynasties consist respectively of Thebans (number not stated) ruling 250 years, five Thebans ruling 190 years, and four Shepherds ruling 103 years. As material for the reconstruction of the dynasty this is very baffling. The Turin Papyrus places more than 120 kings in the interval, most of whom reign less than a year, and one only three days. The Abydos and Saqqârah lists omit the period entirely and the Karnak list has a wild selection of Thirteenth Dynasty kings.

Since on the basis of the Short Sothic Dating the length of the period is little more than 200 years (1788-1580) the high figures of Manetho, if indeed they are worth explanation at all, must be accounted for by his having added together the lengths of rival kings ruling contemporaneously in various parts of Egypt; it is now generally agreed that the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties consist of Asiatics ruling in the Delta side by side with the Thirteenth and Fourteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties of native rulers in Thebes.

A few kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty have left insignificant records, such as Sekhemrekhutauî, Neferhotep, and Khenzer, and the recent excavations at Medamûd near Luxor have given concrete reality to the dynasty and shown that after the fall of the Middle Kingdom Upper Egypt, or part of it, continued in native hands. Meanwhile disaster had befallen the Delta. Once again the south-west corner of Asia had overflowed and the Delta was flooded with a people ruled by what Manetho calls Hyksos and explains as meaning Shepherd Kings. His account of them as preserved by Josephus cannot be accurate in all points, but makes it clear that the Hyksos were oppressive rulers and levied tribute from both Upper and Lower Egypt. Several Hyksos kings have left monuments in Egypt, the most important of them being Khian and Apepi. The name of the former is also

known from objects found as far apart as Knossos in Crete and Baghdad. The Hyksos, despite their Egyptianized throne-names containing the element Rê, were worshippers of Sutekh. Their Egyptian capital Avaris was probably the town known later as Tanis in the north-east of the Delta. An inscription of Queen Hatshepsut at Beni Hasan records her restoration of buildings which they had destroyed, 'overthrowing that which had been made and ruling in ignorance of Rê'.

A folk-tale preserved in Papyrus Sallier II, and doubtless based on fact, tells how the Hyksos king Apepi tried to pick a quarrel with Seqenenre, the native Egyptian ruling at Thebes. The end of the story is lost, but it is likely that when complete it recorded at least the early stages in the expulsion of the Hyksos by the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty, three of whom bore this name Seqenenre. The last king of the dynasty, Kames, however, found the Hyksos still masters of Egypt as far south as Cusae. He sailed downstream, defeated them, besieged Nefrusi, and brought back great booty. The work was completed under his successor Ahmose I, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when Avaris was captured and sacked, and a punitive expedition followed the Hyksos into Syria and took Sharuhén after a siege of three years.

It is to be noted that in these accounts the invaders are called indifferently Aamu and Setiu, both of which are usual terms for the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine with whom the Egyptians came into contact both earlier and later. That the Hyksos came into Egypt from Syria is beyond doubt, but their racial affinities are quite uncertain. It seems unlikely that they were Hittites, both from the lack of Hittite monuments in Palestine and from the fact that the Egyptians themselves used no special ethnic name for them.

The biblical story of the descent of Jacob into Egypt is in all probability to be regarded as a distant reminiscence of this event, though whether the Hebrews were themselves among the Hyksos tribes or whether they merely entered Egypt at their heels we cannot say. The story of the Exodus will in this case preserve the tradition of the driving-out of the Hyksos, which

national pride had transformed from an ignominious expulsion into a voluntary migration. The Hebrews may have been allowed to linger on in the Delta after the Egyptian restoration, as slaves where they had once been masters, or they may, as is more probable, have been expelled with the main body of the invaders. In the latter case the date of the Exodus is roughly 1580 B.C.; in the former case it must have been later than this, though how much later there is no Egyptian evidence to show. In any case, however, it should be remembered that, since the geographical and personal colouring of the Hebrew account can be shown to be a latter addition to the story, the attribution of the incident to the Nineteenth Dynasty, based on little more than the occurrence of Rameses or Raamses as a city name, is quite without justification.

8. THE NEW KINGDOM. DYNASTIES XVIII-XX

The Eighteenth Dynasty.

The expulsion of the Hyksos ushered in the most prosperous and brilliant period of Egyptian history. The pursuit of the flying enemy into his own country met with such success as to arouse the lust of possession in the Egyptians and the result was the empire. Although future discoveries may show us that we have under-estimated the power of Egypt in Asia during the Twelfth Dynasty it can never have been very great or permanent. In the New Empire, on the other hand, the country was so securely held that Egyptian kings could carry their successful arms as far to the north-east as the Euphrates, and possibly even cross it. Similarly the archaeological evidence shows that, while the Old and Middle Kingdoms had never attempted to force Egyptian civilization on Nubia, yet the New Empire egyptianized the country rapidly and effectually. This abandonment by Egypt of isolation for empire is the key to her history from 1580 B.C. onward.

The first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Ahmose, as we have already seen, completed the expulsion of the Hyksos and followed them into Palestine. One of his officials, Ahmose son of Ebana, who took part in this campaign, tells us that after over-

throwing the Asiatics (Menthu) his majesty had to turn his attention to Lower Nubia, where he defeated the Nubian tribes. Another Ahmose, son of Pennekhbet, relates that he served Ahmose I and captured a prisoner in Zahi, a term used specifically of the Phoenician coast; since a quarry inscription of year 22 refers to oxen captured in victories over the Fenkhu (Phoenicians) it seems as if considerable progress had been made in Asia during the course of the reign.

Ahmose I married a woman called Nefertari, who attained to posthumous fame in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes, where in later times she was, along with her son Amenhotep I, worshipped by the necropolis workers. The name of a daughter Aahmes-Mistress-of-the-Libyans indicates a Libyan connexion in this family. Apart from this Libya plays a very small part in the affairs of the dynasty.

Both the warriors Ahmose, sons of Ebana and of Pennekhbet respectively, record service in Nubia under the next king, Amenhotep I, and the former notes that 'his majesty captured that Nubian in the midst of his army'. A rock inscription set up in year 8 on Uronarti Island near Semneh indicates that the new dynasty had already carried its arms as far south as the boundary established by Senusret III. Little else is known of the reign, the length of which is unknown, though the minimum is ten years.

The period which follows, down to about 1447 B.C., contains the reigns of four rulers, three Tuthmosis and a woman, Hatshepsut, but the relations of these to one another and the order of their reigning are still not quite certain. The erasures and alterations of the royal names, especially that of Hatshepsut, on the monuments of the period point to the existence of a bitter family feud, but are so complicated that they have given rise to more than one theory of the succession of rulers. The chief points in dispute are whether Tuthmosis III was the son or the brother of Tuthmosis II, and which of these two was the husband of Hatshepsut. According to the theory now most generally accepted Tuthmosis I, who was certainly the first to reign, married two wives: Ahmose, by whom he had a daughter Hatshepsut, and Mutnefert, by whom he had a son Tuthmosis II.

These two children married and had two daughters, Neferure and Hatshepsut-Mertre. Tuthmosis II, moreover, had, by a concubine called Isis, another child Tuthmosis III, who may possibly have married Neferure. The order of succession would in this case be Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Tuthmosis III with Hatshepsut as co-regent. Hatshepsut gradually extended her power, backed, as the legitimate heir to the throne, by a powerful party in the State, and by about year 8 of Tuthmosis III's reign had herself assumed kingly titles and attributes. She reigned along with him until at least year 20 and possibly year 22.

Tuthmosis I-Aakheperkare will probably, as more evidence accumulates, be found to have played a very great part in the extension of the Egyptian empire. A stela from Tombos at the Third Cataract, dated year 2, records the reduction of Nubia up to this point, and the expedition actually reached Tangur, 75 miles above the cataract. The stela, moreover, makes some remarkable statements, which are probably not mere boast. We read in it 'He opened up valleys which his predecessors had never seen. His southern boundary reaches to the far end of this land (Nubia); his northern to that circling water that flows upstream.' This water can be no other than the river Euphrates, whose southward flow completely puzzled a people who knew only the Nile. That Tuthmosis I did reach the Euphrates is vouched for by the statement of Tuthmosis III that on his eighth campaign he set up his stela there beside that of Tuthmosis I. Both the Ahmoses took part in the Nubian campaign. The son of Ebana relates that he showed bravery 'in the bad water' (some incident on the voyage upstream?), and that the rebellious Nubian chief was hung head downward at the prow of the king's ship. He also speaks of an expedition to Retenu (Syria) in which his majesty 'arrived at Naharin', a land which lies north-east of Syria, extending as far as the Euphrates, though perhaps not beyond it.¹

¹ Some historians, however, now regard Naharin as exactly synonymous with Mitanni, the native name for a kingdom in north Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris. If this is correct the Egyptian Naharin may well have included such districts west of the Euphrates as were from time to time under the rule of the kings of Mitanni.

The reign of Tuthmosis II-Aakheperenre has left only one important monument, a rock inscription at Aswân, at the First Cataract, dated in year 1, on the day of the coronation. It begins by describing how all peoples are subject to the king of Egypt, Asiatics and Nubians alike, and how the southern boundary is at the Horn of Earth and the northern at the end of the earth. Asia is a dependency of his majesty, and his envoy is not turned from his path in the lands of the Fenkhu. This may be a true description of the state of affairs, despite the fact that the main purpose of the inscription is to relate an expedition to Nubia, where the natives are reported to be robbing Egyptians and stealing cattle from beyond the fortresses which Tuthmosis I had set up. The king takes no part in the expedition, which returns to Egypt, having slain all the males concerned except one son of the prince of Kush, who is brought as a prisoner.

Ahmose son of Ebana had died in the last reign, but Ahmose son of Pennekhbet is still active, and records a campaign in Shasu, probably among the bedawin south of Palestine, in which prisoners were taken. A fragmentary inscription at Dêr el-Bahrî seems to mention Retenu, elephants and the district of Niy, which was probably in north Syria or Naharin, perhaps as far east as the Euphrates.

Hatshepsut's reign, which she appears to have dated from the beginning of that of Tuthmosis III, her ward, was one of peaceful enterprises. Its chief events were the famous expedition to Punt and the building of the great temple of Dêr el-Bahrî, in which the record of this has survived. Among the party who supported Hatshepsut's claims to the throne were the old Ahmose, son of Pennekhbet, who was made tutor to her daughter Neferure, and the architect Senmut, the builder of the Dêr el-Bahrî temple. It is particularly important to notice that Hatshepsut made herself not queen of Egypt but king, arrogating to herself the kingship with its titles, prerogatives, and all that it involved, and depicting herself on her monuments as a male.

To Tuthmosis III the years of joint rule with Hatshepsut must

have been a time of dreary and angry waiting, for not only did he detest her, as his subsequent actions show, but he was also a born warrior, burning to be away on a career of conquest in Syria. His first action was to wipe out all remembrance of her in the buildings she had set up, and to proscribe her adherents. In the fourth month of the second season of year 22 he was at the frontier fortress of Tharu (the Roman Sele) launching his first campaign against Syria.

It may be surmised that during the years of the joint reign affairs in Syria had been neglected, with disastrous results; for, whereas his predecessors had reached the Euphrates, Tuthmosis III had to begin by subduing the city of Megiddo in central Palestine. The capture of this city, the harvesting of the surrounding country, and the submission of Yenoam and two other towns were the results of this first campaign. This was followed by sixteen more almost annual campaigns, the last of which took place in year 42. They were recorded in a long inscription on the walls of the Amûn temple at Karnak. The successes of year 22 had caused anxiety not only in Syria but farther afield, for the tribute list for year 24 contains contributions not only from the chiefs of Retenu but also from the chief of Assyria; this is the first appearance of Assyria in Egyptian history. Campaign 5, in year 29, is the first of a series of campaigns in the north of Syria and in Zahi (Phoenicia); in the following year the important town of Kadesh on the Orontes was sacked and its harvest gathered by the Egyptians. Year 31 seems to have seen the establishment of a naval base on the north Syrian coast, allowing the king to use the sea for transport. In year 33 the king set up a tablet beside that of Tuthmosis I at the Euphrates; the tribute of this year included that of Kheta (the Hittites). The remaining campaigns (9 to 17) are mainly concerned with north Syria and Naharin. Year 41 again mentions Hittite tribute.

Other evidence concerning these campaigns is contained in a list of 'districts of Upper Retenu which (i.e. whose forces) his majesty confined in Megiddo on his first expedition', which begins with Kadesh and includes Damascus and Joppa; and a

list of 248 cities of northern Syria captured in the later campaigns.

Tuthmosis was now master of Asia from Gaza to the Euphrates,¹ and could afford to spend his old age resting. Nubia apparently gave him little trouble, for it is not until year 50 that we find any record of a campaign there.

His successor Amenhotep II-Aakheperure began by following up his father's successes in Asia. At least one campaign was fought in north Syria, and seven princes captured in Tikhshi were taken back to Egypt and put to death, six in Thebes and one at Napata in Upper Nubia. A quarry inscription of year 4 states that victory tablets had been set up in Naharin and at Karoy, near Napata. The advance to the Fourth Cataract thus indicated must have been made either by Amenhotep in his early years or by Tuthmosis III in unrecorded campaigns.

The boundaries thus set to the Egyptian empire were apparently still intact under the next king, Tuthmosis IV-Menkheperure, for the tribute of Retenu and Naharin still came in, and an officer of the royal guard, Amenhotep, could describe himself as 'going from Naharin to Karoy behind his majesty while he was on the battle-field'. Politically, however, the most important event of the reign is the marriage of the king with a daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni, the region immediately east of the Euphrates. This inaugurates a series of cross-marriages which had a very important influence on events in the Near East during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and which seems to go hand in hand with the establishment of much more regular and formal diplomatic relations between the various powers.

The reign of the next king, Amenhotep III-Nebmare, has been generally held to be the high-water mark of Egyptian power in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it would not be difficult to make out a case for believing that it was rather the beginning of the decline. The years of the reign, 36 or more in number,

¹ Some good authorities maintain that in his eighth campaign Tuthmosis crossed the Euphrates and overran much of the country then subject to Assyria. The evidence for this, mainly dependent on identifications of place-names, is too complicated to be discussed here.

were years of peace. No campaign in Syria is known to us, and the events which the king thought worthy of record on the commemorative scarabs which he issued were the destruction of 170 head of game on a hunt which lasted four days, his marriage with Gilukhipa, daughter of Shuttarna, king of Mitanni, and the making of a pleasure lake for his first wife Ti.

In this reign begins the series of diplomatic communications between Egypt and the various powers of Nearer Asia, contained in the so-called Tell el-Amarna letters. These consist of a number of clay tablets found in 1887 in the ruins of Akhenaten's town at Tell el-Amarna; they are written in Babylonian cuneiform and clearly form part of the Egyptian foreign-office archives during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. The political background is complicated. The storm centre is north Syria, where the Egyptian supremacy over the loose coalitions of city-states is threatened both by the Hittites pressing eastwards and southwards from Asia Minor and by the Khurri of the Mitanni country, who are anxious to extend westward to the sea. The complexity of the situation is increased by two other elements, the Khabiru, a people identified by many with the Hebrews, who are trying to force their way into Palestine from the east, and a people known as Sagaz, perhaps identical with the Khabiru, who are similarly attacking Syria. In the more distant background are two further powers, Assyria, always ready to attack Mitanni in the rear while she is engaged with the Hittites, and Cassite Babylonia.

The first few letters are addressed to Amenhotep III. Five are from Kallimmasin (Kadashmankharbe) of Babylon, asking for larger supplies of gold, and reminding the king that he had received a daughter of Kallimmasin in marriage. Letters from the Mitanni king Dushratta relate an attack on him by the Hittites, and reveal the fact that Dushratta's father Shuttarna had sent to Egypt a daughter, Tadukhipa, who was perhaps married first to Amenhotep himself and afterwards to his son Akhenaten.

The majority of the letters, however, date from the reign of Amenhotep's son Akhenaten. There are friendly letters both

from the king of Assyria and from Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites, but the correspondence mainly comes from the cities of the Egyptian empire in Syria-Palestine. In the north the trouble began with the disaffection of Abdashirta, leader of the Amorrite confederacy. The repeated appeals of the loyal dynasts for help from Egypt seem to have gone almost entirely unheeded. The situation was now exploited by Subbiluliuma the Hittite, who attacked both Mitanni and north Syria with such success that he was eventually able to install one son as king of Carchemish, another as king of Aleppo, and a son-in-law as ruler of Mitanni.

In south Palestine the Hittites were not a factor in the problem, but certain local princes seem to have been using the inflowing Khabiru to help them to extend their territories at the expense of their neighbours, in defiance of the Egyptian governors. An Egyptian expedition, perhaps in year 11—in year 12 Akhenaten could still represent the Asiatic tribute as coming in normally—retrieved the situation. But the recovery was only momentary, for shortly afterwards we find the loyal Abdakhiba of Jerusalem shut up in his own city and begging to be taken to Egypt for safety, while Khabiru are plundering as far south as Ascalon. The expedition sent by Egypt this time came too late, and the empire in Syria-Palestine passed out of her hands, never to be recovered in its full extent.

These events probably take us through the reign of Akhenaten and into that of Tutankhamun, and we must turn back to see what had been happening in Egypt in the meantime.

Amenhotep III left a son, who came to the throne as Amenhotep-Neferkheperure, possibly as quite a young man. He began his reign normally at Thebes, but not later than his sixth year he had abolished the State worship of Amûn and reverted to the service of the sun-god, but under a new form. The name which he gave to his god, Aten 'The Disk', already occurs under Amenhotep III and perhaps earlier; the changes introduced by Akhenaten lay in the exaltation of this one deity above all others, and in the worshipping of the Disk itself, not the sun in human or animal form. The new temples contained no cult-image;

they were open to the sky and the god himself was present in the form of the bright sun above. In painting and sculpture he is represented as a disk with downward-shooting rays ending in human hands which touch the king and queen, or hold out the sign of life to their noses. In honour of his god the king changed his name from Amenhotep 'Amun is satisfied' to Akhenaten 'The Disk is pleased', and moved his capital from Thebes to Tell el-Amarna 250 miles farther downstream. Here he passed the remaining years of his reign, the highest known date in which is year 17, worshipping the Disk, inditing hymns of praise to him, and setting aside in his archives, unread or at least unheeded, the constant succession of tablets bearing bad news and calls for help from his crumbling empire in Asia.

Whether his was a true monotheism or not is a frequent but unprofitable subject of discussion. The known facts are that he placed Aten in the forefront, proscribed Amûn, his consort Mut and their child Khonsu, and even went so far as to expunge, along with their names, the word for 'gods' in general. At the same time there are clear signs that other popular deities, especially Osiris, now firmly established as god of the dead, were tolerated.

A still more difficult question is whether the king believed that the only true god had revealed himself to him, or whether the 'heresy' was merely an astute political move, aimed at destroying the power of the priests of Amûn by discrediting their god and turning the tribute of Asia and Nubia, on which their power largely depended, into a fresh channel.

In any case the movement was doomed to failure. Perhaps the king had underestimated the forces of Amûn. Perhaps his successors did not share his enthusiasm for the Disk, for only a few years after his death Tutankhamun returned to Thebes, and there made profession of orthodoxy by celebrating the Opet festival of Amûn. The statues in the great sun-temple at Tell el-Amarna were solemnly carried out and destroyed, and the town itself was left to go to ruin.

Akhenaten left a number of daughters by his wife Nefertete, but no sons. The eldest daughter had died young, and the

second and third had been married to Smenkhkhere and Tutankhamun respectively, men whose origin is unknown, though some now suggest that the latter was a brother of Akhenaten himself. Smenkhkhere succeeded his father-in-law on the throne, and we know little more than that he reigned¹ at least three years. Tutankhamun followed, under the name of Tutankhaten, which he changed to the later form on returning to Thebes. He reigned at least nine years. A cuneiform tablet found in the Hittite archives at Boghaz Keui relates that the widow of the Egyptian king Bibkhururia asked King Subbiluliuma for a son of his in marriage since her husband had left no male heir. It is, however, not possible to decide whether the cuneiform Bibkhururia represents Neferkheperure (Akhenaten) or Nebkheperure (Tutankhamun); phonetically it would suit either almost equally well. The son was sent, but was murdered either before or on arrival in Egypt.

The tomb of a viceroy of Nubia called Huy of this reign shows tribute both from Retenu and Nubia, but as the Asiatic tribute is presented to the king by Huy, whose business was in Nubia, it is perhaps not to be taken seriously.

Of the last king of the dynasty, the Priest Ay, we know little except that he reigned, and that he carried out the funerary ceremonies for Tutankhamun. His wife Ti had been a nurse of Akhenaten. That Ay was a usurper appears partly from his inclusion of his priestly title in his cartouche and from the fact that his name has been cut out in his tomb.

In assessing the state of Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, its end, with the Aten heresy and the debacle in Syria, may fairly be neglected, for they were but accidents from which she quickly recovered. Externally the great change which has taken place since the Middle Kingdom lies in the fact that Egypt has now become an empire and a world power. The universality of the Aten was not entirely the conception of Akhenaten's own brain but the natural outcome of the extension of Egypt's boundaries. Egypt was now a great power, playing her part in the struggle

¹ It has quite recently been suggested that this 'reign' was nothing more than a co-regency with Akhenaten.

for supremacy in the civilized world. Her interest in Syria was not purely due to lust of conquest or desire to control the cedar forests of the Lebanon. A glance at the map will show that Syria-Palestine is a narrow strip of land which forms the sole highway between Egypt and the great empires of the Hittites, of Assyria, and of Babylonia. Syria, with her broken mountainous country, rarely enjoyed settled government. Politically she consisted of a group of loose coalitions of city-states, too unstable to form an effective buffer or to maintain a permanent independence among the great powers of the Near East. Consequently the country became a battle-ground, and passed into the hands of first one and then another of its neighbours.

The regular campaigns in Asia must have given rise to what was virtually a standing army in Egypt, and this, consisting doubtless partly of mercenaries, helped to strengthen the position of the monarch. Feudalism with its old landed nobility had disappeared. The Hyksos invasion had destroyed proprietary rights in the greater part of Egypt, and most of the land was now the property of the king, who either let it out to tenants who were tasked to the full to produce the dues demanded of them, or made gifts of it to those who had served him in the wars. The control of so much property gave rise to a large body of royal officials, and the civil service now rivalled the army as a profession.

The other new factor in the life of the empire was the enormous extension of the numbers, wealth, and power of the priesthood. The victories in Syria were the gift of Amûn, and consequently the booty and tribute which resulted must be laid at his feet. Not only did the kings present Amûn with gold and silver and ivory, but they made him large grants of land. All this wealth was administered by the priests, and it is not to be wondered at that, after a temporary check under Akhenaten, they continued to gain in power until a High Priest of Amûn was able in the Twentieth Dynasty to dethrone his king and to usurp his place.

Slaves, too, flocked into the country after each new campaign, and they, as well as the returning soldiery, introduced into

Egypt Asiatic manners, customs, dress, and even words. Foreign trade in general, too, was rapidly increasing, and the archaeological evidence indicates a lively interchange of products between Egypt and the Aegean.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

The Eighteenth Dynasty ends in a period of obscurity from which there emerges the figure of Horemheb, usually reckoned as the first king of the Nineteenth. This man had served as an official under Akhenaten and was now called upon to make good the damage wrought by the heresy, to restore the abandoned temples of the gods, and to suppress the numerous official abuses which had become prevalent throughout the land. Chief among these last were the plundering of the poor by the soldiery, the unlawful exactions of tax-gatherers, and the venality of those whose duty it was to administer justice. Occupied in restoring order and security at home, he had no opportunity for conquest abroad, and Seti I, when he came to the throne after the ephemeral reign of Ramesses I, probably found little or nothing left of the Asiatic empire of his predecessors of the Eighteenth Dynasty. He lost no time in setting about the task of recovering it. In his first year (1313 B.C.) he was in Asia, where he advanced victoriously through what he calls Canaan, probably Palestine, and compelled the chiefs of the Lebanon district to cut down cedar trees for him. In a later campaign he captured the Amorite city of Kadesh (to be distinguished from Kadesh on the Orontes) and came into conflict with the Hittites, now the predominant power in north Syria. He found them too strong to dislodge, and it is possible that one of the 'regular treaties' alluded to in the later treaty of Ramesses II was concluded by Seti at this juncture. At some period of his reign which cannot be determined Seti was compelled to clear the western Delta of Libyans. In Egypt he continued the restoration of the temples and other monuments desecrated by Atenism, and undertook two vast pieces of building, the temple of Abydos and the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the latter already projected by Ramesses I.

He was succeeded in 1292 B.C. by his son Ramesses II, who had probably brushed aside an elder brother, the legitimate heir. A bolder spirit than his father, he was not prepared to rest content with the present limited empire in Asia. In his fourth year he advanced through Palestine and secured for himself a base on the Phoenician coast, and in the next year he was ready to attack the Hittites. The latter fully realized the seriousness of the situation, and their king Muwattalli had gathered all his subjects and allies, including Cilicians, Kizzuwadnans, and Lycians. They elected to make their stand in the walled city of Kadesh on the Orontes. Against this stronghold Ramesses advanced with his army drawn up in four divisions, and fell into a skilfully baited trap. He was informed by captured enemy spies that the allied forces had abandoned Kadesh and retired northwards, and on the strength of this information incautiously pushed on with his leading division and prepared to encamp north-west of the city. Muwattalli, however, had not retired, but was in ambush behind the town, from where he suddenly emerged, fell upon the resting division, and cut it off from the other three, which were following at leisure. The ensuing battle was claimed by Ramesses as a victory due mainly to his personal deeds of valour. The fact that he did not invest Kadesh tells a different story, and it may be presumed that he was lucky to succeed in extricating himself and his force from a most perilous predicament. A revolt in Palestine quickly followed; the inscriptions tell us of a recapture of Ascalon, and in his eighth year the king was in Galilee, and perhaps as far north as the Tabor region, where he claims to have defeated a Hittite force. Later still must be placed a campaign in Naharin, around the city of Tunip, in which there was a fresh collision with the Hittites. These, however, were now too strongly established in north Syria to be permanently dislodged, and in year 21 Ramesses and their king Hattusil signed a treaty which has a special historical importance in that it is the first whose conditions have come down to us. Two copies have been found in Egypt on temple walls, and a third copy, giving the Hittite version (in Canaanitic Babylonian), on the site of the Hittite capital at

Boghaz Keui in Asia Minor. The treaty reaffirms former agreements, provides for offensive and defensive alliance and extradition of fugitives from one kingdom to the other, and guarantees abstention on both sides from aggression. It is singular that no boundary is mentioned; there is good reason, however, for supposing that Ramesses retained little if any territory beyond the northern limit of Palestine. The treaty seems to have been faithfully observed, for in Ramesses' thirty-fourth regnal year he received in marriage the daughter of a Hittite king. The later part of his reign of sixty-seven years was mainly spent in adorning Egypt with vast monuments, chiefly made, however, by destroying those of his predecessors and reusing the same material.

When Merenptah came to the throne in 1225 B.C. the eastern Mediterranean was in the throes of a convulsion. The northern peoples to whom the destruction of the sea-power of Crete is usually directly or indirectly attributed were moving into the Mediterranean area both by land and by sea. Egypt was soon to feel the effect of these migrations. In year 3 the whole of the Syrian province from Ascalon to Yenoam was in revolt, perhaps troubled by pressure from the north. The rebellion was, however, quickly suppressed, and Merenptah was able to turn in year 5 to meet a new danger from the west. The Libyans, under their king Meryey, were attacking the Delta in combination with several of the northern migrants, the Sherden (probably not Sardinians), the Shekelesh (Sicilians or people of Sagalassos?), the Ekwesh (Achaean?), the Lycians, and the Teresh (perhaps Tursenoi). A battle took place at Perire, in which the Egyptians put to flight their enemy and destroyed their camp. Nine thousand were killed. The defeat was followed by a revolution in Libya which dethroned Meryey and removed all danger of further inroads on Egypt. The importance attached by the Egyptians to this victory may be judged from the song of triumph inscribed on the back of a usurped stela of Amenhotep III set up in Merenptah's mortuary temple at Thebes. The same inscription contains the well-known passage on the subjugation of Syria which refers to Israel: 'Yenoam is brought to nought; Israel is laid waste, its seed is not.'

The Nineteenth Dynasty ended in a period of dissension. Seti II, Amenmeses, and Siptah with his queen Tawosret followed each other in rapid succession, and finally a Syrian made himself master of the land. He was suppressed by Setnakht, who 'slew the rebels who were in the land of Egypt and cleansed the Throne'.

Setnakht's successor Ramesses III is reckoned as the first king of the Twentieth Dynasty, 1198 B.C. The period of chaos which preceded his reign had again allowed the Libyans and sea-rovers to become dangerous. Among the latter are now found two new tribes, the Thekel (very variously identified), and the Peleset, who are certainly the Philistines. With them are the Denyen (Danaoi?), Sherden, Weshesh, and Shekelesh. They advanced both by land and by river into the western Delta and were there defeated with a loss of more than 11,000 killed.

This, however, was in reality only the vanguard of the great northern invasion. In year 8 Ramesses was so keenly alive to the danger that he decided to meet it in Syria rather than wait for it on his frontiers. The enemy consisted of Peleset, Thekel, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh, who had already discomfited the Hittites, taken Carchemish and Arvad, and established a camp in the Amorite country. They were advancing on Egypt by land and sea when Ramesses met them somewhere on the Syrian coast with a fleet and army, and utterly defeated them.

But the Libyan trouble was not even now at an end. The Meshwesh, probably the most westerly tribe of the Libyans, had incited the rest to invade the Delta once again. Once again Ramesses proved equal to the task set him, and routed the intruders, killing about 2,000 and taking numerous captives.

A dangerous conspiracy in the harem, which was, however, discovered in time, is probably an indication of the precarious position of the monarchy at this epoch. Ramesses was followed by eight more kings of the same name, Ramesses IV-XI, most of whom were so ephemeral and so undistinguished that not even the order of their succession is certain. In the reign of Neferkere-Ramesses IX disorder had progressed so far that organized bands of thieves had already sacked large numbers

of the private graves on the west of Thebes and even the royal tombs were no longer safe. Foreigners, too, were threatening Upper Egypt, Libyans and Meshwesh, and the government had the greatest difficulty in providing with rations the workmen who tended the Royal Necropolis. The inevitable end came in the reign of Menmare-Ramesses XI. The Harris Papyrus, a document drawn up by Ramesses IV to record his predecessor's benefactions to the gods, reveals the fact that the temples now owned as servants or slaves nearly 2 per cent. of the population of Egypt; they possessed in addition 15 per cent. of the land, 169 towns, and half a million cattle. By far the greater part of this wealth belonged to Amûn of Thebes, who had in land alone five times as much as Rê of Heliopolis, and nine times as much as Ptah of Memphis. The kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty had been mainly occupied with campaigning, and those of the Twentieth with quarrelling and usurping one another's thrones; and the priesthood of Amûn had become more stable as the monarchy grew more and more discredited. Accordingly it is not surprising that in the reign of Ramesses XI the High Priest of Amûn, one Hrihor, is seen gradually usurping the place of his king in the scenes portrayed on the temple walls. At last the king either died or was put aside, and Hrihor reigned in his stead at Thebes as first king of the Twenty-first Dynasty, 1090 B.C.

9. THE DOWNFALL

Twenty-first to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

The depth to which the prestige of Egypt had sunk during the Twentieth Dynasty is clear from the Report of Wenamun, an official sent in year 5, probably of Hrihor, to bring cedar from the Lebanon for the sacred boat of Amûn. Where his ancestors had demanded, Hrihor was compelled to beg, and his envoy was treated in Syria with contumely and even came near to losing his life. In Egypt itself the civil power had become so weak that the bodies of the great kings of the preceding dynasties were no longer safe in their Theban tombs, and had to be removed by the pious care of the priests from one hiding-place to

house from the succession. His own position must have been far from secure, however, for in a record of a Nile-level at Karnak we find year 16 of his reign identified with year 2 of another king, Iuty by name. He reigned at least twenty-three years and was succeeded by Osorkon III.

Meanwhile events were happening in Ethiopia which were destined to unite Egypt once more in an era of prosperity. During the New Kingdom Nubia had become completely egyptianized, and a theocratic state under the presidency of Amûn had grown up there with its capital at Napata. The ruler of this state as we first see it about 750 B.C. was one Kashta, a chief of Libyan origin—for the Libyan infiltration which we saw operating in Egypt proper had also affected Nubia. Kashta's son Piankhi conceived the project of making himself master of all Egypt. At some time during the reign of Osorkon III he advanced northward with a force of Nubians, and attacked the petty kings of the Delta, among whom was Osorkon himself at Bubastis. The most stubborn of them was Tefnakht of Sais. In Piankhi's triumphal inscription we read of sieges of Hermopolis and Memphis, and of the final submission of the Delta. Piankhi, however, could not hold his distant conquests from Nubia, and on his retirement Tefnakht made himself king at Sais, reigning parallel with the last years of the Twenty-third Dynasty at Bubastis. His son Bocchoris succeeded him and is the sole king of Manetho's Twenty-fourth Dynasty (718–712 B.C.).

An Egypt thus enfeebled by internal dissensions saw a grave menace in the growing power of Assyria, and judged it to her interest to offer what help she could to Palestine, which now formed the only buffer between herself and the danger. In 726 B.C. Hoshea of Israel was encouraged by So or Sebe, king of Egypt, to withhold his tribute from the Assyrian Shalmaneser IV. The result of this revolt was the captivity of Israel. In 720 Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser, advanced as far south as Palestine to chastise Gaza, which had rebelled, and there defeated an army which included an Egyptian force under the command of Sib'i. The names Sib'i and Sebe (So) are probably identical, and this king is perhaps one of the many

dynasts who ruled in the Delta in the years following Piankhi's invasion. In 711 Piankhi's brother Shabaka invaded Egypt and conquered the whole country, founding the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty. It was probably he who delivered up to Assyria that Yamani who had fled to Egypt after the unsuccessful revolt of Ashdod. In 705 Sennacherib came to the throne of Assyria and, after a few years spent in quelling revolted subjects nearer home, marched on the rebellious Philistines, who had been joined by Hezekiah of Judah. He defeated them in a battle at Altaqu, in which Egyptian and Ethiopian troops took part under the leadership of Tirhakah, who, if our Egyptian dating is correct, was not yet king, but only commander of the forces of his uncle Shabaka.

About 688 B.C. Tirhakah came to the throne, having forcibly deposed a king called Shabataka who had followed Shabaka. For some years he ruled in peace, and he was even able to undertake building operations. In 681, however, Esarhaddon became king of Assyria, and in 675 an Assyrian army was for the fourth time on the borders of Egypt, definitely bent on conquest, when it was recalled by danger nearer home. Five years later Tirhakah thought fit to encourage Tyre in rebellion against its overlord. This time Esarhaddon was not to be turned aside. Taking the revolted city in his stride, he marched into Egypt, where he captured and sacked Memphis. Tirhakah fled to Thebes, but on Esarhaddon's retirement he advanced again and destroyed the Assyrian garrisons in Egypt. For the moment he was saved from punishment by the death of Esarhaddon. But the end could not be long delayed, and in 668 Ashurbanipal entered Egypt, defeated Tirhakah at Karbanit, recaptured Memphis and sailed up the Nile with a Phoenician fleet; it is not certain whether he captured Thebes.

Tirhakah was not even now suppressed, and was soon intriguing with the Delta chiefs, now vassals of Assyria. His power in Upper Egypt he seems to have recovered completely. In order to secure the wealth and interest of Amûn of Thebes he caused his sister Shepenupet to be adopted as Divine Votaress by Amenerdis, who then held this office. This policy of installing

of the Assyrians, under their king Ashuruballit, had even been driven by a combination of Babylonians and Scythians out of Harran, where they had taken refuge. In 609, as we know from a recently discovered tablet, an Assyrian and Egyptian army advanced on Harran, but failed to recapture it. In the next year, Necho, according to our biblical sources, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates. On his way north he seems to have met and defeated Josiah at Megiddo. His expedition, however, can hardly have been directed against Assyria, which had already fallen, and which only a year previously he had been trying to restore, but rather against the Babylonians and Scythians. Necho had rightly divined that the sudden rise of Babylon boded evil for Egypt, and wished to meet the danger on foreign soil, where he might have the advantage of such feeble assistance as the Assyrians could still give him. He failed, however, for in 605 Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar of Babylon completely defeated him at Carchemish.

This put an end to Egyptian activity in Palestine during the rest of Necho's reign and during that of his successor Psammetichus II. Apries, the next king, however, seems to have encouraged the revolt of Zedekiah against Babylon, and an expedition which he made against the Phoenician coast-towns may possibly have delayed the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem from 587 to 586 B.C. The supposed invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar in 568 rests on very doubtful evidence.

In 550 B.C. a new figure appeared on the political scene; Cyrus the Persian overthrew the Median king Astyages and threatened Babylon. Amasis, the new king of Egypt, hastened to strengthen his position by alliance with Babylon, Lydia, and even Sparta; but it was too late. Lydia fell in 546 B.C. and Babylon in 539. Amasis himself did not live to see the humiliation of his country, which took place in 525, perhaps only a few months after his death.

II. THE PERSIAN PERIOD

Thus Egypt once more passed under a foreign yoke. The Persians, like the Hyksos of old, installed themselves as kings

of Egypt with the full traditional titulary—they form Manetho's Twenty-seventh Dynasty—and the country was organized as the Sixth Satrapy of the Persian Empire. In religious affairs the conquerors interfered but little, if we may except the outrages against Egyptian feeling attributed by Herodotus to the mad Cambyses. An attempt made by this same king to extend his conquest to Ethiopia and the western oases ended, according to the same authority, in disaster.

Darius I came to Egypt in person in 517 B.C. to suppress his satrap Aryandes, who had ventured on his own responsibility to attack Cyrene. The king took the opportunity of organizing his new conquest, he codified its laws, built a temple in the oasis of el-Khargah, and completed the canal begun by Necho to connect the Nile with the Red Sea through the Wâdî Tumilât.

The first Egyptian revolt occurred in 485 B.C., when one Khabbash, perhaps a Libyan, made himself king at Memphis. The rebellion was suppressed in the following year by the arrival of Xerxes himself, who left his brother Achaemenes as satrap. Egypt was now placed under a far harder yoke than she had endured under Darius; an Egyptian contingent of 200 ships was even forced to take part in the Persian expedition against Greece, where it distinguished itself by its gallant behaviour at the Battle of Artemisium in 481 B.C.

Under Artaxerxes I Egypt again revolted, instigated by a Delta dynast called Inaros, a Libyan. An Athenian fleet of 200 ships which was then operating against Persia in Cypriote waters was tempted to come to the support of the rebels, who had already won a battle at Papremis. The Persian king now sent to Egypt a force under Megabyzus, which shut the Athenians up in the island of Prosopis, from whence they were compelled to retreat, after burning their ships. A reinforcement of 50 triremes sent from Athens was destroyed by the Phoenician navy at the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, and the attempt of Athens to establish herself in Egypt, for such indeed it was, ended in disaster (454 B.C.).

The Peace of Callias, 448 B.C., which reconciled Greece and Persia, and the Peloponnesian War, which broke out in 431 and

ended only in 404, left Persia a free hand in Egypt, and it is not until 404 that we hear of a fresh revolt, under Amyrtaeus, who managed to maintain himself for six years, and who constitutes Manetho's Twenty-eighth Dynasty. He was displaced about 398 B.C. by another rebel, Naifauruz (Nepherites I, founder of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty), who took advantage of the preoccupation of Persia with Sparta to head a still more formidable rebellion; he was powerful enough to form an alliance with Sparta in 396 B.C. He was followed by Muthes and Psammouthis, ephemeral kings who quickly gave place to a ruler of greater importance, Hakar (Achoris). Hakar allied himself with Evagoras of Cyprus against the Persians, and the confederacy was soon joined by Athens (389 B.C.). The reconciliation of Persia and Sparta, however, and the Peace of Antalcidas in 386, which brought peace to the Greek States, left the Persian king free to chastise his revolted subjects. An expedition sent against Egypt between 385 and 383 seems, nevertheless, to have been unsuccessful, and Evagoras, aided no doubt by Hakar, took the offensive and harried the Persian subjects in Phoenicia, not being brought to bay until 380 B.C. Hakar died in 378, and, after the short reign of Nepherites II, the throne was seized by a family from Sebennytos, the first of whom was Nekhtnebef (Nectanebo I). This king and his followers Zedher and Nekhterheb (Nectanebo II) form the Thirtieth and last Egyptian Dynasty.

While the Persian army under Pharnabazus was preparing to recover the lost satrapy, Nekhtnebef managed to secure the help of Chabrias the Athenian and his fleet (377 B.C.). Athens, however, did not confirm the action of Chabrias, recalled him, and even lent to the Persian king a force under Iphicrates. The attack on Egypt, which was delivered both by land and sea, and was on a large scale, proved a failure, and she remained undisturbed until 361, when Nekhtnebef died. His successor Zedher (Tachos) took advantage of the turmoil which now prevailed in Asia to attack Syria. He placed his army and navy under the command of the Spartan king Agesilaus and the Athenian admiral Chabrias respectively. No sooner had the

force arrived in Phoenicia than Agesilaus deposed Tachos and placed Nekhterheb on the Egyptian throne. The new king abandoned the Asiatic expedition and returned to Egypt, where he had to quell a revolt before securing his throne.

Ochus had now succeeded Artaxerxes II as king of Persia, and he determined on the reconquest of Egypt, intending to place the deposed Tachos on the throne as his nominee. His first attack—its date is very uncertain—was beaten off by an Egyptian force probably consisting mainly of Greeks under Greek leaders, and Ochus had to wait some years before his position at home was secure enough to justify a fresh attempt. This time he prevailed, doubtless by employing against Egypt her own weapon, the Greek soldiery. Nekhterheb fled to Ethiopia, and Ochus entered Memphis in 343 B.C. Egypt was placed under the satrap Pherendates, and we know little of her history from now on until 332 B.C., when she exchanged a Persian master for a Macedonian and welcomed Alexander.

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THE GREEKS

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CHAPTER I

THE BRONZE AGE: AEGEAN CIVILIZATION

I. THE EARLIER PERIOD (*to c. 1600 B.C.*)

IN the small peninsula and its adjacent islands which form the south-east corner of Europe, European civilization began, and there it reached its first, and, in some respects, its noblest form. It is a land of mountains of no very great height (though with many ranges of 5,000–8,000 ft.), but steep and rocky—mostly limestone, and so easily denuded of surface soil and absorbent of rainfall. Of valleys there are many, but most of them small, and on all sides the mountains approach near to the coast-line: hence long river-valleys are few, and most ‘rivers’ are steep, short watercourses, dry nearly throughout the year and serving only to take in a few hours to the sea the torrential waters that follow heavy storms in autumn and winter. Only in the west and the three considerable plains in the east (Thessaly, Boeotia, and Lacedaemon) are there large perennial streams. Only in the west too (where the rainfall is higher and steadier) are there extensive forests covering the mountain slopes; the eastern half of Greece, south of Thessaly at least, is mostly bare, and has always been, so far as our records tell. It is the more beautiful half, with the bold masses and delicate outlines of its mountains from which the soil has long ago been carried down (and not to form rich alluvial plains, but straightway into the deep basin of the sea), leaving only the bones and skeleton of a land and its lovely coast-line; it has always been the more active and more civilized, the two peninsulas of Attica and Argolis and the nearer islands of the Aegean constituting the area most characteristic of Greece. A dry land, where it seldom rains between April and September, and with no true rainy season in autumn and winter; no extreme cold (snow and frost are rare in the plains) and little extreme heat, for all is tempered by the sea breezes, and an abundance of sunshine throughout the year. This is Plato’s

description of the Attica of his day, contrasted with an imagined primitive condition:

We must notice that Attica extends into the sea like a promontory, and that she has, therefore, a longer coast-line than the neighbouring states. Moreover, the sea that surrounds her is very deep close in to the shore. But, in the course of the long period with which we are dealing, there were, naturally, many floods which swept away the soil from the high-lying parts of the country; but this phenomenon did not, as in many other countries, lead to the formation of any alluvial plains or deltas worth talking about.¹ This is owing to the depth of the adjacent sea. The light soil was simply washed away by the waters and sank to the bottom. The result was—exactly as in the small islands of the Aegean—that what is left resembles the skeleton of an emaciated body; the good productive earth has disappeared. Where there are now nothing but barren limestone rocks, there used to be rounded hills; and where now there is nothing but stony soil yielding a meagre harvest, there used to be fertile fields. Further, at that period, the hills were well wooded, even those that now can only maintain bees. Moreover, the rain, instead of rushing uselessly to the sea, in streams enclosed in rocky channels, was absorbed into the soft earth and filtered through it, so that there were springs and streams in plenty, which also added to the fertility of the soil.²

The mountainous north-west, Aetolia and Epirus, and western Arcadia have a climate more characteristic of upland countries, cold in winter with much rain and snow, cool in summer; the rich valleys of the south and west Peloponnese are more nearly tropical (date-palms will grow in Messenia, though the dates do not ripen). The plains of Boeotia and Thessaly, shut in by mountains on all sides, are colder in winter and hotter in summer than Attica (though not so dry), for they get no sea breezes; so is the small plain of Mantinea and Tegea in eastern Arcadia, though it is 2,000 ft. above sea-level. Macedonia and Thrace (except for their coasts outside the area of Greek civilization)

¹ Plato is thinking of the alluvial plains formed by the Nile, the rivers of western Asia Minor and of Macedonia, and even, to a less degree, of the Acheloos and Alpheios in western Greece, and the Peneios in Thessaly.

² Plato, *Critias*, III (Burnet's paraphrase in *Essays and Addresses* (1929), pp. 258-9).

have also severer winters and hot spells in the summer such as are almost unknown in the coast-lands and islands of Greece proper, and their climate is more central European than Mediterranean.

Hence Greece is a land of sheep and goats who feed on the not too rich pasture of the plains in winter and the mountains in summer, not of cattle and horses (except in Thessaly and Macedonia)—milk and cheese therefore, but no butter; and, in the main, of the vine and the olive which thrive on light soil (olive-oil taking the place of butter in the diet of the people), not of corn. Corn, particularly barley, was grown everywhere, even in the smallest and stoniest of plains and valleys, for men will always grow corn: but the yield was poor, and Attica and the Peloponnese had, in historical times, to import corn from abroad to supplement the home supply. Only in Boeotia and Thessaly are the plains large enough and the soil rich enough to make the growing of wheat a predominant and profitable industry, and they could not grow enough to supply the rest of Greece; in those districts the vine and the olive are rare. Nor is Greece a land of abundant vegetables, nor even of fruit, except the olive, the grape, and the fig; pears, apples, cherries grow, mostly in the uplands, but of no great merit: it is only the more recent introduction of melons, peaches, tomatoes, and oranges which makes Greece seem now a fruitful land. There was no sugar in ancient times, but honey was plentiful, got by the bees from the wild thyme that flourishes on the hill-sides. Corn is sown in the autumn, and the harvest is over by the middle of June (by July in Thessaly and the uplands), and sheep are then fed on the dry stubble-fields; the vintage follows in late July and August, and olive-picking in September.

Of the area of this small country (smaller, with all the islands, than Scotland) less than one-third is cultivable; the rest is mountain-land, covered with prickly oak and other scrub on which goats (who feed on anything) will feed, or wooded, with Aleppo pines on the lower slopes (and cypresses, planes, and white poplars in the valleys), firs and oaks on the higher, and, towards the north, beeches and chestnuts, which, owing to the

difficulties of transport, have been of little use to the industry of Greece, so that timber also was mainly imported from abroad. Nor is there any great mineral wealth: the silver and lead mines of Attica, the emery of Naxos, the precious marble of Attica and some of the islands, and everywhere a good building stone—apart from these there is little underground wealth. Poverty, Herodotus said, has always been the foster-sister of Greece.

The wide variety of country and therefore of conditions of life (there can be few areas of comparable size in the world containing such different neighbouring lands as Attica and Boeotia, Laconia and Arcadia, Aetolia and Thessaly)¹ is intensified by the difficulties of communication. A mountain country needs long river-systems with gently sloping valley floors to provide communication with the lowlands: such as Switzerland possesses, east and west. Greece has few of these: the Eurotas valley leads up from the sea to Sparta, but hardly beyond; the Alpheios, with difficulty, from Elis to Arcadia; the Kephissos gives a good route up through west Boeotia and Phocis; the Spercheios up to the centre of continental Greece. But of the other considerable rivers, the Peneios system serves only the Thessalian plain, and the Aetolian rivers flow so rapidly through such a steep and tangled mountain country that they are a hindrance rather than an aid to travel. Yet the difficulties must not be exaggerated; and it is a mistake to attribute the political divisions of classical Greece entirely to them. There are few mountain ranges which cannot be crossed at all seasons and by several paths; of these few the Pindus, stretching from Albania in the north-west right down to the Corinthian Gulf, has always effectually cut off west from east, and the high, steep slopes of Taygetus form a true barrier between Laconia and Messenia—yet, oddly, in classical times these two, exceptionally, formed one country, whereas Corinth and Sicyon, both small and separated by no physical barrier, did not unite till the third century. But travel between one part of Greece and another

¹ Within each district, too, incessant variety: olives and vines, corn, scrub, bare or pine-clad mountains, all within a few miles of each other. Only the Greek sun is everywhere.

was in fact common, and the cultural unity of the land was real, and sincerely felt. More important, however, for communication than the land-routes was the sea, the key to the understanding of the geography of Greece—as Strabo says, pressing in upon it at all parts with a thousand arms; very few places are more than 50 miles from it. Valleys open down to the sea, safe bays and harbours are plentiful, one peninsula succeeds another. The inhabitants took early to seafaring; trade with the islands and the Asia Minor coast and beyond was common; the idea of the sea was everywhere familiar, and only in the agricultural lands of Boeotia and Thessaly and in the highlands of Aetolia do we find a true inland people, regarding the sea as an unfamiliar and hostile element. Opportunities were especially favourable on the east coast, with its many harbours in the Bay of Pagasae, the Euripus Channel, and the Saronic and Nauplia Gulfs, and the islands of the Aegean forming easy stages on the journey eastward, on the south coast of the Peloponnese, and in the Gulf of Corinth; but the west coast was less favourable, though here, too, the islands have all convenient harbours. Everything favoured an adventurous spirit, and contact with the outside world was both a reward for that spirit and a stimulus to its continued activity.

For all the early periods of Greek history down to the beginning of the last millennium B.C., including one long period of advanced civilization, we have no written records of the Greeks themselves (or rather, none that we can decipher), and only a few scattered references to them in the records of Egypt and (perhaps) of Anatolia: we have therefore to rely almost entirely on the archaeological evidence, on material things they left behind them, remains of buildings, tools, weapons, pottery, fragments of painting and sculpture, and to some extent on the precise but scanty and (just because precise) not always trustworthy traditions of the later Greeks. All conclusions based on such evidence are necessarily tentative, for not only must a great deal be left to conjecture, when there is no written record, but the discoveries of the spade are necessarily to some extent

fortuitous and never final. Nevertheless we have some definite knowledge, and for the latest of these early periods we can draw some sort of picture, though incomplete, of its civilization.

History in Greece begins with the Neolithic Age (for no remains of the Palaeolithic have yet been found), and of this our knowledge is at present scanty. The most plentiful discoveries have been made in Macedonia, Thessaly, and central Greece (very little south of Boeotia), and again in Crete. They indicate a fairly uniform culture in continental Greece and Macedonia, closely akin to that of Thrace and north-west Asia Minor, and with points of contact with that found north of the Balkan mountains. The peoples may well have been immigrants from Anatolia, who wandered westwards into Greece and Crete, north-west to Thrace and the Danube basin. Cretan neolithic culture, to judge from the pottery (and it is mainly by the shape and decoration of pots that we conjecture these affinities and differences) was distinct, though there was contact with the mainland (as also with Egypt); but the level of culture was much the same. The people lived in primitive houses or huts built of crude brick, later with stone foundations for the walls; the pottery was hand-made, but of good fabric, its decoration simple with easy geometric designs; remains of seeds and animal bones show that wheat was grown and oxen, pigs, sheep, and goats reared; their tools and weapons were of stone. They lived in small villages or hamlets; nothing is known of their political or social organization, nor of their race and language. Nothing so far has been found to suggest a culture superior to that of other neolithic peoples; and the contemporary civilization of Mesopotamia was far superior. But it is significant that they already used the sea. The best material for their stone implements was an obsidian of a kind found only in the island of Melos, and this was exported both to Crete and to Thessaly. Another obsidian, from Egypt, was also exported to Crete.

How long the neolithic period lasted we do not know, though we may probably conjecture a period of several thousand years. With the introduction of bronze as a material for tools and weapons (and the more or less simultaneous use of lead and of

gold and silver for ornaments) begins a new era; for with it came a new and better method of making pottery, new and more complex designs, and regular village settlements, with stone houses, small but some with several rooms and more than one story. Whence bronze first came to Greece is uncertain, perhaps from Cyprus;¹ its introduction was probably gradual, and was simultaneous with its introduction into Egypt. Hence it can be approximately dated, for Egyptian chronology is approximately known; the end of the neolithic period, or rather of the transition period between it and the Bronze Age, was about 3500 B.C. For Crete (or rather eastern Crete, for no remains of the Bronze Age have been found in the western half of the island except a few of the latest period) now comes to the fore as the pioneer of civilization in Greece, and intercourse between Crete and Egypt is already frequent and continuous; it is in the south of Crete, in the fertile plain of Messara, and the extreme east, the nearest points to Egypt, that the most abundant remains of the beginning of the Bronze Age have been found; and indeed so strong does the Egyptian element in Crete seem towards the beginning of the third millennium that a colonization from Egypt (at the time of the VIth Dynasty) has been conjectured. If so, it was ephemeral, for Crete remained in all essentials European.

About the same time the Bronze Age culture appears in the Cyclades Islands of the Aegean, and on the mainland of Greece as far north as Boeotia and Phocis. It is similar to the culture of Crete, and it is probable enough that men of the same race, as of equal development, inhabited all this area. But for a long time it did not spread farther north than Phocis and the Spercheios basin; Thessaly remained in the neolithic stage many hundred years longer than its southern neighbours, and even when it adopted bronze its culture was for long quite distinct from that of the south; it was a land cut off from the contemporary civilization, retaining its contact with the less

¹ It has been stated recently that there are remains of tin mines (tin and copper being the alloy known as bronze) of the Early Bronze Age near Delphi: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xlviii, pp. 93-4; and doubt has been expressed about early copper-mining in Cyprus: *Annual of British School at Athens*, xxx, pp. 74 ff.

developed peoples to the north in Macedonia. But, as has been said, in central and perhaps in southern Greece the neolithic culture had been akin to that of Thessaly: the new culture is there distinct from its predecessor, the pottery being markedly different, not a development from the old. In Crete, on the other hand, the new pottery does show a continuous development from the old: there is no sudden break; for the Cyclades we are in the dark for no neolithic settlements have been found there. It is therefore possible that the introduction of bronze in continental Greece was due to invasion from the south of people of a different stock, almost certain that it came from the south.

As these three districts, though sharing in the common Bronze Age culture of the Aegean basin, have each characteristics of their own, they are distinguished by the names Minoan for Crete, Cycladic for the islands, Helladic for the mainland (Thessalian and Macedonian remaining apart); Aegean culture is the term common to all. Three main stages in the evolution of the Bronze Age can be determined, known as Early, Middle, and Late Minoan, Cycladic and Helladic respectively, each of the three stages in each district being roughly, but not strictly, contemporary.

It was thus early then, more than 3,000 years before the Christian Era, that what we may call a civilization began in Europe, first in Crete, later in the Cyclades and on the mainland of Greece; that men lived in settled communities, that is, with a definite social structure (though we do not know its shape), and rich in skilled craftsmen (workers in pottery, stone, and the metals), and in the material objects of human wealth; with considerable intercourse and trade by sea, both among themselves and with Egypt and more distant countries, from which came bronze and tin; and with some knowledge of mining (for surface ores would soon be exhausted), and of metallurgy, the smelting of copper ore, and alloys. In the second, the Middle Minoan Age, which lasted from about 2100 (contemporary with the XIIth Dynasty of Egypt) to 1600 B.C. Crete developed rapidly and became the dominant element in the Aegean. In Crete

Cnossos now comes to the front; together with Phaestos, in the north and south of central Crete respectively, the former, with its harbour at the modern Candia, being the natural point for communication with the north, the latter with Egypt. A road connected the two. The harbour-towns to the east continued to flourish, but may well have been politically dependent on either Cnossos or Phaestos. For at these places have been discovered the remains of elaborate and luxurious palaces, each clearly the centre of a political system. They were built round a large open court, and the different groups of rooms can be recognized as domestic (including bathrooms), offices, shrines, and magazines or store-rooms, but an accumulation of rooms rather than a well-planned building; no definite scheme can be recognized, any more than in the building of towns. Of the architectural technique we know little—the remains are too scanty—but the rooms were decorated with fresco paintings of great skill, free and naturalistic in design: we have fragments only, but of exquisite quality, the work of masters—as the boy gathering saffron from Cnossos, the cat stalking a bird in a rocky landscape from Phaestos, and the rather more formal flying-fish fresco from Melos (by a Cretan artist). This naturalism in art and great technical skill can be seen too in the pottery. The simple geometrical patterns develop into intricate floral designs and no longer after the old method of painting in a single colour, dark on a light ground or light on dark, but an elaborate polychrome. The potter's wheel had been introduced, and the vases are excellently made, with beautiful shapes and an egg-shell fabric. Gem-cutting, especially towards the end of the period, shows similar technical skill and artistic feeling, and the bronze weapons are much more efficient than the old. Only in sculpture is Crete behindhand, which is the more remarkable considering the intercourse with Egypt (Cretan vases of the period have been found there, and Egyptian objects in Crete). For in Egypt sculpture, and in the most unyielding of stones, had so to speak always been practised and had already attained that astonishing mastery and beauty which it was to keep for so long; in Crete fine bowls in stone in imitation of Egyptian had been

made already in the Neolithic and Early Minoan Age, and marble such as Egypt never had was plentiful in the Aegean Islands, and was indeed very early used for crude religious figures. But only a few painted terra-cotta figures, of greater historical than aesthetic interest, and some admirable low-relief work in faience (of the same naturalistic art as the fresco painting) remain to us from this time in Crete; and even later, in the next period, when modelling in terra-cotta and faience and ivory-work (the material probably imported from Egypt) reached a very high degree of skill, sculpture in stone was rare and confined to small figures; and it is hotly disputed whether the best of these is genuine.

But what more than anything distinguishes this age from its predecessors in Greece and marks it as definitely civilized is the development and regular use of writing. Men used a pictographic script, consisting largely of personal and craft-signs, one sign representing an object or its owner, already in the Early Minoan Age; this was developed and extensively used, especially for inventories, in the first part of the Middle Minoan Age. Its origin is uncertain, but in all probability it was adapted from the Egyptian hieroglyphic, as was the Phoenician alphabet. The latter was probably developed from a script known from examples as early as the eighteenth century found in the Sinai peninsula; the Cretan will have come from Egypt in the reverse direction; the analogies between the later Cretan and the Phoenician scripts are due in part to their common origin, in part perhaps to subsequent Cretan influence on Phoenician.¹

This pictographic script developed in Crete into a simpler linear script, probably syllabic (each sign representing a syllable) rather than alphabetical, in the last Middle Minoan and the first Late Minoan periods. It is probable enough that papyrus was imported from Egypt and freely used in Crete, but that would have perished: fortunately for us, just as the Greeks of the classical period recorded official documents on stone, so did the Cretans in clay, and what we have are clay tablets, on which are recorded, mostly, inventories of the contents of the

¹ See pp. 541-2.

palace store-rooms, representing probably taxes paid in kind. Writing was from left to right (unlike the Phoenician), and words were separated. This linear script was used in Crete till the fourteenth century (when our evidence ceases); side by side with it, in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries, a variety of it was used (known as Linear B; the other as Linear A), more calligraphic, but found only at Cnossos. Linear A spread, from the seventeenth century onwards, over all the lands in which, as will be seen, Cretan influence was dominant, in the islands and on the Greek mainland. Thence it was taken by settlers from Greece to Cyprus, where a modified form of it lasted in use (for the Greek language, for which it was ill adapted), as a syllabic script, till the fourth century B.C. (It is notable that the Cypriots, closer to the Phoenicians than any other Greeks, and living in an island partly Phoenician, were the last of the Greeks to adopt their alphabet.) Examples of Linear B have been found, quite recently, at Thebes with eight new signs (out of forty-seven known) which may have been developed on the mainland.¹ No inscription, either Cretan or mainland, has yet been deciphered, for no bilingual text has been discovered, so that we cannot yet read them, and do not know what language the writers of them spoke, nor whether Cretans and mainlanders spoke the same language.²

In the islands of the Aegean, so far as we can tell from the

¹ It is quite possible that the 'Cadmean' inscription shown to Herodotus at Thebes was in this script; equally possible that it was in the earliest form of the Greek alphabet.

² Sir Arthur Evans considers that there is sufficient evidence to show that the ruling classes, at least, on the mainland spoke the same language as the Cretans, and that this was not Greek. I am not yet convinced of this. It is to be remembered that the Achaean colonists of Cyprus (fourteenth century) took with them a syllabic script, based on Cretan, in which to express their Greek language.

The famous Phaestos disk, belonging to the end of this period, with its continuous inscription in spiral circles, is in another though allied script, and may come from Asia Minor, though as it is an isolated document we cannot infer from it much intercourse with Asia. In this the characters are not inscribed, but impressed with stamps on the clay; that is, it was printed with movable types, just as patterns on some early vases from the Cyclades had been impressed, as, later, coins were made. It is one of the curiosities of human progress that the invention of printing in the modern sense was so long delayed after the essential idea had been familiar to men for thousands of years.

rather scanty finds, development was on parallel lines. Remains of a larger city with bigger and better built houses than those of the Early period have been found in Melos, and they are enclosed with a fortification wall—that is, men had to defend themselves against attack by sea. The extensive finds of pottery, mostly in Melos and Thera, show importations from the mainland and from Crete (and Melian vases too have been found in Crete) and local imitations of these wares; and in addition Melian pottery developed on the same lines as the Cretan, with curvilinear and floral designs of a strong naturalistic tendency, and a polychrome effect. Writing was learnt from the Cretans, at least by Melos, and the language may have been identical; there is no doubt of the strength of the Cretan element that was mainly responsible for the development of civilization there. It is possible that Crete was politically mistress of the Aegean.

The history of the mainland of Greece in the Middle period (Middle Helladic) is in some respects different from that of Crete and the Cyclades. The break with the Early period is later, and the development at first slower, though on similar lines. Moreover there is another element, represented by a special kind of pottery (which in its shape is an imitation of metal-work and so indicates a far more extensive use of bronze than the actual remains would suggest), which is found side by side with the other ware similar to contemporary Minoan, was imported into the Cyclades and imitated there, but has never been found in Crete. (It is known as Minyan, because first noticed at Minyan Orchomenus in Boeotia.) It is common in south-eastern Greece, from Phocis to Argolis, and quite distinct from the pottery of the Early period. It marks a break with the older culture (which, however, is represented by pottery developing side by side with it), and may be due to the invasion of an alien people, but its origin is so far quite uncertain—possibly in north-west Asia Minor, for it is found in Troy and in the Chalcidic peninsula (but not elsewhere in Macedonia) at this period. Towards the end of the Middle Helladic period Cretan influence becomes strong throughout southern and central Greece, and the two streams of culture unite, indeed are

nearly lost, in this new dominant civilization. Minoan influence is particularly strong in Mycenae, Tiryns, and Corinth in the Peloponnese, and in Thebes and Orchomenus in Boeotia; and Mycenae now enters history as the strongest and wealthiest city of the mainland.

We have then, towards 1600 B.C., Crete as the predominant power in the Aegean, the most advanced and the richest, in constant touch with, and much influenced by, Egypt: civilization radiating outwards from her, the Cyclades entirely under her influence, the mainlanders owing their development to her; Thessaly and the lands to the west and north still barbaric, though the 'Minyan' ware of Chalcidice proves contact of some kind with the south.

II. THE LATER PERIOD (c. 1600-1100 B.C.)

Round about 1600 B.C. (the approximate dating, by Egypt, is now certain) a catastrophe befell eastern Crete; the palaces of Cnossos and Phaestos and all the towns to the east were destroyed. The cause is unknown, but, since there was an almost immediate rebuilding, since prosperity and activity were soon even greater than before, and, above all, since there was no change in the essential quality of Cretan culture, the natural assumption is that the destruction was the work of some foreign invader who had won a complete but temporary victory at sea and overrun the island.¹ Cnossos and Phaestos had been unfortified, and continued unfortified after this disaster, a fact that implies political unity within the island and command of the sea; once this command was lost they were at the mercy of an enemy. But this raid, destructive as it was, was a passing one, and Cretan civilization soon grew again on the ashes of the old and won a greater influence in the Greek area than ever; yet certain changes took place, and the sixteenth century B.C. is the beginning of a new, the latest phase of Aegean civilization, the Late Minoan, Late Cycladic, and Late Helladic or Mycenaean Age.

The palaces of Crete were rebuilt, directly over the old ruins, larger and more complex, though still without a unified plan:

¹ Sir Arthur Evans believes that it was due to an earthquake.

a large, central court, minor courts, pillared and frescoed halls, a throne room, a grand staircase, living-rooms, bathrooms (with a well-devised system of sanitation), offices, and a long series of store-rooms. There were smaller buildings of a similar character, the 'villa' near Phaestos, the 'Royal Villa' and 'Little Palace' at Cnossos; there was another palace at Mallia. The towns everywhere came to life again, with narrow winding streets and the small houses of the poor and the larger ones of the rich; increasing prosperity is evident. The skill and freshness of outlook in the arts, painting, modelling (in clay and ivory), pottery, metal-work, gem-cutting, are undimmed; particularly in the frescoes of religious festivals and of bull-baiting (a favourite sport) with their friezes of women spectators, of birds and baboons among papyrus plants (a very Egyptian scene, for these baboons are native to the Sudan), and of a Minoan followed by a number of black men which suggests the use of negro troops at Cnossos; the snake-goddess and the boy acrobat in ivory, the gold cups from Laconia, and the exquisite inlaid bronze daggers from Mycenae (both Cretan work), the steatite vessels decorated with scenes from the boxing-matches, harvesting, and bull-catching; the pottery with its designs of flowers and (especially) of objects of the sea, octopuses, shell-fish, marine-plants, and the like—all delightful, complicated, and gay. And with this a new note, of simplicity, and dignity, almost of austerity, as in the stucco-relief of the Prince, the judges on one side of the steatite vases, the noble Cup-bearer fresco. Liveliness resulting from a ready reaction to surroundings, and simplicity, the two chief notes in later Greek art, sometimes competing and one or the other dominant, sometimes combined to produce a rare perfection, these are already to be observed in Crete.

Also belonging to this period is the imposing viaduct south of Cnossos which carried a section of the road to the southern ports (whence was made the journey to Egypt), and the ruins of what was probably an inn close by.

With all this went the further development of writing, with the linear script as already described; we have inscribed clay tablets as before containing records of stores in the palace and

of taxes paid, and other larger ones which may be diplomatic documents, like those of Egypt; ink also was used on clay, and doubtless too on papyrus which has perished. Intercourse with the islands and continental Greece and with Egypt, probably also with Asia Minor (but this has not been sufficiently explored), was frequent. Cyprus comes within the orbit of Minoan culture before the middle of the fifteenth century. On Egyptian monuments of the reign of Tuthmosis III (1501-1447 B.C.) there have been found representations of men dressed in the Minoan fashion, bringing gifts many of which are vessels in the Minoan design; on one of these is the title 'The Coming in Peace of the Great Ones of Keftiu and of the Isles in the Midst of the Sea'. It is not certain that Keftiu (the Biblical Kaphtor) means the island of Crete; it may mean the southern coast-lands of Asia Minor. But the Isles in the Midst of the Sea are certainly the Aegean, and the men from them and from Keftiu are of Cretan culture. Note that they 'come in peace'; it is just the impression we get from Cretan remains that it was an age of peace as of prosperity.

This people, whose buildings, art, amusements, fashions in dress we know so well, who must have possessed an elaborate political and social organization though we can only guess at its structure, but whose external history is so obscure, and whose thought, even their religious ideas in spite of the monuments, we know so little of, this people was overthrown again about 1400 B.C. Cnossos and Phaestos and every other centre of civilization in Crete were destroyed. By whom we do not know, but, as will be seen, a guess can be made. This time the invaders destroyed for ever the dominant power of Crete, and the most brilliant epoch in the history of the island came to an end. Not that a barbaric period ensued. The towns were rebuilt, as two centuries before, but on this occasion only partially. Population and prosperity declined, and with that went a decline in the vitality and inventiveness of Cretan art. There is no sudden change in its character; the same kind of civilization continues, and indeed in many arts, as in pottery, there is an improvement noticeable in technical skill. But, before the destruction, there had been a tendency to desert the old naturalism for more formal

designs, and this continued; not that formal designs are in themselves any sign of decline, but in Crete men came more and more to use conventional forms of the old patterns, often with happy results, but the variety and freshness are gone. Moreover, the centre of civilization and power is no longer in Crete, but has shifted to the mainland, to Mycenae, and there remained till the end of the Bronze Age. The finds in the Cyclades (which have hardly an independent story in the Late period) illustrate this well: Cretan imports predominate in the sixteenth century; in the fifteenth there are more imports from the mainland (incidentally of poor quality, arguing a decline in the wealth of the Cyclades); after 1400 B.C. imports from Crete stop entirely, and the excellent Mycenaean ware takes its place and is imported freely. Commerce with Egypt practically stopped, but between the mainland and Egypt, where before it had hardly existed and that indirectly through Crete, it now flourished. Pottery from Cyprus, belonging to the end of the Bronze Age, has also been found in Melos—this to show how far trade extended.

On the mainland, in the Late Helladic Age, Cretan influence was at its height in the sixteenth century. We have no buildings of the period, but the pottery is, almost all, of the Minoan type; many fragments of fresco painting, from Thebes, Mycenae, and Tiryns, have been found, directly dependent both in style and subject on Cretan frescoes, and made, for all we know, by Cretan artists; and Cretan works of art, such as the bronze inlaid daggers of Mycenae, were imported. It is clear that the mainland was growing in prosperity and civilization, in particular Mycenae. Here were found by Schliemann six graves, with the remains of nineteen persons buried in them, presumably members of the ruling family, containing treasure of gold, ivory, and bronze, which first showed us that the Greek traditions of an early Bronze Age civilization were correct. These graves date from the very end of the Middle Helladic period to the end of the sixteenth century, the two which are richest in Cretan works coming in the middle of the series. It is possible that the gold cups and the daggers and the jewellery are plunder from a raid into Crete, perhaps even from that raid which destroyed the

Cretan palaces and towns about 1600 B.C. But the pottery found in the graves (except in the earliest) is also Minoan in character, like the frescoes from the houses where these men and women had lived. Then, and in the following century, the fifteenth, Minoan influence spread over the Peloponnese—Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Corinth, Laconia, Pylos—over Attica and Boeotia, Thebes, Orchomenus, and Chalcis, and, at last, to Iolcus in Thessaly; it is still Minoan influence, for the changes which we can observe in the designs of Cretan pottery are all followed on the mainland, though we can distinguish the mainland fabrics.

But a change was taking place: the native mainland element (perhaps represented by the descendants of the makers of the old Minyan ware, see p. 518, above) was reasserting itself. From the fourteenth century to the end of the Bronze Age, we find a new pottery, the 'Mycenaeae', which is a development from the preceding by a combination of the Cretan and native elements, of good fabric but without much inventiveness either in shape or decoration (yet, the greater part of it, simple and pleasing, with patterns tending to the conventional and more and more geometric), and becomes dominant throughout the Aegean world: it is not only imported into the now weaker Crete, but influences the Cretan potter. This was the great age of Mycenae and mainland Greece in general. Its influence spread to Cyprus, and through Cyprus to Syria, where it is specially prominent.¹ At the beginning of the fourteenth century the palace at Mycenae was rebuilt, with great magnificence, the graves of the old kings were surrounded by a wall of slabs to make a sacred enclosure, and round the hill on which the whole was built were raised the magnificent fortification walls, with their famous Gate of Lions, which still stand for the most part to-day. The palace and fortress of Tiryns, and smaller ones in Argolid, and those at Thebes and in the Copais basin—then drained by a series of dykes—also belong to this period. These palaces are of the same general type, but less complex than those of Crete, and show a more

¹ Tholos-tombs (see p. 524), with much pottery and other objects of Mycenaean style, have been recently found at Ras Shamra.

definite plan, the *megaron* or main hall being built in the centre of one side of the court, in planned relation to it. This *megaron*, with an open portico between it and the court, is another new feature; its ceiling was supported by four columns forming a square, and in the centre, between the columns, was the hearth. In Crete there had been no hearth; the rooms were warmed when necessary by portable braziers. The difference was due to a difference of climate; Crete and the southern Cyclades are warmer than the mainland in winter, but this central hearth was, as we shall see, of great importance also in later religious practice. The *megaron* and its hearth and the fortification walls, built of huge stones, rough hewn for the most part, but carefully squared at the gateways, are features of this age which distinguish the mainland from Minoan Crete, and suggest not only a different environment, but a people with in some respects a different outlook on life. They were more warlike: the raids in the Levant, by Achaeans, Lycians, and others recorded on Egyptian monuments, occur after the fall of Cretan sea-power; whereas the Cretans had come in peace, the Achaeans raided Egypt.

Equally characteristic of the mainland are the bee-hive or *tholos*-tombs, which are tombs excavated out of a hill-side, with a straight passage leading to them, a doorway and the tomb itself, a circular building with a dome-shaped roof but under the earth. Small tombs of this kind (which are only a special form of the chamber-tombs common to the whole of this period—large numbers have been found in Mycenaean territory, whose contents bear witness to the great prosperity of the city) are known in Crete in the sixteenth century; but their development into fine works of architecture is due to the mainland, and especially (it would seem) to Mycenae, for whereas *tholos*-tombs have been found singly in many places, in the Argolid, Laconia, Pylos, Attica, and at Orchomenus in Boeotia (this last a specially fine one), as many as nine have been found at Mycenae. These nine belong to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, and range from early and simple attempts to the perfection and majesty of the 'Treasury of Atreus', which is of the same date as the palace

and fortification walls of the citadel, about the middle of the fourteenth century.¹ Of this, the largest and best preserved of all the tholoi, for only here and in one other is the roof intact, the passage-way is 115 ft. long and 20 ft. wide, and the great dome itself 45 ft. high and rather more in diameter. The whole is lined with fine ashlar masonry similar to that of the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns; some of the blocks are very large, the inner lintel block over the doorway being estimated to weigh over 100 tons. The façade of the doorway was elaborately decorated, and the interior walls were covered with gold, bronze, and ivory. It is one of the most impressive monuments of antiquity, bold in conception and nobly carried out. Two other of these tombs at Mycenae are later than this, and extend to the second half of the fourteenth century; but there are none after this—that is, none were built during the last two centuries of Mycenae, and no other obviously royal tombs have been found. This is difficult to explain. It is known that throughout the Bronze Age in the Aegean the practice of repeated interments in the same grave was common, the bones of an earlier generation being simply brushed to one side of the tomb to make way for the new; and it has been thought that the later princes at Mycenae, too poor or too modest to build fine tombs for themselves, were buried in those of their ancestors. But this is hardly consistent with other evidence.

During all this period, *c.* 1400–1200 B.C., Mycenae was the most powerful state in the Aegean world and the Mycenaean culture was dominant; there was, to a greater degree even than in the sixteenth century, a uniformity of culture, which now spread through most of the Peloponnese and central Greece, to southern Aetolia, in the Cyclades, and even in Crete. Thessaly now comes within the orbit of Aegean civilization, for the first time; Rhodes and the southern Sporades islands, Cyprus and the south coast-lands of Asia Minor are Mycenaean, while Mycenaean pottery was freely used in Macedonia and Thrace,

¹ In this I follow Mr. Wace, the last excavator of Mycenae, with whom most experts agree; but Sir Arthur Evans places the tholos-tombs in the early sixteenth century, contemporary with the shaft-graves within the citadel, and with the great age in Crete.

in Troy (then a strong and wealthy fortress-town with a native culture akin to that of Thrace and the Balkan region) and elsewhere in Asia Minor, in Egypt, and in Sicily in the west, even on the Danube near Belgrade, reached probably by traders up the river from the Black Sea. An offshoot of the Aegean civilization of this time (the thirteenth century) were the Philistines who finally settled in Palestine; Gaza was an important 'Mycenean' city.

We know something about these people, what they looked like, how they dressed (very like the Cretans), what weapons and tools and utensils they used, something of their houses, and of their amusements (chiefly hunting and bull-baiting), of their religious cults and burial practices, a good deal about their art and their trade; but nothing—from contemporary sources—of their political and social organization,¹ nor of their thoughts except what we can guess from the monuments. We know (as we could have confidently guessed) that they knew the art of writing, for we have many jars with groups of letters on them of the Cretan type, chiefly from Thebes and Tiryns. But these we do not yet understand, any more than the Cretan. There are no inscribed clay tablets from the mainland (as none from Crete after 1400): presumably papyrus was now used as well for official documents as for private writing.

III. THE TRANSITION TO THE IRON AGE (c. 1100–850 B.C.)

Towards the end of the twelfth century the palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns were plundered and destroyed, and many other towns, such as Orchomenus and the Copais castle in Boeotia, were abandoned, or at least no longer existed as places of importance. With them the Mycenaean culture, the last phase of the Aegean Bronze Age civilization, came to an end; a new era of civilization, recognizable as a development of the old but with marked characteristics all its own, begins in Greece, simultaneously with the introduction of iron (already worked, at least

¹ This needs emphasizing, for it is often forgotten. For the understanding of a people's culture material objects, which can be imported or copied from abroad, are of far less importance than social structure.

sporadically in Macedonia, and in Greece known and prized as a rarity) as material for tools and weapons. The destruction of the old centres of civilization makes a definite break, and for some centuries no new towns of importance take their place. During these centuries we can trace the evolution to the new era by means of the pottery, for men continued to make plates and cups and jars, and to bury some with their dead, and throw others away when they were broken, but no buildings remain to us, no sculpture, no painting, no writing before Homer; it is a Dark Age, and all that we can be sure about is that it was unsettled, comparatively barbarous (at least on the mainland, in the Cyclades, and in Crete), a transitional period, with no well-organized political society.

The development that we can trace in the pottery is one from the latest forms of Mycenaean, which as we have seen was tending more and more to the use of geometric designs, to a completely geometric scheme.¹ The development is interesting. The latest Bronze Age and earliest Iron Age pots, pleasing as many of them are and of good fabric, yet show poverty of design: the continued use of these geometric patterns is due to lack of vitality in the invention. But by the ninth century the geometric pattern is developed for its own sake, and culminates in the splendid jars found in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, on which combined with innumerable bands of triangles, meanders, and the like (the Greek 'key' pattern which was destined to have so long a life, is now first used and fully developed) are others with men and women, scenes with war-vessels and sea-fights and funerals, interesting but unvaried, with all the figures drawn in the most schematic and formal way, yet with life in the whole. There is a second point of interest: the earliest of the geometric pottery has a uniformity over nearly all the Greek world from Thessaly to Crete almost as great as that of the Mycenaean pottery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the later varies recognizably from district to district, and there are but few signs of importations from one centre to another, or at least

¹ The development can also be seen in metal-work, in gems, and in ivory seals, which show continuity with Aegean work.

of any regular trade—another sign that this was an unsettled and less civilized age.

With this pottery are found weapons of iron, swords which are not only the stronger for the new material, but also longer than the old, and made for cutting as well as for thrusting.

IV. TRADITIONS AND SPECULATIONS

So far we have been basing the history of Greece on the material remains alone, buildings, tombs, works of art, and above all pottery (for pottery is the least destructible of human manufactures, and is universal)—necessarily, for written records are few and (except the rare Egyptian and Anatolian) undeciphered. But a later age had traditions which are recorded, and speculations: and modern scholars have speculated—primarily on the problem, who were the makers of the Bronze Age civilization? Were they men of the same stock as the Greeks of the Classical period or not?—and something must be said of this.

Most of these traditions were preserved in the Greek Epic. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer were composed not later than the first half of the ninth century B.C., and in Ionia.¹ (Here we must anticipate, and mention the presence of the Dorians in the Peloponnese in the eleventh century, and the settlement of the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands by Achaeans, Ionians, and Dorians from Greece in the eleventh and tenth centuries.) They record the deeds of the Achaeans of the mainland—an episode in the war against Troy (an epic episode), and the wanderings of Odysseus after the fall of Troy—of many generations before. After Homer, up to the beginning of the seventh century, other poets wrote epics relating to the Trojan war before and after the incidents recorded in the *Iliad* (they were composed expressly with reference to the *Iliad*), other returns of Heroes from the War, and other wars of the Heroic

¹ I am of the school that regards Homer as an individual, a poet, and the author of the two epics practically in the form we have them; but this view is by no means yet universally held by scholars. The words of Pope (though written in a somewhat different context) are still appropriate: 'A beggar might be content to patch up a garment with such shreds as the world throws away, but it is never to be imagined an emperor would make his robes of them.'

Age, such as those between Argos and Thebes. These later epics have all been lost, but later writers preserve many of the traditions contained in them. All the epic poets, including Homer, embodied in their poems the stories of an earlier (and traditionally more heroic) age which had been handed down in songs, lays, and ballads, from one generation to another. In addition, there were the traditions of the new Greek cities of Asia Minor about their founders, and many of important and ancient families. What, for our present purpose, can be learnt from this evidence?

First, the later Greeks had a general tradition of the early political importance and wealth of Cnossos, Mycenae, Tiryns, and the Argolid generally, Laconia, Pylos, Thebes, Orchomenus and other towns, and of Troy, and particular traditions such as the draining of the Copais Lake (by Heracles) and the sea-power of Crete, all of which have been more than confirmed by archaeology; and that these towns were conquered and destroyed by the Dorian invasion, towards the end of the twelfth century.

Second, the more detailed political geography of Homer, especially that found in the Catalogue of Ships (both the Greek and the Trojan portions), admirably suits the age 1300–1150 B.C. (dates implied by Homer and the later traditions) and no later age; and nothing in the epic is inconsistent with it—that is, it could not have been invented at a much later time; the dominance of Corinth and Sicyon by Mycenae is a case in point. In particular—he has no mention of the Dorians, except a small body of them in Crete, nor of the Greek settlement in Asia Minor, Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, while he does put Greeks in Rhodes and the southern Sporades; and the traditional dates for the Trojan War (*c.* 1200 B.C.) and for the end of the Mycenaean Age (*c.* 1100 B.C.) fit in with the archaeological data.

Third, Homer's favourite name for the Greeks, Achaeans, is confirmed by Egyptian evidence, for Achaeans were among the peoples from over the sea who raided the Levant for many years, and were defeated in a great battle by Merneptah in 1221 B.C. This Egyptian evidence also proves the general disturbance of affairs in the Levant in the second half of the thirteenth century. Hittite documents of the same date also bear witness to the

sea-raids of the Achaeans, and indeed to a powerful king of the Achaeans named Atreus, who held territory in southern Asia Minor, and to other princes with names known from the Greek traditions.¹ After the Bronze Age, Achaeans is a term given only to the inhabitants of a district in the north-west Peloponnese, which was almost unknown before.

Fourth, Homer is consistent in giving his warriors weapons of bronze, not of iron—that is, he is true to the conditions of Mycenae, not to his own age. The use of chariots in warfare, so conspicuous a feature of the *Iliad*, is also consistent with what we know of the Bronze Age, but may also have been true of his own time.

In these last three points, then, Homer is keeping to facts as handed down to him in the songs he knew, and is consciously archaizing; and in all of them the facts are consistent with those of the period of which he writes, and only with that period.

On the other hand, other elements in the Homeric picture, in which he is perfectly consistent with himself, are inconsistent with our knowledge of the Mycenaean Age; first, in dress—the Homeric Achaeans wear the tunic, and in war a breastplate and greaves, and use a round shield and fight with spears as well as with the sword and the javelin and bow and arrow: whereas the Mycenaeans, like the Cretans before them, wore apparently a short loin-cloth and apron, had no breastplate nor greaves, nor spears, but only swords, javelins, and the bow and arrow, and used a long upright shield.² The armour of the Achaeans was important; how often do heroes fight to the death for the armour of a fallen foe. Nor do the open bodice and flounced skirts of the women of the Aegean age suit Penelope and Helen.

Secondly, though hunting is common in Homer, there is no

¹ This Hittite evidence is now generally accepted by philologists. It does not of course prove more than there were Greek rulers with these names at this time. It does not prove the identity of the Atreus of the Hittite documents with the Atreus of Greek tradition.

² There exists a famous vase-fragment from Mycenae (the 'Warrior-vase'), of about 1200 B.C., with men in armour that might be Achaeans, and is certainly not Minoan.

mention of bull-baiting and acrobatics, the sports so popular in Mycenae and Crete. There is little also in Homer to suggest the great skill in the arts, particularly of fresco-painting, characteristic of the Bronze Age: on the contrary it is rather implied that such skill is foreign and such works of art, especially metal-work, imported by Phoenician traders (as might be true of the Dark Ages between the fall of Mycenae and Homer's time).

Third, the Achaeans cremated their dead, the Aegeans buried theirs—as far as we know, universally. (In the classical period both methods were practised, though burial was commoner: cremation was used particularly for soldiers in war, but this last circumstance does not seem to account for the Achaean practice.) This may argue a different view of life after death, and the Achaeans, though they had elaborate funeral ceremonies, which were thought essential to the dead man's peace after death, and offered sacrifice to the dead man's spirit, did not keep up worship at the tomb of the dead, as did the Aegeans.

Fourth, the Homeric theology is purely Olympian (more purely than that of the classical period); the gods are glorified men, they are clearly defined, and differentiated one from another. They live in serenity on Olympus, though they have their own quarrels and jealousies, and take part in the quarrels of men. Zeus is supreme over the rest (though often weak at controlling them), but, by perhaps an inconsistent twist of thought, himself subject to Fate. Homer belongs to classical Greece in this, though he mentions few statues of gods (they are hardly remote enough from men) and no temples, but only shrines within royal palaces. There are seers, but no priestly class. In the Aegean Age, too, the shrines are within the palaces and there are no temples (the contrast between classical and Mycenaean Greece is nowhere so marked as at Mycenae itself, by the broad platform of the later Doric temple that lies above the ruins of the old palace), and perhaps no important priests. But though there was much in Aegean religion which lasted to classical times (as will be shown below), and their gods were represented in human form, yet they do not look like Homeric gods; and the religious symbols, the double-axe, the horns of

consecration, the pillar, have no mention nor parallel in Homer. The argument from religion must, however, be used with caution; if we had an Aegean literature we might find not only that two different and in some ways inconsistent forms of belief coexisted, but that we had misinterpreted the representations of religious scenes. The Persians introduced a new and noble religion into Elam, but how much should we have guessed of it if we had only Persian monuments for our guide?

Lastly, the political and social organization of the Achaeans—kings, council of nobles, and assembly of free men, elements that lasted throughout the classical period, a society based on the family and essentially simple—the king not surrounded by any court, easily accessible to the ordinary man—this is hardly consistent with the elaborate, almost secretive architecture of the Cretan palaces; it is consistent perhaps with the more simply built palaces of the mainland (for Homer is no stranger to the idea of great wealth for his princes), and there are many close analogies between the megara of Mycenae and Tiryns and these described by Homer. But different kinds of social organization are implied by Cnossos and by the Epic.

How are we to explain this? In all these respects Homer is consistent with himself (and clearly the forerunner of classical Greece), but inconsistent, more or less, with the Bronze Age civilization. He may have committed anachronisms; but anachronisms imply rather occasional than regular inconsistencies: and if he could consistently archaize in some things (as explained above), why should he not have done so in all?

It has been argued that Greece was invaded about 1400 B.C. by a people who destroyed the palaces and towns of Crete and built Mycenae and Tiryns, and that these were the Achaeans—Northerners and the first Greek-speaking people, and indeed the first Europeans to reach Greece: others have argued that the Greeks were the invaders and destroyers of 1600 B.C.¹ But the difficulties in the way are numerous and clear: although there

¹ A date as late as 1400 B.C. for the first Greek-speaking invaders has been made difficult by the Hittite evidence, which knows of men with Greek names in south Asia Minor by the fourteenth century.

was some change at both these dates, and the builders of Mycenae were likely enough the destroyers of Cnossos, the general continuity of Aegean civilization down to its close is established, and Homer is as inconsistent (or nearly so) with Mycenae of 1600 or of 1400-1100 as with Crete of 2000-1400 B.C.; so that this view solves none of the difficulties. Greece may well have been invaded about that time, but if so, either by foreigners who adopted the civilization and perhaps the language of the conquered, or by a people closely akin to the conquered. It is equally possible that the changes of the sixteenth and fourteenth centuries were not due to any invasion.

The only great invasion of which the Greeks had any tradition was the Dorian, about 1100 B.C., which overthrew the Achaean kingdoms (the archaeological evidence fully confirming the destruction of Mycenaean civilization about that time). The Greek tradition was not very clear nor consistent, but, in general, it was that the Dorians were a nomad or semi-nomad people who had lived in the region of the Pindus range and in southern Macedonia before invading the south. From the archaeology of these regions we learn that there was a nomad people here and in Thessaly (with their origin probably in central Macedonia, in the basin of the river Axios) from about 1500 B.C., akin to the peoples who had been in the same regions from at least 2000 B.C. Thessaly and the countries to the north, it will be remembered, had not shared in the Aegean civilization till the very end, and then mainly the coast districts. These nomads used iron (though not certainly before the south) and a pottery with geometric patterns such as prevailed throughout the Greek world after the Bronze Age; and, as nomads, may have practised cremation as well as inhumation, though there is no evidence of this.¹ These may have been the Dorians, but, even if they

¹ Up to the present there is no archaeological evidence for cremation anywhere in the Greek world earlier than the tenth century (some time therefore after the generally accepted date of the Dorian invasion); cremation was only *common* (more common than inhumation) in the early ninth century, and only in restricted areas (Crete, Thera, and Rhodes), and there never unaccompanied by inhumation. In the eighth century and afterwards inhumation gains ground everywhere, though cremation was used on occasion everywhere throughout the classical period, and was revived by the Romans.

were, they did not 'Hellenize' Greece, as Herodotus sometimes asserts and many moderns have believed. The Greeks of the Doric speech in classical times (and almost certainly from 1000 B.C. on) occupied all the Peloponnese except Achaea in the north-west and Arcadia, Doris (a small district to the west of Phocis, their reputed 'metropolis'), Crete, Melos, and Thera in the Cyclades, and Rhodes and the neighbouring islands and coast towns of Asia Minor (that is, curiously, just those districts where Aegean civilization had especially flourished). There were two other main dialects in Greece: the Aeolic in Thessaly and Boeotia and in the Greek cities of north-west Asia Minor and Lesbos, and the Ionic, of Athens, the Cyclades and Chios and Samos, and the central group of Greeks in Asia Minor. These Ionians and Aeolians, like the Homeric Achaeans, were Greek-speaking and pre-Dorian: they were the people driven out of large parts of Greece by the Dorians. In particular, the Cypriot speech is akin to the Arcadian, and Cyprus was settled from Greece long before the Dorian invasion. Moreover, though the Doric and Aeolic dialects have more in common with one another than either has with Ionic, yet Thessaly, the place of origin of these nomads, was not of Doric speech; so that we cannot even be certain that the Dorians brought the Doric with them: they may have adopted the dialect of the peoples they conquered. If they were Doric-speaking before the conquest of the Peloponnese, they will either have learnt Greek from the earlier inhabitants of Thessaly and Macedonia, or were themselves like the Macedonians, originally of Greek speech. Aeolic was probably introduced into Thessaly from the south, with the southern culture. In any case Greece must have been Greek-speaking before the Dorians.¹

¹ An interesting attempt has recently been made by Professor Persson (*Skrift u. Sprache in Ali-Kreta*) to decipher some of the Cretan inscriptions, and so solve the problem of the Cretan language, with the aid of the Cypriot syllabary, which was derived from it (above, p. 517). Assuming that the Cretan signs represent the same sounds as the corresponding Cypriot, he has read a number of Cretan words as words which were in common use in classical Greek but which were probably not of Indo-European origin. If all words found on Cretan inscriptions could be thus interpreted, it would obviously be extremely probable that the Minoans spoke a non-Greek, non-Indo-European language. This investiga-

On the other hand, the Indo-Europeans did not originate in the Mediterranean, but somewhere between central Europe and the Caspian; and spread from there at different times southward and westward, into Armenia, Persia, and India, and into the Mediterranean lands and western Europe. Hence there was some mixture of peoples in Greece, as in every country, but when the invasion took place, in what millennium B.C., we do not know. Secondly, there are many words in the Greek language—old ones—not at present explicable as of Indo-European origin, including some names of gods (Athena, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hephaestus—indeed, of the orthodox canon of Olympian gods, only Zeus is certainly so explicable), and many place-names of the types *Korinthos* and *Mykalessos* which are common in Caria and in south-west Asia Minor generally. But again, when these words were introduced, and whether they represent a real fusion of languages or only the infiltration of a few names into a predominantly Indo-European tongue is quite uncertain. The Greeks had traditions and evidence of a Carian domination of the Cyclades; and other stories of foreigners in Greece, such as Pelops himself, the founder of the house of Atreus who gave his name to the Peloponnese, said to have come from Lydia. And there may well have been temporary conquests by foreigners who have left no traces of their passage beyond a few names of places and persons, as in later times in Greece by Slavs, Latins, and Turks. But there was no period of Asiatic culture in Greece. The Greek tradition was aware of a pre-Dorian civilization and of non-Greek peoples ('Pelasgians' and others, who are not necessarily non-Indo-European) in Greece, but not of a civilization created by these non-Greeks. And it is unscientific to divide

tion is on the right lines, though it must be carried farther before certainty is established.

We must, however, still note the following: the men who carried the script to Cyprus came from the mainland, not from Crete, and at a time (fourteenth century) when the mainlanders were in all probability speaking Greek; they were using a script, that is, that was already being used to write Greek, on the mainland if not in Crete. This Greek would already have been a mixed language; it may be accident that so far only such words appear to be decipherable as are of non-Greek origin. And how long this mixed language had been spoken in Greece we have no means at present of telling. See also above, p. 517, n. 2.

Greek civilization, and in particular Greek religion, into two elements and label the one Indo-European, Hellenic, late, the other non-Indo-European non-Hellenic, Aegean, corresponding to the two (as though there could be only two) racial elements in the country; still more, to say when the former was introduced, or even that it is later than the other; and in general to speak of 'pre-Hellenic' when we mean 'non-Hellenic', and of 'early and primitive strata' as though what is primitive must necessarily be early in any particular place. The Dorians were more primitive than the people they conquered, but they are late-comers.

To sum up: there had been an Indo-European conquest of Greece, but of quite uncertain date. There is nothing in the archaeological evidence nor in the tradition to establish as certain, or even as probable, the view that there was any invasion, between, say, 3000 and 1100 B.C., which radically affected culture, though there may have been many less important wars and invasions, by alien or kindred peoples. But Greece was Greek-speaking before 1100: she may therefore, as far as we can see at present, have been Greek-speaking (Indo-European, if you like, but certainly of mixed descent) throughout that period, at least in the civilized regions. On the other hand, the Homeric Achaeans are pre-Dorian, earlier than 1100 that is, yet in many respects not Aegean (and also not contemporary, ninth-century Ionian); nor has any place in Greece, for example, Phthiotis, the home of Achilles, the borderland between Mycenaean Greece and Thessaly, been found where the archaeological evidence corresponds to the Homeric-Achaean culture or could even suggest its origin. This problem then remains as yet unsolved: the Achaeans come between the Aegeans and the classical Greeks as an uncomfortable insertion, like the Heroic Age in Hesiod's *Theogony*, between the Bronze Age and the Iron.¹

There are, however, two aspects of the matter which must be borne in mind, no matter what the solution. We talk vaguely

¹ An epic poem may easily contain inconsistent elements. The medieval *Erotokritos*, for example, has pagan names and gods, western chivalry, Cretan scenery, and contemporary political sympathies (disguised). But no such mixture seems applicable to Homer.

of 'the invading Northerners'. But even if it were established that the Achaeans were invaders from the north in 1600 or 1400 B.C., and that they were the first Greek-speaking peoples in Greece, it does not necessarily follow that the earlier inhabitants were not Indo-Europeans, and it is not true that the invaders were North-Europeans; there is no evidence that they were either tall or fair. The Dorians came from a district north of the centre of Mycenaean civilization, but from Thessaly, Epirus, or western Macedonia, not from central or northern Europe. On the contrary, Danubian culture throughout the Bronze Age was influenced by the Aegean, not vice versa; as usual in Europe, civilization advanced from the south and east. Not even in Macedonia were there North-Europeans, though the Vardar valley was overrun by barbarian hordes from the Danube in the twelfth century—an ephemeral invasion. The Dorians, therefore, were not 'Nordics', and to-day would have found it as difficult to enter America or remain in Germany as the Aegeans.

Secondly, no matter to what 'race' the Aegeans belonged, their culture is European, just as the culture of the Persians and of the Hindus, though they were Indo-Europeans, is Asiatic. No one would mistake the earliest and purest Persian monuments for anything but Asiatic work, and Cretan or Mycenaean pottery is as unmistakably European (though influenced from Asia Minor and Egypt), as is recognized at once when it is found on Asiatic or Egyptian soil.¹ It has been argued that the Minoan Cretans were akin to one at least of the peoples who went to make up the Hittite race, and as we do not know who those peoples were, no one can say that this is wrong.² But of what value is it? None

¹ It is a mistake, in a history of the civilization, to group the Aegeans with the Eastern Empires, Egypt and Mesopotamia, rather than with classical Greece. It is only justifiable chronologically, and implies a kinship with the East which is false, and denies the real kinship with later Greece.

² At the same time we may note that on Egyptian monuments the physiognomy of the Keftiu (see above, p. 521) is 'as distinct as it can well be from that of any Asiatic nation that we know of. Their straight noses, the deep-red colour of their skins (indicating the open-air life of the Greeks), their clean-shaven faces, all mark them off from the aquiline, yellow-skinned, bearded Semites, and from the high-beaked Hittites. The Egyptian has a wonderful knack of giving the essentials of

could possibly mistake a Hittite for a Cretan monument: the two civilizations are widely different. Again, it is possible that from 1600 B.C. or earlier the people, or the dominant people, of the Greek mainland had no racial affinity with the Cretans; but how little that matters compared with their close cultural affinity. This quality of Aegean culture is more important than any speculations as to the racial origin of the Aegean peoples.¹

a nation, he was a true caricaturist, and in these tombs he has given us a remarkable series of pictures of the straight, slender Minoan envoys, though he may not have worked from a photograph or even a model' (Pendlebury, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1930, p. 82).

¹ Indeed we might say of the Greeks what Wyndham Lewis has said of Shakespeare (*The Lion and the Fox*, p. 296): 'In Shakespeare's case there is less temptation than in that of almost anybody to occupy ourselves with where he came from: for where he got to is a matter of such great and universal interest that it would be sure to dwarf his origins, as it dwarfed his immediate environment. However far back you went down the stream of his blood, you would not be likely to meet anything so worth your attention (however picturesque) as himself.'

Such problems in fact would only be important if we could examine and analyse all the hereditary factors which went to make up the people or the man; but they may fascinate, like a jigsaw puzzle. For a description of the method of ethnological analysis as applied to living races, see W. H. Rivers's paper 'History and Ethnology' (published in *History*, July 1920, and reprinted as No. 48 of *Helps for Students of History*, S.P.C.K., 1922). His picture of the Melanesian inquirer in our own islands who, ignoring literary evidence as suspect, discovers by the study of language, institutions, and social customs that there have been three main sources of population, the whisky-people, the beer-people, and the wine-people (Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman), the first geographically separate from the other two, the first two socially separate from the last, serves well, however, as a warning. For, first, the Melanesian would have better evidence, and be more able to check it, than we have for past civilizations; and secondly, we may note the pitfalls: the Melanesian would be wholly incorrect if he assumed from his analysis (1) that since, say, the fourteenth century, there were three classes sharply defined, whether geographically or socially, who drank each one of them only whisky, beer, or wine; and (2) that these classes were racially pure. Moreover, the analysis ignores two not unimportant factors in our history, the Roman conquest, and the spread of Christianity. From the use of wine, and of Latin or the mixed form of the English language in the ceremonial of the Catholic and Anglican Churches, he would infer that Christianity was introduced by the Normans.

CHAPTER II

THE GREEK EXPANSION AND THE FORMATION OF GREEK SOCIETY

I. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ASIA MINOR COASTS (1100-900 B.C.)

WHATEVER may be the truth about the origin of the Dorians and their racial and linguistic affinities with the Aegeans whom they conquered, it is certain that they were a rude and undeveloped people who overthrew civilized, settled communities. A new and ultimately fruitful element was introduced, the fusion of which with the old produced the culture of classical Greece; and for this element the Dorians were presumably at least in part responsible; but for the moment their invasion meant the complete break-down of society on the mainland, and the flight of large numbers of the older population. For many generations the history of the mainland is for us almost a blank; the old dynasties of the Achaeans in the Argolid, Sparta, and Pylos, in Crete, and elsewhere, were overthrown, and the old culture destroyed both there and in districts such as Attica and Boeotia where the Dorians were stayed and never settled. Not that the original inhabitants were exterminated, far from it: they remained everywhere an important, perhaps the most important, element in the new society that was afterwards formed; as has been said, one can trace in the pottery the continuous development of geometric designs during these dark centuries, and many features of Aegean religion survived to be among the most important in classical times. But the old Bronze Age society, with its fine palaces, its amusements and its art, was gone.

The Dorians moving south down the Pindus range pressed on the people of Thessaly and Boeotia to the east, and then, crossing the Corinthian Gulf in the west (tradition said from Naupactus), invaded the Peloponnese, driving many of the inhabitants again eastward, to Attica and eastern Argolis. Large numbers of them migrated overseas to the coasts of Asia Minor. We must imagine not one but a series of such invasions and migrations from the thirteenth to the eleventh century. For the whole of

the Aegean world and the Levant was disturbed. The Achaeans, following the old routes of the Cretans, had conquered Rhodes, Pamphylia, and Cyprus; they were now raiding the Levant and Egypt: it was about this time that the Philistines, a people of Aegean culture, after a defeat in Egypt, settled in Palestine. The great Hittite power of Asia Minor was by then rapidly declining: the conquest of Troy by the Greeks (about 1200 B.C.) was an episode in that decline. After this conquest Achaean Greeks from Thessaly and Boeotia, at first doubtless in independent adventures, later under pressure from the Dorians, settled in the island of Lesbos and the northern coast-lands. Dorians themselves passed on through the Peloponnese to Melos and Thera in the Cyclades, to Crete, and to Rhodes and the adjacent islands and mainland, which had for so long been held by men of Aegean culture. Between these two districts lie the islands of Samos and Chios and by far the richest of the coast-land, with the valleys of the Hermus and Meander rivers stretching far into the interior, offering as fair a climate as that of Greece and a fertility of soil such as few of the Greeks had seen, and, what was more important and strange to them, an easy access for trade and travel into the heart of the country. This part was settled last by the Greeks (doubtless because it was strongest held by the Asiatics), by Ionians from the Peloponnese and Attica. The whole of this coast, north of Rhodes as far as the Hellespont, and the adjacent large islands, though it had had communication with Greece in the last phase of the Bronze Age, and imported Greek products, had nevertheless resisted the influence of Aegean culture. The new-comers largely mixed with the original inhabitants (doubtless most of them were men, who took wives from among the Asiatics, as we are specially told of Miletus), but they remained the dominant element in language and culture; the new societies were formed wholly on Greek lines and were as much a part of the Greek world as those of the Cyclades and the Greek mainland. Henceforth this strip of Asiatic coast was to remain Greek and European for some three thousand years, till the other day as it were, when the Greeks were driven out of Asia Minor by the Turks.

About the state of society in these new Greek settlements in a foreign land we are uncertain, for Homer, their product, writes of an earlier age before the migration, and archaizes. Tradition and probability alike suggest that it was similar, despite the altered circumstances, to what it had been before; that there were still kings of royal lineage, nobles and the commonalty, with occasional slaves (the victims of mischance, not of a system). As with the Achaeans, it was a simple society, with little to distinguish a prince from his people, no sharp dividing line; and one prince might differ from another in wealth and power (as Laertes, himself a farmer, from Agamemnon), and remain a prince. Bonds were looser than in the days of Mycenae and Cnossos, everything less settled and less organized; personal honour and renown and desire for gain, rather than state necessities, are the causes of fighting; individual piracy and brigandage commoner than wars between states. Technical skill in the crafts, particularly in metal-work (in tools and swords of iron), remained; but artistic invention had almost gone, and there are no remains of building of this age, whether of fortress, palace, temple, or private house; no painting, no sculpture—and when these arts reappear, about the eighth century, it is in a crude and primitive form, a new beginning. No wonder that both Homer and Hesiod look back to the age of the Achaeans as to one of heroes, god-like men in contrast to their own contemporaries. We cannot even be certain (though it is inherently probable) that the knowledge of writing was preserved—Homer makes but one reference to it, and that obscure.¹ The Phoenician alphabet, itself allied to, perhaps influenced by the Cretan linear script, was introduced into Greece and adapted to the Greek language perhaps as early as 1200 B.C., perhaps later; whether it only took the place of the old, or was a new thing to unlettered men, we cannot be certain. It had a very great advantage over the old syllabic script; it was a true alphabet, each sign representing a sound, and where the Phoenician was defective, in that

¹ It is in the story of Bellerophon, whom Proetus of Argos sent to Lycia with a message to the prince of Lycia to kill him; the message was in signs and symbols, written (or engraved) on a folded tablet. Homer may again be archaizing, alluding to the old script, and avoiding reference to the new letters of his own day.

it had no letters for the vowels, the Greeks at once corrected it by using certain of the Phoenician letters, for which they had no use, to represent their vowels. Yet in one point it was reactionary: the Phoenicians wrote from right to left, and the Greeks at first copied them in this, though in the Aegean script they had written from left to right. This perhaps suggests a gap, a period in which the art of writing was forgotten or nearly forgotten, and therefore a later date, 1000 or 900 B.C., for the introduction of the new alphabet.¹

However that may be, the new alphabet must have helped the great and unique achievement of this age, the Epic. The Achaeans had loved music, mostly in the form of ballads sung by minstrels; few things were better than, after meat and drink, to listen to stories of the gods and men, sung to the accompaniment of a lyre, stories that moved to laughter and tears. (There is but little evidence for anything like this in the Aegean Age, though the flute and the seven-stringed lyre were known.) Many such ballads must have been carried in men's memories from Greece to the new settlements in Asia Minor, and new ones composed—sung in the courts of princes and the houses of nobles: short ballads in the hexameter verse, such as the minstrels of the *Odyssey* sing. A long period will have passed in the development of this verse, for in Homer it is a complex and perfect instrument. But nothing of this earlier poetry survives, nor was known to the later Greeks: Homer appears for us (in Ionia, about the turn of the tenth and ninth centuries) suddenly and complete, in an otherwise poor and undistinguished age—'he rose over the poetical world, shining out like a sun all at once', says Pope. His own work was to take the short ballads and make of their

¹ It has been argued recently that the alphabet may have reached Greece as early as the fourteenth century (the traditional date of Cadmus), and anyhow not later than the twelfth century, because most of the forms of the earliest Greek letters are more like those found in the early Byblos inscriptions than those of the eighth-century Moabite stone. But some of the Greek forms are like the Moabite, and it is clear that in so complex a matter we have not enough evidence to decide the question on these lines. The 'traditional' date of Cadmus means very little: it was one worked out by later Greek theory.

In the most recent discussion of this question Prof. Rhys Carpenter (*Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, 1933) brings the date of the first Greek alphabet much lower, not earlier than 700 B.C. His main arguments are as follows: (1) we have no examples of Greek writing earlier than this date, an argument *ex silentio* which in this case,

material the Epic: a long poem, yet not so long but that it is comprehensible as a whole (as Aristotle says), giving opportunity for that crowded canvas and variety of episode and treatment essential to the epic; his great achievement to secure the unity of the whole, by a marvellous artistic tact in the choice and management of his subject, not the whole Trojan War, not the Life of Achilles but the Anger of Achilles, which started the quarrel in the Greek camp and the temporary triumph of the Trojans and ended in the death of Hector; not the story of Odysseus from the fall of Troy to his death, but the last days only of his Return; his instrument a wonderful poetic diction, with which he easily carries his burden; his mind comprehensive, understanding the characters of men and observant of the aspects of nature.

Whatever was serious or magnificent made a part of his subject: war and peace were the comprehensive divisions in which he con-

after so much excavation of sites with continuous archaeological record going back to the Bronze Age, is significant, though not decisive; (2) there is no evidence that the Phoenicians traded in the Mediterranean, west of Cyprus at any rate, before the eighth century, and a strong presumption from archaeology that they did not; (3) the forms of the earliest Greek letters show a much closer likeness to the Phoenician letters on the Amathus bowl from Cyprus, which is now dated *c.* 730 B.C., than to those on the Moabite stone or on the Byblos inscriptions; and (4) that in the expansion of the Greeks over the Mediterranean in the eighth and seventh centuries, those colonies which were founded before about 700 B.C. show varieties of the alphabet different from those of their *metropoleis*, those founded afterwards have the same varieties as their *metropoleis*. For Professor Carpenter, Homer, whom he dates in the middle of the eighth century, was illiterate; writing, at first a difficult art, was first adopted for dedicatory inscriptions on stone and pottery, and in literature for short poems—by the lyric poets of the seventh century. His arguments have weight; but we must still note that our earliest Greek inscriptions show much local variety, which it would have needed time to develop; and that the similarity of the Greek alphabet with that of the Amathus bowl, supposing it decisive, is obviously consistent with a date *c.* 750 or even 800 for its first introduction.

To the Rhodians is given the honour of having formed the first European alphabet. It would seem certain that it was the Greeks who took the active part in the introduction of the new alphabet, not the Phoenicians; for, as far as we know, all the alphabets of Western Asia Minor, Carian, Lycian, Lydian, and Phrygian, were borrowed not direct from the Phoenicians, but from the Greeks. (This fact clearly weakens the second argument given above, that the Phoenicians were not active traders before the eighth century.) See C. W. Blegen, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, 1934, pp. 10–28, who publishes some Attic vases at least as old as the middle of the eighth century, with inscriptions; and these in by no means the most primitive form of the Attic alphabet. There are also a few Corinthian vases of the same date, with inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet.

sidered the world; and the plans of his poems were founded on the most active scenes of each, the adventures of a siege, and the accidents of a voyage. For these, his spirit was equally active and various, lofty and expressive, clear in narration, natural in description, rapid in action, abundant in figures. If ever he appears less than himself, it is from the time he writ in; and if he runs into errors, it is from an excess, rather than a defect of genius. Thus he rose over the poetical world, shining like a sun all at once; which if it sometimes makes too faint an appearance, it is to be ascribed only to the unkindness of the season that clouds and obscures it, and if he is sometimes too violent, we confess at the same time that we owe all things to his heat. Even after the abatement of what was extravagant in his run of praise, he remains confessedly a mighty genius, not transcended by any which have since arisen; a prince, as well as the father of poetry.

Homer, apparently so isolated in his own age, the earliest of the world's writers, was to the later Greeks the Poet *par excellence*; his supreme genius was at once the inspiration of the poets and his verses the universal task of the schoolboy wherever Greek was spoken. But more than this: he wrote of Greeks as a whole, not of separate states, before indeed those states had crystallized into separate units; he belonged not to one district or section of the people but to all, his poems a common legacy to the Greek world, making for unity and fusion amid the variety and sharp divisions and quarrels of later times: the possession of all, as the Greek and Roman cultures are to modern Europe; the classics, but not the Bible, of the Greeks.

II. THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK STATE

Meanwhile, on the mainland and in Crete and the Cyclades—the old centres of civilization—the destruction and confusion caused by the Dorian invasion had been greater. Society may have taken longer to adapt itself to new conditions, for there is no Homer here, no writer within less than a hundred years of him; when, in the early eighth century, Hesiod was writing a farmer's poem in Boeotia, and a *Cosmogony* and *Theogony*, both in the epic language fixed by Homer, and so by now familiar on both sides of the Aegean. Except some

metal-work, engraved gems, and much pottery, we have no material remains older than the eighth century; and that this cannot be due to accident, or to the destruction of older work by succeeding generations (to which is due in some part, for instance, the scarcity of pre-Norman buildings in England), is shown by the primitive style and insignificant extent of the earliest buildings of which we have some scanty remains. In nothing is the contrast with the splendours of the Bronze Age so apparent.

Yet when we get our first glimpses of authentic history, about the second half of the eighth century B.C., we discover that in some respects Greece already presents a picture similar to that of a couple of centuries later; and must infer that a long process of settlement had preceded. The many states are now separate politically from each other. Almost every valley and every island formed a distinct political unit (there were more than fifty in Crete); and the division between one and another is much sharper than it had been in the Achæan world. Sparta is strong, and extending her dominions over Messenia to the west; Argos is the most important, indeed the only important, state in the Argolid, not Mycenæ nor Tiryns; Corinth is independent of the Argolid and increasing in wealth; Aegina, though perhaps for a time dependent on Argos, is yet important; Megara appears as a separate state; Orchomenus in Boeotia has declined before the rising power of Thebes.

More than this: the shape of the state is by now, in outline, fixed—that shape which is common to all the Greek world, wherever a society preserved itself intact and did not fuse with an outside people; common to Sparta as to Athens, to Phocis as to Miletus, to Corinth as to Tarentum or Syracuse, and common to monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy—at least where there was a developed society; part of the Greek world, in Aetolia for instance, remained inactive and comparatively barbarous. We have not contemporary historians for these early stages in the state's development, but we have traditions (many based on written record), fragments of contemporary poets, and the later forms of institutions to guide us.

Society was based on kinship, and expressed, as it were, in the ownership of land. This applies to all members of the State, rich and poor, nobles and commons; it was not only the nobility who had a pedigree. The family was of the normal European type: descent in the male line, the father the head, his sons succeeding and forming new families.¹ The bond of the family was close; and in many respects it, rather than the individual, was the unit of the State. For example, in a case of blood-guilt, for homicide intentional or accidental, the whole family was originally outcast until cleared of the guilt; if a man was banished, his sons were banished with him, and the whole family property confiscated. The history of Greek society to the beginning of the third century B.C. is that of the emancipation of the individual from the bonds of the family, and though by the beginning of the sixth century it was generally established that a man was responsible for his own crimes only and not for those of his kin as well, yet many traces of the old unity prevailed; even in the fifth century we know of cases (in exceptional circumstances, it is true) where men were banished for treason, and their sons were not indeed banished with them, but had to prove their loyalty; old formulae were still preserved which laid down to what degree of relationship men were compelled to prosecute for the killing of one of their kin (it was a singular advance in Attic law when 'any one who wished' might prosecute for an offence); and intermarriage between cousins and between uncle and niece (especially where the niece was heiress to her father's property) remained common in the Greek world throughout classical times—the original idea being the necessity of preserving both the property and the continuity of the family; if a man died intestate having only a daughter, the next of kin could claim by law to marry her and so in effect succeed to the property (with a corresponding obligation that if a poor man died having daughters only, his richer kin should contribute to her dowry). The existence of some form of ancestor worship, at

¹ The Greek family, that is, is a family in the strict sense of the word, consisting of father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, and excluding uncle, brother-in-law, cousin, and more distant kin; though there survived traces of an earlier and wider kinship group.

least of a religious preservation of family tombs and continued offerings at them (and as well, the frequently extravagant expenses of funerals), was at once a sign of this close family feeling and helped to preserve it. It lasted throughout the classical period, till the break-up of society by the Macedonian conquests, when the individual was entirely freed; it was thought as much of by Plato and Aristotle, and the classicist Plutarch, as by the common man; it had its brighter side in a friendliness and helpfulness between blood-relations, and the delicate and sensitive affections of husband and wife, and parents and children, which were so marked a characteristic of all the Greeks.

οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρείσσον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασι οἶκον ἔχοντον
ἀνὴρ ἡδὲ γυνή· πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσι,
χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτησι· μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

More important, however, in the structure of the state were the clan, the union of a number of families, supposed, with more or less sincerity and emphasis, to be descended from a common ancestor, and the *phylê* (generally, but most misleadingly, translated *tribe*), a union of clans, also supposed, more vaguely, to be akin to one another.¹ The history of the *phylê* on Greek soil is obscure; in most Dorian states, for example, the citizens were divided into three *phylae*; these, then, presumably existed before the Dorian migration. Did then the *phylae* nicely divide up, in nearly equal proportions between the new states, Sicyon, Argos, Sparta, and the rest? If so, they were originally but loosely knit units, and their development belongs to the period after the migration. How again did the immigrants into Attica, driven out by the Dorians, coalesce with the original inhabitants? But certainly by the end of the eighth century, there were clans and *phylae* in every state, each with its own organization, social

¹ But socially the family, in the strict sense as given above, remained more important; property was divided between families, and did not belong to wider kinship groups or to clans. This is important, for with the continual formation of new families (as each son married and made his own household), it made possible the rise of individualism. Politically advanced states like Athens were in their public life entirely individualistic, in spite of the strength of the family tie in law and in society.

and religious; and the individuals besides being members of families and clans and phylae, were now also conscious of membership of the State; an Argive was no longer akin to a Corinthian. Nor could he ever become a Corinthian by residence, nor his descendants. In spite of the break caused by the migrations the idea of kinship between members of a group revived. Nothing could show its strength more clearly than the fact that no Greek state had a law of naturalization. In later times it was common enough for men to migrate from their own state to another, especially to prosperous commercial and manufacturing states; there was no bar to such immigrants, whether other Greeks or men from the outer non-Greek world—Egyptians, Asiatics, Thracians; in Athens, for example, in the fifth and fourth centuries there were large numbers of foreigners settled, mostly Greeks, as was natural, amounting at the highest to one-third of the number of citizens. But the immigrants never became Athenians, nor their children though born in Attica, nor their children's children; a man or woman was only an Athenian if his parents were Athenian.¹ Consequently there was little intermarriage between these resident foreigners and the citizens; nor had they any political rights. They mingled freely with Athenians in society and business; they shared in civil rights, had their part in certain state festivals, and were protected by Athenian law at home and by Athenian influence abroad; the Athenian gods were their gods; there was no kind of slur in their conditions and no prejudice against them; on the contrary they were a privileged class;² yet in the structure of the community they were and remained till the end of the Athenian state a separate element. This *metic* system as fully developed

¹ Strangers had always been well treated in Greece, and in earliest times, before the final settlement of the states, had been accepted as citizens; the *metic right*, something less than the citizen right, was perhaps first established in Athens in Solon's time.

² The word *μέτοικος* which described them meant originally one who had changed his residence; but in time its other meaning became uppermost in men's minds—one who lived with others, shared with them, a privileged person compared with transient foreigners: *Clienten des Volkes der Athener, als Mitbewohner Athens* *Mitpfleglinge Athenas, Quasibürger*, as Wilamowitz finely said. 'Outlander', as the word is sometimes translated, gives exactly the wrong idea.

is peculiar to Greece; it is not found in Rome nor in later times. It was the product of two opposing forces: the feeling for kinship, which excluded foreigners, and the love of travel and of meeting other men, a sense of hospitality and a total absence of exclusiveness of *manner*, which welcomed them. If Athens in the fifth or the fourth centuries had continued to advance in power—for example, had she remained head of the Delian League, given 'Plataean' and metic rights to favoured communities, and had the town increased greatly in size, as a trading and industrial centre and as the capital of the league—then the citizens would have become a privileged minority, and would doubtless have fought for their privileges with all the obstinacy and selfishness which generally characterize such minorities. As it turned out, the metics were always in a minority, and were regarded both by the citizens and themselves as privileged foreigners; and the question of their naturalization and enfranchisement as a group, which was alien to the Greek idea, did not arise even in their own minds; and such enfranchisement would have entailed some irksome duties as well as valuable rights.

The only way in which a man could become a citizen of another state was by a special enactment by the citizens of that state for him personally, a process analogous to adoption into a family. A man could adopt another as his son, who was then in law in all respects as a son by birth; it was not uncommon for a man with a daughter but no son to adopt his son-in-law (even by will, if he died before his daughter was of marriageable age, to designate and adopt his future son-in-law), who thereupon became his son. Similarly an individual could be adopted by a state and so become a full member of that state, but only, or practically only, in this way. This complete separation of political communities was quite foreign, as far as we can judge, to conditions among the Homeric Achaeans. There intermarriage between families of different communities, at least between noble families who alone perhaps had the opportunity, was normal; there was much more truly one society, over all Greece, and marriages could be made for dynastic reasons. In

later times the feeling for kinship, now crystallized in the different states, increased the political and, in the matter of intermarriage, social separation of one state from another. Indeed the separation grew more distinct with time and the better organization of states; in the sixth century intermarriage was not unknown, especially among the families of the tyrants for reasons of politics; and it was not till 451 B.C. that Athens gave legal force to the popular feeling by enacting that no one was a citizen unless both his parents were citizens. In the same way illegitimate children, because they were not members of a family, were not citizens. It is easy to exaggerate this family feeling among the Greeks (and it is often exaggerated), to forget that many men did in fact ignore it, that not every one thought it his first duty in life to marry and have a son—they were too individual a people for that; and that there were no two amongst hundreds of Greek communities exactly alike. The fact that so many men settled in the prosperous industrial states is in itself a proof that family ties could easily be broken. But neither must its importance be denied, for it underlies many of their most characteristic institutions.

But it was not sufficient for a man to be one of a group of kinsmen; he must also, ideally at least, own land. Hence though the eldest son in a sense succeeded his father, he did not inherit all his land—there was never in Greece entail and right of primogeniture; the land was divided amongst all the children (in dowry to the daughters, as permanent holdings to the sons). Even later when the right of testamentary disposition was legally unlimited, it was, as far as we know, the almost universal practice to divide property more or less equally among all the children. A man without a share in the community's land was held to be hardly a full member of it—this dating from the period (which lasted well into the sixth century for all states and yet longer for many) when agriculture and stock-breeding were the principal industries, when the only manufacturers were the smiths, masons, potters, and the like (who each would own his own shop and the land on which it was built), and trade was negligible. Hence foreigners could not own land, any more than

they could intermarry with citizens. A foreigner adopted into the citizen body could own land, as he shared in all the other privileges of the State; and very occasionally the privilege was granted for special services to individuals who were yet not made citizens. Later, with the growth of manufacture and commerce, there were many citizens without land, poor men working for hire or rich men with other sources of wealth; landed estates were freely bought and sold; but it was still regarded as normal for the citizen to own some land, if only the house he lived in, and foreigners, as wealthy as any citizen from these other sources, yet was debarred from owning any.

Similarly, it was natural that all citizens should be prepared to defend the State in arms when necessary, and that each should find his own armour—sword, helmet, shield, breast-plate, and greaves—and keep it in good order; not a thing for a man without means. Hence while service in the cavalry was a privilege of the rich (men who *owned* their own horses), the heavy-armed infantry, the ‘hoplites’, came to consist of men of moderate means that is, of men with a certain amount of landed property. (There were no regular officers in a Greek state, and so no officer class: men were appointed to command for a campaign, and a general or captain in one campaign would as likely as not be in the ranks in the next.) This idea was so ingrained that in many states citizenship was confined to this and the richer class; and even in democratic states, with the need of large armies, the poorest, that is, the landless class, though in full possession of political rights, were normally excluded from the regular army and employed only as light-armed¹ or in the fleet; for a man still supplied his own armour, and even in Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries, when the fleet was the principal arm and her chief claim to military distinction, only the poorest served on it, and with all their pride in the navy there was a prestige attached to the hoplites to which the sailors never attained. The Greek states retained to the end this idea of the

¹ The Greeks never developed their light-armed troops as an important element in their army, valuable as they would have been in such a mountainous country, though they often proved their usefulness, and some individuals (Plato amongst others) understood wherein that lay.

union of rights and duties; there was not, in theory, any military conscription of men without political rights. Personal slaves might accompany their masters on a campaign, but there was no general use of them in warfare—they did not serve in triremes; and similarly, resident foreigners or natives without political rights were normally not called up for foreign wars.

As the direct or indirect consequences of the disturbances of the eleventh century, in some districts of Greece, notably in Thessaly and Laconia, the conquered inhabitants were reduced to serfdom—not, strictly, to slavery, for they did not become the chattels of any man nor of the State, and could not be bought or sold at will, but serfs, bound to the soil, working the land of the new owners: the *helots* in Laconia, and the *penestai* in Thessaly; others in Sicyon and Argos. Such men were never regarded as citizens, as members of states—they were not of the same kin as their conquerors; though in Argos later they forced their way to recognition by a social revolution, and in Sicyon for a time a tyranny levelled out the distinction. In Thessaly there grew up a true aristocracy of landowners—riders of horses and huntsmen, living on the produce of their wide lands. In Sparta there was also an aristocracy, but of the unique development there more will be said later. In other districts, in Boeotia and Attica for instance (in Attica there had been no foreign conquest within living memory, all classes of the population were ‘autochthonous’), there were poor peasants side by side with the rich and nobly born, often oppressed by them, often indebted and losing their land, in some cases with their own persons and families mortgaged for debts and so in practice enslaved; yet they never lost their sense of personal freedom, of their rights in the State, as did the serfs elsewhere, and so were able to regain them when the opportunity came.

✓ When the Greeks planted new colonies, as will be described in the next section, the first stage was the distribution of the land among the new settlers; indeed the chief object of most of the colonies was to relieve the parent state of a landless class (the result in the main of growth of population, partly also of civil

isturbance). The settlers might derive from more than one state, but if the new colony thrived, it developed into an independent state, and in that case, normally, only the descendants of the original settlers owned land and enjoyed political rights—though again it must be remembered that there was no strict uniformity, that with the very diverse environments of the colonies there grew up many varieties of practice.

The Aegean states of the Bronze Age, it cannot be doubted, were ruled by kings; so were the Achaeans of Homer; and kingship survived the Dorian invasion. The kings were the leaders in war, and the representatives of the State in all matters of religion, at sacrifices and festivals in honour of the gods—there existed priests and seers, but they were skilled craftsmen, as it were, summoned to help on serious occasions, as architects or armourers were summoned for their special skill; they did not represent the community. But there was no very great difference between a king and the rest of the citizens; they were not *subjects*; there was no court, and no particular reverence for the Blood Royal; the tendency towards obliteration of such distinctions being helped by the sharper political divisions after Achaean times, for princes of different states no longer intermarried, or but rarely, so that there was no traditionally royal stock throughout Greece. In consequence when the nobles increased their power at the expense of the kings, as they did early everywhere in the ninth and eighth centuries, from more or less the same causes as have operated all over the world, the kingship either disappeared altogether or survived (as at Athens) as an unimportant priesthood and that generally not held by members of the old royal family. The peculiar kingship at Sparta, retaining the old duties and privileges, survived to the end of the classical period; in other places, as at Chalcis and Smyrna in Asia Minor, we hear of kings as leaders in war at the end of the eighth century; Pheidon of Argos was one of the most powerful persons in Greece a generation later; but in general kings as a political force, as an important part of the constitution, had disappeared by about 800 B.C., and even Sparta, with only verbal accuracy, is included among 'the ancient republics of Greece'.

Still less was there any recognized distinction between the nobles and the rest of the citizens other than that of wealth and consequent influence. But this wealth and influence, combined with the requisite leisure, secured for them political power; the direction of affairs tended to remain in the hands of a group of powerful families, jealous of each other as in all oligarchies, determined not to allow one family to dominate the others, and oppressive to the poor.¹ Such groups of nobles ruled in most Greek states in the eighth and seventh centuries; but the feeling that all citizens have equal political rights, and that these should be exercised in a mass meeting, did not die; the mass meeting, in the open air, of all the citizens who wished or could find time to attend, remained in theory the ultimate authority in every state, though it would have in practice more or less effect according to the influence and ability of the nobles. The whole people thus assembled formed the *demos*, a term as applicable to Sparta or Thebes as to later democratic Athens. Leadership in war must be given to individuals, the day-to-day work of the state must be done by them; offices are created and men elected

¹ It has been one of the discomforts of the race of man that the development of civilization has depended upon agriculture, that is, upon digging in the ground, for which his figure is so badly suited. Not till the invention of the cattle-drawn plough was his labour lightened, then by the hoe, the reaper, the binder, the thresher; and still he must dig and bend his body in vineyards and the cabbage-patch. The hunter, riding his horse over the plains, has always despised the digger, though often envied and robbed him of his wealth and security; but more than this: the rich of the agricultural community, who have no need to dig themselves, despise, while they depend on, the bent back, and (whether or not they *inherit* the hunter's instinct) take to riding and hunting for pleasure, as for nomad men it had been their necessity. The rich develop the *Herrenmoral*, the contempt for work which bows the back or keeps a man in a shop (though paradoxically enough, a sentimental feeling is felt for peasants, denied to masons, carpenters, and clerks, though *their* occupation may be less damaging to the body). Even in democratic Athens the small-headed hunting type survived: the rich were allowed to form a cavalry corps, partly for use in warfare, largely as an ornament to the State—the rich man must go about on a horse. But by that time the *Herrenmoral* was gone; the cavalry were *allowed* by the democracy, their privileges a gift, toys for children from Uncle Demos; gallant and valuable as their conduct often was in battle. (The *Herrenmoral* was revived, in sophistry, at the end of the fifth century and was vividly portrayed by Plato; but this had no connexion with the old. This was theory, that had once been instinct; this was individual, the older had belonged to a class, and whereas the noble would have been lost without his *fellows*, the sophistical 'master' would have gained by the elimination of his *rivals*.)

to them. The old council of the Elders became a definite part of the constitution of states, the *Boulê*. In oligarchies a few families secured for themselves a monopoly of office and of membership of the *Boulê*, and by their experience and skill controlled the assembly. But ultimate authority was never delegated; there were representatives of the state, but not with full powers like a parliament; and even in the oligarchies the assembly of all citizens often retained the power of decision in what were felt to be the two vital matters—peace or war, and sentence of death or banishment on a citizen, that is, a final judgement on one of their own number. Conversely, all citizens had equal civil rights and duties: none could be sentenced to death or banishment except by the vote of all his fellows, none could be imprisoned,¹ all had the same right of appeal to legal tribunals; all must serve the state in time of war.

To the end of the eighth century, everywhere, and till much later in many places, there was a predominantly agricultural society in the Greek world, based in each state on kinship and the ownership of land. But the Greeks had two gifts to a more marked degree than other men: for sociability and for politics (not for statesmanship), both dependent on their being great talkers. The first made all the farmers live in villages, not in isolated farm-dwellings surrounded by their fields, and those villages lively with social intercourse; men lived in the street and the market-place, not each one isolated with his own family in his own home: an open-air life (a point to be emphasized for Englishmen: all foreigners note that we think of a street as something to pass through, not to stop and talk in, still less to sit in). The second gift sent men to some one central place in their community, to discuss public affairs; hence the rise of towns—one, and one only in each state; which, as the political centre, had the name of the state. Religious festivals, too, were occasions for all men to meet in a centre—in villages for the

¹ The Greeks did not use imprisonment as a punishment, and only for rare offences could a citizen be arrested and kept in prison pending trial. For murder or treason the punishment was death or exile; for almost all other offences, as for mistakes in politics or war, a fine. We do not know that crime was thereby encouraged.

smaller, in the town for the greater festivals. The Greeks also discovered, or developed, another natural gift, for manufacture and commerce, helped by and itself helping the growth of the town. They had always been a race of seafarers; all but some of them in continental Greece, and the Aegean Sea, with its long indented coast-line, its many islands, and numberless bays and shelters, is a natural training-ground for sailors. First among themselves, then with the peoples of the Levant, in the western Mediterranean, and in the Black Sea, they soon renewed and surpassed the old trading activity of the Bronze Age. The towns then grew rapidly in size and importance; they were surrounded with walls and adorned with temples and public buildings; and town-life, with all that it meant for development of manufacture and trade, of intercourse with strangers, of politics, and of intellectual and artistic activity became a characteristic of the majority of states; so that 'city-state' has become the term commonly used to describe the particular form of Greek society. Yet it is misleading; for it ignores not only many communities which were not backwaters, but fully members of the Greek world, such as Phocis, Boeotia, Elis, Arcadia, which never or not till quite late developed a city-life, but also the importance of the land in those communities which did. It ignores the fact that, in spite of town-life, the development of manufacture and trade, the consequent influx of foreign settlers and of slaves in large numbers, in the one, and their almost complete absence in the other, in social structure Athens and Phocis were fundamentally alike, however different became their outlook on life and their achievement. It implies that the Greek idea of the state was a city as the kernel, with more or less territory around to support it with food and give it air to breathe; but in reality, the land was the essential, the city only the place where men met to discuss, at first public affairs, then everything under the sun; and only in a few states, of exceptional political, commercial, or intellectual activity, was the city as such, of greater importance than the land and its culture.¹

¹ The history of the word *πόλις* is instructive: it means properly a *state*, not a city, and applies as much to rural Phocis as to Athens or Miletus; but it implies a centre,

Lastly, one of the most important contributions of the Greeks to human development, during this formation period, at first unconsciously, later consciously and logically, they established the principle of constitutional government—the coexistence of law and liberty within the community (*μήτ' ἀναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον*): the idea, that is, that the authority in a state, whether it be mass-meeting or council, democratic or oligarchic, or monarch (with stated privileges, as the Greeks said), the authority which enforces law, should itself be law-abiding and should exhibit a rational organization; the supreme authority must obey its own laws, decrees, and regulations, and not be a law unto itself. Once and once only—after Arginusae—the Athenian ecclesia refused this, and declared, like any despot, that it could do what it liked.

III. THE GREEK EXPANSION (SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.)

Already by the end of the eighth century two causes were operating which led to a wide and very rapid expansion of the Greeks over the greater part of the Mediterranean: trade and adventure were extending man's knowledge of distant lands—Egypt, the Black Sea, Italy and the west—and the growth of population was too great for the narrow valleys and plains of Greece to support it. We may surmise that the former cause was of more importance with the states of Asia Minor in their

which a state must have, and so would not be used of the Aetolians or Acarnanians of the classical period, nor of barbarous tribes; though the centre itself was not, strictly, the polis. But with the growth of town-life and all that it meant in politics and intellectual activity for the Greeks, polis came to imply a 'state grouped round a city', and then, just a city or town (as it was often used for the acropolis of a state); and conversely, it was never used of larger territorial states, as Macedonia, Lydia, or Persia.

For example: the Arcadians (or rather the Arcadians with exception of Tegea and Mantinea) are said by Aristotle to have formed an *ἔθνος*, a people, until the foundation of Megalopolis as a political centre, when they became a *πόλις*. The *πόλις* is not Megalopolis, but of *Ἀρκάδες*; yet the change in the meaning of the word can be seen clearly in the very name given to the new centre. Compare also Aristotle's phrase (*Pol.* i. 2. 8): *ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων κοινῶν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις ἦδη*.

Latin had no word corresponding to *πόλις*; *urbs* was the city proper (the Greek *ἄστυ*). Yet in Rome the idea of the city as the centre of the state was stronger than in Greece, as is shown by the restrictions on the use of the consular imperium and of the power of the tribunes of the plebs.

fertile valleys (unless they were hemmed in by the Asiatic peoples), the latter with those of the mainland and the Cyclades; and that civil strife, provoked by the absorption of estates by the rich and the desperation of landless men, sent many a man abroad in quest for better conditions than he could find at home. Certainly the greater part of the colonies were founded to give the settlers land, not as trading stations; the great increase in trade took place in the sixth to the fourth centuries and was a consequence, largely, of the colonization; it did not precede it. It was an ancient jest at the expense of the Megarians that they must have been blind men who founded Chalcedon, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, before Byzantium. But for men who were looking for land rather than commercial centres it is not surprising. Messene also, controlling the straits, was founded later than the colonies in the rich agricultural land of south Italy and Sicily. Afterwards, with the increase of trade, sites were chosen to this end as well, and some of the farthest settlements, on the north coast of the Black Sea and in Spain, were nothing but trading stations. The Greeks scarcely penetrated the interior in any direction: they traded far inland, up the Danube as far as, and beyond the Iron Gates, and the great rivers of south Russia to Kieff and the Pripet marshes (as far as they could go by river), into Asia and Egypt, Italy, Gaul (by the Rhone valley to the Jura), Spain, North Africa, and the Atlantic coast of Africa; and many individual Greeks must have travelled far. But the settlements were all on the coast; in the main doubtless because the inhabitants of the interior opposed them, partly because they were afraid of being isolated, cut off from the rest of the Greek world. Even in the toe of Italy, though there were wealthy Greek states on both the south and west coasts and communication between these two was constant, the Bruttians and Lucanians held their own; and in Sicily, with the Greeks on three sides of them, the native Sicels and Sicans kept the interior. As Plato said: 'we Greeks occupy but a small part of the whole world, a hollow between Phasis and the Pillars of Heracles, dwelling round the sea like ants or frogs round a marsh.'

A colony was seldom an official settlement by the state; rather a group of men, some with knowledge gained from trade, others excited by the hope of better things, set out, with the blessing of the authorities at home, to found a new state. Often groups of men from different cities combined in the settlement. A new state thus founded was politically independent from the first, both of its neighbours and of its parent city. Naturally the colonists would tend to keep up their connexion with their kinsmen at home, and look to them for support, and would at first at any rate trade principally with them, to their mutual advantage. The memory of their original home was never lost. But the colony was never subject to the parent-city, nor formed part with it of a political unit; with a new colony yet another fresh state was founded.

The states from which the majority of the colonies were founded were Miletus (the greatest colonizer of them all), principally in the Propontis and the Black Sea, where there were numerous settlements,¹ and one or two other Ionian cities, Samos, Chios, Colophon, and Phocaea—the last chiefly in the west, where early in the sixth century she founded Massalia (Marseilles); Rhodes and the adjacent Dorian cities, in Sicily; Andros and Paros of the Cyclades, on the north coast of the Aegean; Chalcis and Eretria, in Macedonia and Chalcidice and in the west; Megara, in the Propontis and Sicily; Corinth, principally in the west—Corcyra, the Epirote coast and Sicily (where Syracuse was a Corinthian colony); and the Achaean states in the north-west Peloponnese, from whom came, though with the assistance of many emigrants from elsewhere, most of the settlers in the rich cities of south Italy. An interesting colony was Tarentum, founded by Sparta after the conquest of Messenia, as a home, we are told, for large numbers of half-Spartans,

¹ We possess among the records of Miletus a decree of Apollonia on the Propontis, stating how they inquired of the Milesians about their origin and the latter 'having looked up the histories of these matters and the other records, answered that our city is in truth a colony of theirs, by the action of our forefathers; at the time when they sent out an expedition into the regions about the Hellespont and the Propontis and conquered with the spear the barbarian natives and founded both our state and the other Greek states as well.'

illegitimate children of Spartiates, who had no place in the Spartan state. Many of the conquered Messenians also settled in Italy. Others before the conquest had joined Samos in the colonization of Rhegium, driven out it is said by their fellow countrymen because they were so lacking in patriotic fervour as to suggest that satisfaction should be given to Sparta for a sacrilegious violation by some Messenians on Spartan territory. Different from all these settlements were Naucratis and Daphnae (later absorbed in Naucratis) in the Nile Delta, not colonies but trading-stations within Egyptian territory, with self-government granted by the Egyptian kings. Naucratis was an international foundation, several states being represented there (Miletus again first in the field about 700 B.C. or earlier) and each retaining its identity within the town; for governing magistrates were representatives of all the states contributing to the common treasury and participating in the common council-chamber called Hellenion.

By the beginning of the sixth century all the northern shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, except in the Adriatic, Etruria, and most of Spain, were studded with Greek colonies, largely, especially at first, agricultural settlements (often, as with Sybaris, with native inhabitants as workers in the fields); and in the Levant Cyprus and the southern coast of Asia Minor were largely Greek (both having been within the sphere of the Greek Bronze Age culture, and the Greek element being now strengthened by further colonization); in Egypt, the Greeks traded through Naucratis; west of Egypt, in the only district on the south Mediterranean shores which they colonized, Cyrene was Greek. Elsewhere the Phoenicians stayed them, whose great colony Carthage already dominated the southern Mediterranean and Spain, and had secured a foothold in western Sicily from which the Greeks were destined never to expel them. Their other great enemy in the west was Etruria, though she traded freely with them and was profoundly influenced by their culture.

Though land-hunger, over-population, and neighbourly wars had been the predominant motives in this sudden and rapid expansion, and though agriculture was the mainstay of many of

the new colonies—Sicily remained predominantly agricultural even after the growth of the big cities—yet trade naturally grew as rapidly—partly indeed to supplement the always poor yield of corn in Greece proper, who imported largely from Sicily, south Russia, and Egypt, partly to send to the Aegean the iron and timber needed by a growing manufacture—iron from Etruria, timber from Macedonia, where it can be floated down the rivers so much more easily than in the well-forested areas in western Greece. The chief trading states were Miletus, Phocaea, and Samos (all over the Mediterranean), Aegina (principally in the east), Chalcis, Eretria, and Corinth; and of the colonies, Byzantium, Sinope, Panticapaeum (Kertch), and Odessus (Costanza) in the Black Sea, Naucratis in Egypt, Tarentum, Sybaris, Syracuse, Cumae, and Massalia in the west. In this again the Phoenicians were their greatest rivals. Everywhere, except in Asia Minor and Egypt, the colonies were in contact with peoples much less developed than themselves, often quite barbarous, and their influence on these peoples was great and lasting—and in one case, that of Italy, of supreme importance to the subsequent history of Europe. But immediately, the commerce of the colonies was chiefly with the cities of old Greece (which includes the Asia Minor coast-line) and with Egypt, and its rapid expansion affected greatly the character of those cities principally engaged in it, and the structure of their societies. Coinage had been introduced from Lydia at the end of the eighth century, and in continental Greece was first struck by Pheidon King of Argos in Aegina early in the seventh century. From there the new system spread rapidly through the Greek world, and helped greatly in the increase of commerce.

(A word should be said here of Greek sailing, which is often misunderstood. It is often said that the Greeks scarcely dared to leave the sight of land, that they hugged the coast or sailed but from one island to another with the objective visible long before they had lost sight of their point of departure; it is asserted or implied that all trade between east and west passed by the Isthmus of Corinth, through the Gulf, and up the west coast to Corcyra, thence hurriedly to the Italian coast at Brindisi, and

along the ins-and-outs of that coast to Sicily and Etruria. This is not so: Miletus and Samos (incidentally the one early the enemy, the other the ally of Corinth) traded direct with Sybaris, Sicily, and Etruria, sailing round the south of the Peloponnese and across the Ionian and Tyrrhenian Seas (neither Brindisi nor Otranto were Greek settlements); others sailed from Aegina by Rhodes and thence straight to Egypt, others from Byzantium across the Black Sea to Kertch, others from Sicily to Marseilles or Spain. So did merchantmen always travel, across the open sea when necessary; they did not load and unload goods more than they could help. The source of the modern error is the practice of the Greek warship: that did hug the coast and go from island to island; but not because they were afraid of the open sea, but for a very different and practical reason. The warship had a crew of nearly 200, for it was rowed (whereas the merchantmen sailed, with a crew of a dozen or twenty); it was built to be speedy, light, and easy of manœuvre in battle, not for long sea-voyages. Hence there was no room on board for large stores of food and, above all, for water, no means of cooking for so large a number of men, no room for sleep. Wherever possible, therefore, the crews landed for their meals, and had to know where they were landing, and could never be for long away from shore. But it was otherwise with merchant vessels under sail.¹)

By the beginning of the sixth century the Greek world showed a social variety equal to that of the climates and environments of the many states: Aetolia and Epirus, backward, half-nomadic, with little political organization, little intercourse with the out-

¹ The Greeks, however, were not true explorers. After the great colonization period just described, their geographical knowledge was hardly extended before Alexander the Great, in spite of Hecataeus and Herodotus; little exploration was undertaken for its own sake or for trade, except the journey of Pytheas of Massalia as far as Britain and Scandinavia in the second half of the fourth century. Till then the Greeks had not often been beyond Gibraltar, though the Carthaginians had. Later again, under the Ptolemies and in the first centuries of our era, they extended their trade by sea in the East, to India, Ceylon, Malaya, and southern China.

But this is not to say that the Greeks did not like the sea (Homer is very much at home there), or that their trade was insignificant. It may be noted that much of their sea-borne trade was in heavy goods, timber and marble. Their largest boats were of about 500 tons burden.

side world; Phocis and Boeotia, lands of peasant farmers, though towns were becoming important, and the Boeotian poet Hesiod belonged to all Greece; Thessaly, with its noble landowners, living in estates cultivated by their serfs; Argos, with a more highly developed political life, but still in the main agricultural; Corinth and Chalcis, manufacturing and commercial, with an extensive trade; some of the Cyclades, Naxos, Paros, Siphnos with its mines, growing in prosperity; Chios, rich, agricultural, aristocratic, quiet; Lesbos less quiet, with a lively intellectual activity culminating in the seventh century in the poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus; Miletus and the other Ionian towns, the most active states in Greece, with both agriculture and manufacture, trading everywhere, intellectual and alert, the neighbours of the civilized countries of the Orient; the cities in Thrace agricultural mainly in the west, commercial in the east (Byzantium now rising in importance) with barbarians for neighbours; those on the Black Sea in a climate and environment quite different from the Mediterranean, sending timber and corn there (and slaves later), and receiving oil and wine; Crete divided into fifty and more different states, with interesting Dorian institutions and an early development of law and judicial procedure, but with little of the activity and none of the brilliance of the Minoan Age; Cyrene, the most isolated of the Greek colonies, but with trade connexions in Laconia; Sicily now half of it Greek, soon to be one of the wealthiest parts of the Greek world; Sybaris, already as wealthy as any Greek town, depending on agriculture as much as on trade, but townsmen and unstable, who gave to the world little beyond a name for luxury; other Greek cities in Italy, Locri, Croton, Elea, Cumae, almost as prosperous and of more solid achievement; Massalia in Gaul, the most distant of the colonies, but with a lively trade with the rest of Greece. Sparta and Athens have not yet developed those particular qualities which made them later at once the most powerful and the most interesting of the Greek states.

These hundreds of communities were all of them politically independent states, each with its own government and institutions, its own armed forces, its own religious festivals, its own

currency, even its own calendar; not only did the currencies differ, but there were at least four standards, and neighbours did not adopt the same; the Aeginetan, Corinthian, and Attic *stater* were all different—a singular hindrance to trade; not only were the names of the months various, but their periods did not necessarily coincide, for there were many different systems of fitting the months into the solar year. Most of these states were extremely small; Sparta was the only true territorial state after the absorption of Messenia—then one-third of the Peloponnese formed a single state; Athens had a territory of about 1,000 square miles, as large as Essex; Boeotia was larger, but was a loose confederacy of states, not a single whole; Corinth had an area of 300 square miles, Sicyon its neighbour of 140, Phlius of 70; Chios about 300 square miles, formed one state; but on Lesbos which is rather larger, there were five, often at enmity; most of the Cyclades formed each one state, but there were four on Ceos, which is only 70 square miles in extent, with different currencies (still, they lived in friendship). Athens in the middle of the fifth century was the most populous of the Greek states, Syracuse and a few others not far behind; she had then about 45,000 adult male citizens, and her total population, men, women, and children, citizens, resident foreigners, and slaves, probably did not reach 300,000. Most of the states were much smaller: many had not more than 2,000–4,000 citizens, many had fewer (citizen armies 500–1,000 strong were quite common).

This extreme division and splitting up was peculiar to the Greeks and universal with them, contrasting markedly with the huge territorial empires in contact with them on the east and the wide lands of the barbarians who were their neighbours in the north. It was dear to them for two reasons: it made possible the only kind of political life they cared for, where every citizen had the opportunity to take a personal part in public affairs and did not delegate his functions (not for the sake of efficiency, nor even mainly because such was the right and duty of every one, but because politics, like philosophy, letters, music, and games, was part of the good life); and beyond this, each state had a

personality as it were of its own, an individuality, precious to its members, and interesting to the philosophic observer. (Plato and Aristotle, as different in temperament from each other as superior to the average man in outlook, both accepted the small state readily, as a matter of course.) Not only must both an Athenian and an Argive have a state in which to live and (since politics are part of life) to take part in public affairs, and geographical distance alone makes it impossible for an Athenian to take any active part in life at Argos, or an Argive in Athens, but Argos and Athens have each a personality, a soul, which would be lost by absorption in a larger unity. So that

each city-state claimed from its neighbours the full recognition of its freedom and autonomy, its right to manage its own affairs as it would. And this claim was not only fiercely held, but in point of fact readily admitted. For the city-state, while intolerant of any division of authority within its borders, was tolerant of its neighbours' independence. The will to defend exceeded the will to attack. In fact the instinct of territorial expansion . . . was singularly weak among the Greek city-states. The Greeks lacked the sense of the political significance of territorial extent. The more conscious they became of the social unity of their state and religion the less they desired expansion, for expansion meant relaxing the intensity of their common life. They were prepared to dominate their neighbours, but not to absorb them, still less to surrender their individuality in a larger union.¹

Since neighbourly quarrels and jealousies were not less common among the Greeks than among other people, wars between the states were frequent, as frequent as the helpless regrets the Greeks themselves expressed at their occurrence. Yet through it all they had a very real sense of their unity, that all Greeks were essentially one in race, language, religion, and culture. A Greek was recognizable everywhere, acceptable anywhere in the Greek world. There was little state-patriotism (as opposed to national, Greek patriotism) about either their religion or their art or science. An Athenian regarded Athena as particularly the protectress of his city; but he did not express surprise or

¹ Adcock, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. iii, p. 698.

indignation at her worship by other men; the Greek gods were singularly impartial between Greek states at war (and between Greek and non-Greek). Sappho was soon 'the poetess' for all Greece, as Homer was 'the poet'. Pindar wrote for men of every city. It was not thought worth noting as particularly liberal that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Protagoras of Abdera, and Polygnotus of Thasos worked in Athens, Pheidias of Athens in Elis.¹ This unity of Hellenism is expressed most clearly in the possession of Homer, whose epics, as has been said, were a legacy to all Greece, and in the sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia. At both of these the central temples were built by the aid of states all over the Greek world, the smaller buildings and shrines by individual states; there Massalia and Syracuse, Croton, Cyrene, Sparta, Corinth, Athens, Argos, and Thebes, Miletus and Chios, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Sinope all had their part. At the one, Apollo, at the other, Zeus were the gods of the whole Greek world; at Delphi Apollo welcomed strangers too and was richly rewarded, Olympia was sacred to Greeks alone.

At Delphi met the Amphictyonic or Neighbours' Council, twice yearly—delegates from the different states or rather groups of the Greek world; a council which in happier conditions might have done something to assuage the incessant quarrelling of states, but in fact often helped to inflame it.

At Olympia, in the valley of the Alpheus, in one of the most beautiful spots in western Greece, every four years, in the height of summer, was held the great festival of the Olympic Games, religious in origin, but secular in spirit, in which athletes from every part of Greece, but only Greeks, competed. It was founded we are told (and there is no good reason to doubt the date) in

¹ In his recent book on Aristophanes, Professor Gilbert Murray, referring to the freedom with which the dramatist, in the midst of a bitterly fought war, could express the enemy's point of view and the need for peace, and not even forfeit applause, writes (p. 31) that this would be 'impossible in our own time, . . . and scarcely possible in any other period of history. . . . This is one of the points in which Athens definitely reached a higher level of toleration than any other society known to us.' This is indeed true; yet it exaggerates the spirit of nationalism in the individual Greek states. Greeks as a whole were much more conscious of their unity than modern Europeans as a whole; and our present nationalism is a comparatively recent growth, almost peculiar to our own time.

776 B.C. We have the names of many victors in the short foot-race: at first men from Elis, Arcadia, and Messenia (before its conquest by Sparta), neighbouring states; then towards the end of the century begins the long series of Spartan victories; then the rest of the Peloponnese, then Boeotia, Thessaly, Attica, and later Sicily and Italy—a truly universal Greek festival, where men competed as individuals, not as representatives of states.

It was, moreover, this love of athletic games, of contests in running, jumping, wrestling, and boxing, throwing the discus and the javelin, more rarely riding, which especially distinguished the Greeks from all their contemporaries. Hunting, with horses or hounds, and other field sports they also loved; this many eastern peoples, but not the Romans, shared with them. But there were no *gymnasia* among the Egyptians, the Asiatics, the Thracians, the Carthaginians, or the Italians; nor any later in Rome, nor in Christian nations, till at any rate quite modern times. But they were everywhere in Greece, in every state, great or small, urban or rural; square open spaces (of course open to the air), the more elaborate with colonnades along the sides and dressing-rooms and bathrooms; there from early youth all men practised games, naked (this also both un-barbarian and un-christian); the Greeks had an unaffected cult of the body, as of the mind; and the extraordinary interest shown by the Greek artist, both sculptor and painter, in the human body, its proportions, all its possible twists and movements—particularly in the second half of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, when they were all discovering new and delightful possibilities in art—was a sign of the same feeling, and also largely conditioned by it. Nothing like this use of leisure has been since known; for the interest of the Renaissance painters of Italy in the human body was an academic one, arising from the revival of interest in the classic past, not from contemporary life. Sunlit happiness, for those who could afford the time; and, as Greece rarely or never gives us one side of the picture only, contrast the hard life of the poor, the close-fisted peasant and the envious labourer of the town: contrast Homer (for all his humanity) and Sappho with Hesiod the sour-hearted farmer.

What was a graceful use of leisure to the majority became naturally the chief occupation of the few who were good enough to win prizes (generally crowns of oak-leaves or olive); and every city had its annual contests; most of them local affairs, but some of national importance; four, the Olympian, the Pythian at Delphi, the Isthmian at the Isthmus of Corinth, and the Nemean nearby, were recognized especially as belonging to all Greece; of these the Olympian was the chief. Attempts were made now and again to turn this great festival to political uses, as by Pheidon of Argos; and Delphi was often the scene and the occasion of conflict. The Isthmian festival of 390 B.C. fell due in the midst of a fierce war of which Corinth was the centre; Agesilaus of Sparta was master of the sanctuary, the Corinthians shut up within their walls. With Agesilaus' support, the exiled Corinthian oligarchs celebrated the games; on his departure the democrats (supported by Argos) celebrated them again, declaring the other null and void: so that in that year some competitors were twice beaten, some twice proclaimed as victors, which shows both the intensity of party feeling and that in spite of a war involving nearly every state in the Peloponnese and central Greece, the games went on; there was an oasis of peace. In essentials all four places remained true to their character as homes of religious and athletic festivals, and to their position as belonging to the whole Greek world.

IV. GREEK RELIGION

The Olympic festival was of sacred origin, held in honour of a god; so were all the others, national and local, athletic or dramatic and musical; hardly a race was run, or a play acted, but in honour of the gods; and some account is necessary of this religion which so pervaded the life of the Greeks. It is of mixed origin, as the people themselves, though as with all their institutions, it is impossible to attribute with certainty any one element of their religion to a particular section of the race; for those sections that we can more or less distinguish, Cretans, Mycenaeans, Dorians, and others, were already mixed before

they emerge into history, and of the nature of the mixture we are ignorant. What is important is the religion of the Greeks as we know them, from the time of Homer onwards. Yet there is clearly much in the religion of the Bronze Age in Greece which lasted into classical times; indeed, it is in religion that we can best see the continuity of Greek civilization. This Aegean religion can be described, provided that we remember our limitations: first, and this cannot be too often emphasized, that in the absence of the written record we may misunderstand or only partially understand the evidence; and secondly, that even though we admit that the mainland peoples were in origin culturally distinct (and perhaps racially too, though that matters little) from the Cretans, since we do not know what they were like before their arrival in Greece, or rather before their contact with Crete, we cannot define and isolate their several contributions to classical Greece.

Our evidence for Aegean religion consists in sacred localities which have been excavated and examined, mountain-caves, and sanctuaries in palaces, in cult-implements or symbols and cult-idols dedicated at these sacred places, in representations in art of religious practice (mostly on intaglio stones), and in tombs and the evidence for continued attention paid them. The cave-sanctuaries in the mountains (almost confined to Crete, as far as we know at present) show the most primitive form of worship though they continued to be held sacred to the end of the Minoan Age, and some of them down to classical times; perhaps tended most by peasants and shepherds, who have at all times and in most countries regarded particular localities as sacred and made offerings in them, to induce good fortune or to ward off bad. More important are the palace shrines. In every palace in Crete, in the congeries of rooms, has been found one or more which can be recognized as shrines, containing altar, images of the god, cult-objects (implements or symbols), and votive offerings.¹ On the other hand, no public shrines, outside the area of

¹ In only one palace of the mainland, at Asine in the Argolid, has a shrine been certainly identified; but this is probably accidental, due to the greater destruction of the mainland palaces, caused by the continued occupation of Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, and other sites in classical times.

a palace, are known, either in Crete or on the mainland;¹ there are no temples. From which we may conclude that the principal religious cults were domestic and that the state-cults were absorbed in the private cult of the royal house; public religious ceremonies, universal in later times, seem to have been unimportant. The cult-objects, in particular those found most frequently, the horns of consecration and the double axe, are also quite foreign to classical rites. In the cult-images, however (always small statuettes, for, as has been said above, large-scale sculpture was never developed in Crete, despite the continued influence of Egypt), and in representations of religious ceremonies, there is much that shows the continuity of religious ideas from the Bronze Age to classical times: in general, because the gods are already anthropomorphic, and in many cases, as so often in the classical age, it is difficult, in the absence of other evidence, to say whether a figure represents a god or a mortal—it is the doubt which is instructive;² and because men do not kneel or prostrate themselves in worship; in particular, because we can trace back certain classical cults and ideas to their Cretan origins, the worship of Artemis to that of the Minoan goddess of the mountains and wild nature, even so Olympian a deity as Athena to the snake-goddess of Crete. But this last gives a warning: the veneration for the snake as the guardian of the house, and its association with a goddess in the domestic cult, seems to have been common in both Minoan and classical times, and very similar in both; but Athena, despite her origin, is not *like* the Cretan snake-goddess, and the difference in the development is more important than the community of origin. On the other hand, Olympian Artemis is in many ways like her Minoan predecessor, the huntress goddess who is at the same time the protector of wild animals, those animals often represented as monsters, as griffins and sphinxes, or lions (equally with the monsters foreign to Crete), borrowed from Egypt or Asia, and

¹ A possible exception is Gournia in Crete, where the shrine, in all other respects similar to the others, was here apparently in a place open to the public.

² We also get in Minoan, as in later art, gods and mortals together, but with the idea that the gods are invisible. Anthropomorphism was not so crude as it is sometimes represented.

heraldically placed (as on the Lion Gate at Mycenae), a device also borrowed from the east. Birds as well are associated with Minoan deities, as with Athena and Zeus, and sometimes seem to represent the epiphany of a god, though, perhaps significantly, found more often in Mycenae than in Crete. In Minoan religion, or in its representation at least, the goddesses are of far greater importance than the gods.

In addition to these anthropomorphic gods there is evidence for some kind of tree and pillar cult; that is to say, whereas in many cases the tree or pillar drawn may be an artistic convention to indicate a grove or shrine, or may be regarded as sacred to a deity, there are others in which worship is apparently being given to the trees or pillars themselves—they are looked upon as gods. Again, there are indications of an animal-cult, representations of mythical beasts, as griffins, in procession, or of men dressed up as beasts. These are instances where the absence of any written evidence may lead us far astray in our interpretations of men's thoughts. But we can say that if it is true that there existed side by side these several strata of religious thought, one so much more primitive, more superstitious than the other, such contradictions have existed in most ages and did in particular in classical Greece.

In the elaboration of the tombs, especially on the mainland, and in the offerings which continued to be made in them by later generations (in one case, in Attica, down to the fifth century, ceasing perhaps only with the exodus of the country population to Athens and Piraeus at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war), we have evidence, difficult as it is to interpret, of a worship of the dead, such as was so prevalent in classical Greece in the form of ancestor-worship, both family and state-cults. But whereas in the latter a perfectly clear distinction was always made between the gods and the mortal dead—the 'heroes'—we cannot be so certain of this in the Bronze Age. Indeed in Crete at least, there is reason to suppose that the prince was regarded as a god after his death and so worshipped, a view which has been recently strengthened by the discovery south of the palace of Cnossos of a tomb and a

goddess's shrine above it which formed one building. But in no case is the difficulty of interpretation so great. Because of this worship of the king, of his sacred functions, of the existence of the palace-shrines and the absence of public ones, it has become common to speak of the 'priest-kings' of Cnossos, which suggests a theocratic society similar to the Egyptian; and an Egyptian origin has been suggested, probably enough, for the Cretan worship of the king as a god. But later Greek kings too had sacred functions in a very different type of society; and the deification of the king may be as well likened to that of the Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, which was secular and political in character, quite unlike the Egyptian. The Cretans may have borrowed the idea, while altering its nature. We know a good deal of the external forms of Aegean religion, and, therefore, a little of its meaning; contrast Egyptian and Babylonian temples and tombs, impressive by their very size, magnificent in style, with the shrines and tombs of Greece; compare the representation in art of gods and religious rites, and it would seem that Aegean civilization was predominantly secular; only the tholos-tombs of the mainland are imposing—the religion, though it borrowed forms from the east, is quite unlike anything in Asia or Egypt. But we must confess that, for the greater part, its spiritual significance inevitably escapes us.¹

One further point of interest. At a number of places, mostly on the mainland—a cave-sanctuary on Ithaca, another near the old harbour of Cnossos, the tomb in Attica already referred to, at the shrines of Eleusis, Delphi, and Delos, and elsewhere, there is evidence that the cult was continuous from Aegean to classical times. In addition, in many Aegean cities, in Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens, perhaps the Heraeum in Argolis (the evidence for Crete is uncertain), a temple was built directly on the site of the old palace in which had been the shrine of the goddess. In few things does the latter Greece show a greater contrast with the old than in this matter of temples: stately buildings, within their

¹ For a very different interpretation of the evidence see Sir A. Evans's lecture, *Earlier Religion of Greece in the Light of Cretan Discoveries* (Cambridge, 1931).

own sacred enclosure, public in character, so unlike the shrines inside the Aegean palaces. But there is continuity in the site.¹ At Tiryns there is even some evidence that the walls of the old megaron were used for the temple of Hera, and that the old altar remained. And the architectural plan of a Greek temple with its forecourt and propylon is a development of the earlier megaron with its court and entrance. Most interesting of all is the case of Athens. There, on the Acropolis, directly over the foundations of the old palace was built the oldest temple of Athena Polias, the guardian of the city. Immediately adjoining it was the sacred enclosure of Erechtheus, a mythical king, still worshipped as a hero and ancestor. In the *Odyssey* Homer (for whom Erechtheus is already a mythical figure of the older civilization, older than the Trojan War) makes Athena go to Athens and there 'enter the well-built house of Erechtheus'—a memory from the Aegean Age when the goddess dwelt in the king's palace; in another passage (in the *Iliad*) Erechtheus is the earth-born hero, ward of Athena, and set by her in her own temple, there to be worshipped as a hero by the citizens of Athens. That is the idea of Homer's own day: the goddess is guardian of the state, for the whole people, the prince her ward; earlier she had been herself housed and protected, as it were, by the prince.²

Our first view of classical religion, as it appears suddenly, with all the light of the new-risen sun after the dark ages which succeeded the fall of the Mycenaeans, in Homer and the earliest archaeological evidence, reveals a world which is not only, in so many respects, in marked contrast to the earlier age, but is already highly developed. Gone are the old palace-shrines, the cult-symbols, the double-axe, the table of offerings, the horns of consecration, which are depicted on the religious scenes of the Bronze Age, as completely as the old dress, the sports, and the artistic conventions. The gods of Homer are clear-cut, individualized, each with his own functions, living in a

¹ We may compare the very frequent cases of a similar continuity from pagan to Christian times.

² See M. P. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, ch. xv.

world of their own; and the earliest monuments, from about the turn of the tenth and ninth centuries, or perhaps later, show us the beginnings of the temple, and the cult-images of the god as a life-size statue in marble or bronze (this largely due to renewed contact with Egypt), the separate sacred enclosure, belonging to the community, no longer the small shrine hidden away within the vast labyrinth of the Aegean palace.

For these individualized gods the inventive spirit of the Greeks had created (or perhaps one should say, elaborated) a mythology as varied and as lively as that for past generations of men. This also was something new, or at least stories about the gods are not to be found in Aegean art. The stories are all human, and imply a complete anthropomorphic system; in turn they helped to humanize and individualize the deities. These eat and sleep, quarrel and make love; their actions are caused by motives both serious and trivial, good and bad, sometimes laughable (which must not be misunderstood: many peoples, the Greeks perhaps more than most, have known how to laugh at what they revered).¹ This humanizing of the gods has, however, a twofold aspect: the more human, the less divine, and so the less revered, in some respects; but also the more human, the more rational. Homer's gods, that is, belong to a rational, ordered world, a world from which fantastic miracles and magic are alike absent; they are not inscrutable. Athena, and any other god, can assume what disguise she pleases to watch and help or hinder human effort; but no god, except in humorous tales, makes the sun stand still in the sky or prolongs the night beyond its norm. Poseidon is the god that controls the sea; he can whip it into a storm to wreck a human enemy (the protégé of another god); he does not make the seas divide and drown the enemies of his chosen people. He does not act outside the order of nature. For the Greek gods were not the *creators* of the universe and its laws, nor any one god; but at best their guardian. They were not outside and above our universe; not in fact supernatural,

¹ The satire of a *Lucian* against the gods, witty enough, yet cuts but little ice, for the jokes could have been, and had been, as happily made by believers.

but, though the most powerful beings in it, yet within nature, and therefore ultimately subject to its order.¹ Still more remarkable is the absence of magic in Homer; no trace of the magician and medicine-man is to be found in orthodox Greek religion, and scarcely any in the superstitious beliefs of the simple—and then mostly in the outlying parts of the Greek world—till the end of the Great Age, about the second century B.C., when with the decay alike of the received religion and of creative science, superstition, and with it magic, came into its own. Some of Homer's stories are clearly developments of folk-tales, common to many peoples, in which a primitive magic played a part; but they have been humanized.

These gods of Greece, who in their *lives*, full of incident and variety, seem so human, who are immortal only in that ichor runs in their veins instead of blood, that they drink nectar for wine, that even their steeds feed on ambrosia, who dwell on a sunny Greek mountain, where no rain falls, nor any snow, taller, more beautiful, stronger than men, these are the gods of mythology, not of worship; or rather are the gods seen as figures who take part in the human story, in an aspect naturally prominent in the epic of the Greek heroes.² But the same gods are objects of worship and religious belief; they who laugh and quarrel and use deceit (for some petty advantage) against both fellow god and human as light-heartedly as any man, they are also the guardians of the moral laws which are the foundation of society. They punish the murderer, lay low the tyrannical, protect the suppliant, above all they hate a lying spirit, and both see and punish the perjurer. The emphasis laid on this last is specially significant; for the perjurer is himself the only *man* who knows he is swearing falsely; but the gods know too, and will punish in the end.

¹ In mythology it is the enemies of the gods, Titans, Giants, Centaurs, and the like, who represent disorder and chaos; the gods are within the law. Analogously, it is the Greeks who represent law against all 'barbarians'.

² This aspect of the gods is seen most clearly in the shorter poems such as Demodocus' song in the *Odyssey*, and the Homeric Hymns, which are in no sense religious poems, but short stories in verse, told for amusement, not for instruction or as part of a ritual.

It is characteristic that already in Homer, in this religious aspect, the gods are scarcely individualized as they are in the mythology. It is the gods as such, or the God, without a name who gives just rewards to good and evil, or else Zeus. For Zeus besides being the patriarchal head of the family of gods in the story (who had so crudely supplanted his own father, Cronus, and so feebly keeps the peace among the others), is already the supreme god, lord of gods and men; and the lord of all mankind. Hence, whereas at Troy the other gods take sides with the Greeks or Trojans, he keeps the scales even; hence, too, he is especially the god of strangers and of suppliants, of the man who, at the moment unprotected by his own group, needs the protection of humanity. With all their individualizing of the gods, their clear-cut polytheism, with its temples and cults and festivals, Greek religious feeling had always a monotheistic tendency.

The influence of Homer's poetry on later ages was so great that his religious conceptions and mythology were accepted. Hesiod the Boeotian, writing perhaps within a century after him, in his *Theogony*, of the origin of the world, of gods and men, takes what he needs from Homer, adds much from other myths, many of them of a more primitive and savage character; and between them Homer and Hesiod were later regarded as having established the orthodox theology, or rather theogony of the Greeks.¹ Throughout the classical period much of Greek religion, especially in its mythological side, remained almost unchanged. Yet Homer is representative of his period and class, the aristocratic society of Ionia in the tenth and ninth centuries; the gods have the virtues and powers, enhanced, of those aristocrats; and, since he was a poet and not a theologian, comprehensive as he was, he does not tell us everything of the religion even of that particular society. He has nothing, for example, of the cult either of nature-deities or of heroes and the dead. Yet there is every reason to believe that both were continuous from the Bronze Age, and both widespread and of great importance all over Greece. Besides the harvest and vintage festivals, we know

¹ Only in this limited sense, and then very misleadingly, can Homer be called the Bible of the Greeks.

of many of the general type common in most parts of the world, in which, in late autumn the death, in spring the rebirth of the forces of nature were celebrated, the former with mourning, the latter with joy; with the appropriate story and mythological divinities, of whom one, Demeter, the Earth-Mother, was already accepted among the Homeric gods; connected with it was the story of her gift of corn to mortals, and therewith the beginnings of settled life and civilization. It is characteristic of Greece that, though many primitive elements survived in the festival-rites (including those phallic elements so common in classical Greece, so conspicuously absent from Aegean religion and from Homer), yet the ideas connected with them were rationalized, practically humanized; there was no worship in joy or terror of blind, irrational forces of nature. A rite which originally could of itself compel or at least promote the fertility of nature, it had become in Greece a prayer for it. Religion is the expression of man's thoughts and desires; primitive man, not yet conscious of individual personality in himself, worships impersonal forces, or seeks to control them, in the way he sees the activities of nature around him. The Greeks had long passed this stage; aware of themselves as individuals, they individualized their gods, Demeter the giver of corn, Zeus the sender of rain, the 'cloud-gatherer' in a mountain country where the clouds round the mountain-tops presage the fruitful shower. The cult of pure nature-gods, Ge or Rhea the earth, Helios the sun, Selene the moon, was rare in Greece, as was the cult of natural forces, Eros or Aphrodite, or Ares (not so much the god of war as of violence, the lust and cruelty of battle); they were all mythological, not cult-divinities, except in a few places. Nor did the Greeks seek in their rites to control their deities, or the forces they represented; they were conscious of the limitations of human power; their religion was already rational.

The second important group of cults practically ignored by Homer, yet existent in his day, was that of the dead—the worship of ancestors as heroes or demi-gods. In Homer the dead are cremated, and though the funeral may be lavishly celebrated, yet there is no evidence for a continued cult at their tombs;

individual dead are not invoked for aid; they all dwell in a shadowy underworld, disembodied spirits, for ever discontented that they are cut off from the life of this world. But the cult of the dead, which was at the same time and throughout the classical period universal in Greece, where inhumation was always commoner than cremation, implied that the spirit of a dead man continued to dwell within his tomb, and could, to a greater or lesser degree, influence events; it could be invoked and must be tended. The more powerful a man had been in life, that is, in a reflective age, the more powerful for good, for the benefit of his fellow men, the more influential his spirit after death. There was no confusion in thought of heroes and gods; heroes had been mortal men; and above all their influence was local: where their bones were, there must they be invoked, there only could they give aid—hence the elaborate play-acting to bring the supposed bones of Orestes to Sparta, those of some very tall man found in Scyros to Athens, in the fifth century, and labelled the bones of Theseus: there they could protect Sparta and Athens. A god's power could be exercised anywhere; and even though some gods were thought to have especial love for certain places, as Athena for Athens, Hera for Argos, yet they were not any the more local. No Athenian thought the Athena whose temples he might see frequently elsewhere any other than the particular goddess of his own state. The rites of sacrifice to a god and to a hero were different. A man of exceptional powers in his lifetime, who had laboured his life through for his fellows, Heracles was admitted into Olympus, to be one of the gods; he received worship as a god in many places, and at the same time men claimed to know his tomb as a mortal, and worshipped him there as hero. He was the exception, who after death had passed the barrier between human and divine; and he was the precedent for the later deification of men. (Hence Alexander the Great was equipped with the lion-skin of Heracles.) Often enough this cult of the dead took the form of ancestor-worship, the ancestor of a clan being especially influential, and his tomb and its tendance important; and it might be the excuse for an exhibition of family pride and power. When Solon legislated to

forbid the extravagance of funeral rites, he was seeking to limit the ostentation of power by the nobles, which outshone that of the state. It is possible, as has been suggested, that the Ionians of Asia Minor for whom Homer wrote, driven out from their original homes in Greece, were thus cut off from the tombs of their dead (their gods of course went with them), and that this contributed at least to their neglect of this form of worship. Certainly in the later expansion of the Greeks, when colonies were organized and duly conducted, the local connexion with the mother-city was preserved both by the taking of fire from the central hearth and by the worship of the *Oikistes*, or official founder of the new state, as hero and common ancestor.

The theology and cosmogony of Homer and Hesiod became the accepted belief of the majority of Greeks, but never a test of religious orthodoxy. It was accepted as a statement of the origins of the world and the relationships and functions of the gods, but, though necessarily mixed up with religious beliefs (for most of the gods were worshipped), was not itself one. To be orthodox was to believe in the gods worshipped by the state, to worship them in the manner laid down by the state, and to join in state festivals; if a man could combine that with a cosmogony quite different from the ordinary, it would not affect his orthodoxy. For by the time the different states in Greece had been formed in the manner already described, the whole of public worship in festivals and sacrifices was a state affair, as much part of public life as politics and warfare; determined at first by the noble families who were dominant in the states, later by oligarchic councils or democratic assemblies; the priests who conducted the worship, whether hereditary kings at Sparta, members of noble families, or men elected for the purpose, were state officials. And since this state religion involved no preaching, for there were no theological or ethical doctrines to be taught, nor anything beyond participation in the rites and such belief in the gods and their powers as that implied, the priests were not powerful; they were only responsible for the conduct of the outward forms of the religious life; as priests, kings and nobles had little power, only dignity, while in democratic Athens

the priests were, most of them, persons elected or chosen by lot, with no more authority, and but little more dignity, than any secretary or member of a commission. Away from the state of which he was a citizen, a man had no duties other than respect for the gods and all holy places, though a pious one would join in worship where he could; so much so that there were many festivals in which a foreigner had no part—it was a privilege of the resident metics at Athens that they shared in the state-festivals—and foreigners generally formed religious associations of their own. Every state thus had its own forms of religion, recognized by international comity by all other states, though naturally, in a common civilization, they closely resembled each other. Yet this centrifugal tendency must not be exaggerated; for the gods belonged to all Greece. An Athenian, especially under the protection of Athena—

*χαίρετ' ἄστικὸς λεώς,
παρθένου φίλας φίλου—*

yet recognized that all other Greeks worshipped the same goddess; and indeed the Greeks often recognized their own gods in those of other nations, Heracles at Tyre, Hephaestus in Egypt, Athena in Libya. Athena could not be invoked to aid Athens against Sparta. It is a curious paradox: local religious ceremonies, because belonging to the state, without local gods. To some extent local heroes, as Theseus and Erechtheus at Athens, Heracles at Thebes, supplied the need men felt for some non-human aid for their own state; but a hero could not take the place of a god, and in fact they played but little part in state affairs.

At Olympia and Delphi, the two principal rallying-points of all Greeks, it might have been expected that religious institutions would develop superior to and eventually superseding or at least controlling those of the separate states. When the temple of Apollo at Delphi was destroyed by fire, Greeks from all over the Mediterranean, and some philhellene foreigners, contributed to its rebuilding; the temple of Zeus at Olympia was in the same way built in the fifth century, from the Persian spoils as a common sanctuary, and Pheidias' great gold and ivory statue which

so impressed both Greek and foreigner that it withstood all despoilers for many hundred years, was celebrated as one that 'added something' to the received religion: 'the most beautiful image on earth, and the dearest to the gods', says a late Greek writer; 'Zeus, majestic and peaceful, the guardian of a united and harmonious Greece, the common father and saviour of mankind. . . . If one who is heavy laden in mind, who has drained the cup of misfortune and sorrow in life, and whom sweet sleep visits no more, were to stand before this image, he would forget all the griefs and troubles that are incident to the life of man.' Yet no such development of religious authority took place. Olympia was always too secular in spirit; it was the scene of the great games. Delphi was indeed a religious centre. Originally but one of a number of communes of Phocis, it had separated, claiming independence and a permanent neutrality; a claim generally recognized, but sometimes the cause of conflict. States and individuals from all over Greece consulted Apollo's oracle, about the foundation of a colony, the issue of a campaign, a journey, a new cult, new laws; above all in time of trouble, of famine or plague, or military disaster, to ask what had been done to deserve it, what must be done to be delivered—what god or hero must be placated. At all times such consultations were common, and the oracle always had an answer ready. But Delphi, though always important, never dominated Greek religion; in part because its rise was subsequent to, in fact dependent on, that of the Greek states, with their separatist tendencies, so that when it inevitably became involved in politics, it was compelled, not always unwillingly, to take sides, and could not command a universal assent;¹ in part because dominance would have required a powerful priesthood, organized and international. When a state asked for guidance, Delphi might advise to institute a new cult or renew an old one; but the cult would be local, and the priests local; Delphi did not send out its own priests even to organize a new festival. It supported the traditional religious rites of each state; and its own priests remained as local

¹ It tended, for example, to side with the Peloponnesians against Athens. Hence the latter did not send to it for help at the time of the great plague.

as those of every other community. Nor did it possess the only oracle of international fame, though the most widely recognized.

Nevertheless, Delphi played its part in the religious life of Greece, as the upholder of the traditional religion and in its ethical interpretation. The tendency to uniformity in custom and law in Greece helped its authority; questions of cult and of new laws and institutions were referred to Apollo for his approval; so that the god, first acting, or desirous of acting, as the guardian of the proper relations of man to the gods, would thus become the guardian of the law and justice in general. The belief that a man who had killed another, whether in revenge or in self-defence, or accidentally, was blood-guilty, and so an outcast from society till purified, a belief wholly inherited probably from a remoter past, persisted through classical times largely through the influence of Delphi. It was no mere ceremonial rule; it helped to establish the belief that it was wrong to take human life, that revenge was wicked and useless. It was Apollo who ended, by reconciliation, the wrongs, satisfied only by killing, of the Atridae; and lasting family feuds, never settled because there was always some one to be avenged, were unknown in Greece. The care of suppliants was promoted, as witness the tale told by Herodotus, not of Delphi, but of another oracle of Apollo in Asia Minor: Pactyas the Lydian, charged with disloyalty to Persia after the fall of Croesus, had taken refuge in the Greek city of Cyme. His surrender was demanded; and the citizens sent to Branchidae near Miletus (a sanctuary of Apollo much revered by all the Greeks in Asia Minor) to consult the oracle, which bade them give the man up. But one of the nobles, Aristodicus by name, would not permit this, but insisting on a second consultation went himself on the sacred mission. And on arrival he asked the oracle, saying: 'Lord Apollo, Pactyas the Lydian has come to us Cymaeans as a suppliant, flying from a violent death at Persian hands, who now demand his surrender. We, though we fear the might of Persia, yet have not ventured to give him up, till we hear from thee clearly and without doubt what we are to do.' The oracle again answered to surrender Pactyas. Whereupon Aristodicus did as

follows: going all round the sanctuary he began driving out the sparrows and every other kind of bird that nested there; and while he was doing this, a voice (it is said) came from out the inmost shrine: 'Most impious of men, what is this you dare to do? Do you destroy my suppliants from my own temple?' And Aristodicus, not at all at a loss, answered: 'Dost thou, Lord, thus come to the help of thine own suppliants, yet bid Cyme surrender hers?' And the oracle answered: 'Yes, I do, so that destruction come upon you all the sooner for your impiety, that you may never again consult me about the surrender of suppliants.'

For all that, Apollo, at Delphi and elsewhere, did not go beyond the limits of orthodox private and civic morality. His influence on the side of law and order and of humanity was confined to the old ideas. He did nothing for the oppressed serfs that toiled in many Greek states, nothing to end or even to mitigate slavery, little for a humaner attitude between man and man, and between city and city; he had nothing to say about the personal morality of the average man. For that, for the fight against ἀγνωμοσύνη—that brutish stupidity, insensibility, which through lack of understanding leads to cruelty (it was characteristic of the Greeks to regard this as an *intellectual* error)—we must go to the poets and philosophers.¹

The ethical doctrine which Delphi took particularly under its wing was that one which was peculiarly Greek, μηδὲν ἄγαν *Do nothing too much*: peculiar that is in the emphasis they put on it (for to no people is excess a virtue). In different circumstances, or to different eyes, the same act may appear a gallant if desperate attempt to restore a losing cause, or criminal rashness leading only to disaster and misery. To Herodotus, for example, the Ionian revolt was an instance of the latter, but the fight they put up at Lade of the former. But the Greeks were generally

¹ This dislike of ἀγνωμοσύνη, as seen for example in Menander, is the nearest approach in Greek thought to the Christian doctrine of pity and forgiveness, but conceived on the intellectual plane: the educated man will be most likely to feel it, the uneducated and simple to be ἀγνώμων. There is nothing in Greek comparable to the Christian *humility*. Modesty was a cardinal virtue, but it is something quite different—it is the right attitude of the successful, as the youthful victor in the games, or of the young towards the old, and so forth.

inclined to lay stress upon the second aspect; a man was foolishly attempting too much, over-confident, boastful. It was a doctrine with which men comforted themselves when contemplating the inequalities of the world and the apparent prosperity of the wicked. For pride, over-confidence, leading to cruelty in brushing aside all obstacles, are the vices which beset particularly the successful and powerful, the tyrant; they precede (or so we hope) a fall. Especially is this the case when a man is so successful that he thinks himself not only superior to all other men, but the equal of the gods, and would contend with them: he is thinking thoughts that are not of men. For all their very human gods and their own very daring activities, the Greeks had an emphatic sense of the difference between gods and men, and of the limitations of humanity; for a man to seek to overstep them was a cardinal sin.¹

But mankind is seldom content with a belief in the gulf which separates himself from the gods, nor even with their benevolent government, and the external aid he hopes for from them. He seeks a closer communication, something that will satisfy the emotions; and the Greeks, to satisfy such desires, evolved beliefs hardly compatible with the worship of the distant gods on Olympus, and not mentioned in Homer. They were expressed in what are known as the mystery and orgiastic cults, to be found in all parts of Greece, the most famous at Eleusis in Attica, on a site that had been sacred since Mycenaean days. These cults were closely related to the nature-festivals already mentioned, in honour of the corn-goddess Demeter as at Eleusis, or of the wine-god Dionysus. The latter was a new-comer to Greece, introduced from Thrace, and the wild revelries associated with his cult were, in Greece, controlled and humanized, largely by the influence of Delphi; but the essential of the cult

¹ I know nothing that would have appeared to the Greeks so clearly inevitable and, in a sense, right, as the disaster to the steamship *Titanic* in 1912. Everything presaged it: her owners loudly proclaimed her the largest and finest vessel afloat; equipped her with every kind of tyrannical luxury; gave her a boastful name; finally, said she was unsinkable. In this at last they were challenging the gods: it is not for men to command the ocean. And so, on her first voyage, in a calm sea, with her owners and their friends aboard, she collided with the iceberg and sank.

remained, that the votaries by drinking his wine and eating the flesh of a bull sacred to the god in some way entered into communion with him, became inspired, lost themselves in him; they were in a frenzy, out of themselves, the human for a moment united with the divine: very different this from the intellectual, rational attitude to the Olympian gods, who are above and beyond men. The mysteries were not necessarily orgiastic (at Eleusis they were not), but in many ways they differed from the state religion. They were at once narrower and wider in their appeal—only initiated persons could attend them, not all the citizens of a state, and the rites themselves were kept secret (so that we do not know their details); on the other hand every one, free and slave, not citizens and privileged foreigners only, could be initiated, if he fulfilled certain conditions of ceremonial purity. The mysteries ignored the barriers both of the state and of the family—communion with the god was for the individual. This initiation may have been in origin similar to the initiation ceremonies known in many countries in connexion with fertility rites; but it had become something different at Eleusis, something akin to admission into the Christian church or Islam. No one not initiated could attend the festival; and the initiated, provided they observed certain rules, were privileged and promised apparently certain benefits in the next world denied to others. The conception of another world after death in which the injustices of this were corrected was growing. This is all foreign to the normal religion of the state; and though at Athens the state later took over the management of the Eleusinian festival, it did not alter its fundamental conceptions—that they were open only to the initiated, but that the initiated come from every class and from all parts of the world.

Derived from the mysteries and the Dionysiac religion was another religious movement even more emotional in character, the Orphic, which must be mentioned, though it was never of great influence. It too came from Thrace, founded by Orpheus, probably an historical figure around whose name legend grew; according to the story the magical singer who could charm man and beast. Like the Dionysiac, it was ecstatic and mystical,

aiming at communion with the god; like the mysteries, it was international, ignoring political and family divisions, and required initiation. It evolved a systematic, if crude, cosmogony and theology, with a myth to explain the origin of the good and evil in human nature. Above all it was a propagandist, proselytizing movement; it sought to convert (with little success), sending its ministers abroad—a novel feature in Europe; for orthodox Greek religion could not, by its civic nature, proselytize: you could not wish to compel a foreigner to worship Athena in your way, just because he was not an Athenian, any more than you would compel an outsider to conform to your own family cult. Besides, there could be no saints or martyrs, and no fanatics either, in a religion which demanded so little of its votaries' thought; the fanatics of Greece, Orpheus and the later Cynics (how curious is the history of words!), preachers not thinkers, were the exception in the Greek world. Orphicism was other-worldly: the body is but the tomb of the soul, death is the soul's release; it taught asceticism and promised its votaries happiness in the next world, and misery for the rest of mankind; it adopted the heaven of the mystery religions, and introduced a hell for unbelievers: an intolerant sectarianism quite foreign to the normal Greek attitude, but answering to some innate desire in men, that the good should be rewarded and sinners punished, and confusing sinners with those of a different faith. The Orphic cosmogony, which was only a development of that of Homer and Hesiod, had some influence in early philosophy, and the mysticism had an attraction for Plato; but in the main it was a movement alien to the Greeks, whose beliefs were scarcely compatible with religious enthusiasm, for good or evil.¹

For, in spite of these Dionysiac and mystical elements, the Greeks were in the main (largely because of the strength of their

¹ For an admirable account of 'the cool, matter-of-fact attitude towards death and the future life which pervades so much of Greek literature and contrasts so strangely with that of the post-classical world, religious and secular alike' (as well as for the archaeological evidence for cremation and inhumation in Greece), see H. L. Lorimer's article, '*Pulvis et Umbra*', *Journ. Hell. Stud.* liii, 1933. 'The genuine indifference of the Greek on the question [the fate of the body after death] is one of those rationalistic traits which we take for granted in him, and which only strike us as remarkable when contrasted with the attitude of other nations.'

feeling for the State and the family, in part through their distrust of the emotions) content with their orthodox civic religion, based on a general belief that the gods govern this world, and govern it for good, and require only observance of the proper festivals, no particular godliness. It was in outline a rational if superficial system. With it went all manner of superstition, not only the beliefs and fears of the simple, as at natural phenomena, eclipses, earthquakes, and the like, which they did not understand, but an orthodox belief in oracles (in spite of endless discouragement), in the powers of the dead, in the importance and effectiveness of established ritual, in omens to be drawn from birds or thunder, or the entrails of animals. (Though here we must be on our guard: the dramatists lay great stress on omens; to judge from Xenophon one would suppose that no military officer ever ordered his regiment to move without an elaborate and repulsive examination of entrails and consultation with a seer; but Thucydides and Herodotus give quite a different picture; and it is a mistake to suppose that a man of 'average' intellect like Xenophon best gives a picture of the average mind. Nor were the assemblies at Athens dismissed, by clever politicians, for evil omens, as so often in Rome—politics was something to be taken seriously.) The Spartans sought to create prejudice against Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war by reminding his countrymen that he was connected with a family under a curse (200 years old); the Athenians retorted by mentioning the impious circumstances of Pausanias' death; neither charge had any effect, but both could be made. There were sacred rooms in a temple that could only be entered by a priest; sacred places to be trodden by no human foot; trees in a sacred grove that must not be cut down, under penalty of death. There were rough stones and pillars which in places seem to have received a cult similar to that given elsewhere to the finest statues of Pheidias and Polyclitus. There were innumerable local spirits, nymphs and satyrs, feared by the superstitious in remote rural districts; the Athenian state itself 'purified' sacred Delos by solemnly removing all the graves of the dead and forbidding any future birth or death on the island. There were numerous lucky

and unlucky days, many of them established by law. Above all there was Asclepius and his temples; step by step with a systematic science of medicine there flourished as well this god with his magical cures: you were ceremonially cleansed, slept within the sacred precinct, were touched by the sacred snake, and the ulcer was gone.

Some men of a religious temperament, as Euripides, perhaps Thucydides, were definitely hostile to a religion which was at best superficial,¹ certainly mixed with crude superstition. But others, a deeply religious man like Pindar, a profound thinker such as Aeschylus, philosophers such as Socrates and Plato, could none the less build their systems within its framework; and it inspired, or at least gave scope for, the noblest creations of Greek sculpture, architecture, and painting; tragedy and comedy, and athletic contests, had their origin in Greek religious festivals. Art, except in the sculpture of the cult-statue and in the building of temples, was naturally more concerned with the mythology than the cult of the gods; the myths gave the artist endless opportunities; even on the Parthenon the principal sculptures are concerned not with the worship of Athena, but with stories about her more or less believed; on the temple of Zeus at Olympia they are purely mythological, and the myths are those of heroes, not of Zeus. The poets and philosophers were concerned with ethics and theology. The tendency to monotheism, always present, was further stressed, though seldom explicitly proclaimed (the Greeks seem not to have felt the need for that). While still using 'the gods' of ordinary speech, Aeschylus preferred to speak of Zeus as the Lord of the world, a supreme and active intelligence, Plato of 'the God', or of *τὸ θεῖον*, the divine element in the universe; the Lord of the World was thus now distinguished from the old mythological gods, and with *τὸ θεῖον* the existence of any anthropomorphic or personal god was questioned. This helps to explain an apparent paradox in Greek practice.

¹ Take the 'history' of Hermes, in his outward manifestations: first perhaps a heap of stones at the cross-roads, then the herm (as he often remained), then the bearded messenger of the gods and the god of commerce and trickery, finally the graceful youth. A process of humanization and refinement, with little that is religious, nothing that is profound, from beginning to end.

At the end of the fifth century a living man was deified, Lysander, the successful Spartan commander who ended the Peloponnesian war; that is to say, an altar was set up to 'the god Lysander' and a ritual, as to a god, and a festival, *Lysandreia*, with athletic contests, instituted and a priest appointed. This was done by the oligarchs of Samos, restored to their island by the Peloponnesian victory. Later, first Alexander, then many Greek kings of the Hellenistic age, were similarly recognized as gods; they were addressed as gods, who had appeared among men (*Epiphaneis*) as Saviours. How is this to be reconciled with the strong Greek feeling of the difference between man and god, that the great crime was for a man to overstep his mortal limitations? The answer is that Lysander and the later kings might be regarded as fellows of the mythological gods, in an age when a religious-minded man, if he had not ceased to believe in them, at least subordinated them to the supreme deity, when they were far indeed from being omnipotent. The act of deification was always purely political; it sought to give a *unique* honour to the individual man, separating him from all other men, just as in modern Europe a king and a king alone is *Majesty* (the earlier kings of Greece in the Homeric age and in Sparta had not been Majesties); and when men got used to this idea of the king as god, it meant no more than majesty does with us—and the granting of the honour was regarded as ignoble and sycophantic flattery by stern republicans, just as would have been the title of Majesty—any *special* title for one member of the state. No one, not the simplest of men, thought that Lysander was immortal, nor more immune from harm than other men, nor invincible in battle: he was in no essential different from other men, except in temporal power. There is preserved to us an inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene, an insignificant prince of the first century B.C., which records his pious action in instituting new and splendid celebrations of the gods of Greece and Persia (for he was of mixed descent) and of himself. His magniloquence is in inverse proportion to his real power and that of his ephemeral dynasty; and he shows very clearly this paradoxical combination of ideas about god and mortal:

The Great King Antiochus, God, Just, Epiphanes, Friend of the Romans, Friend of the Greeks, Son of King Mithradates, the Victorious, and of Queen Laodice Philadelphus, goddess, daughter of King Antiochus Epiphanes Philometor the Victorious, inscribed upon consecrated vases with inviolable letters the works of His grace for all time to come, even unto eternity.

I held that of all good things possible for men the thing affording most security in its possession and delight in its enjoyment was Religion, and the same decision of soul I believed to be the ground of prosperous power and of a happy administration, and through the whole course of My life I was seen by all men to consider piety the surest bulwark on my kingdom and a joy without parallel. . . .

When I inherited the throne of my fathers, I appointed, by the religious resolution of My mind, the realm subject to My crown to be the common home of all the gods. . . . When I took thought to lay the foundation of this sacred fabric, impregnable to the ravages of time, in closest neighbourhood to the heavenly thrones, wherein the body of My mortality, which continued in happiness till old age, shall now, after it has sent forth My god-loving soul to the heavenly thrones of Zeus-Oromasdes, sleep till immeasurable eternity, then I determined to make this place a holy seat common to all the Gods, &c., &c.

Wherefore, as thou seest, I set here these august images of Zeus-Oromasdes, of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, of Artagnes, Heracles-Ares, and of My fruitful motherland, Commagene. And of the same stone I set up the express figure of My bodily person, enthroned together with the prayer-hearing deities. . . . I made a fitting dispensation of eternal ceremonies, so that together with the sacrifices prescribed by ancient and general law, all the inhabitants of My kingdom might celebrate new festivals to the glory of the Gods and to Our own honour. The birthday of My mortal body, the 16th of Audnaeus, and the day of my assuming the diadem, the 10th of Loius, I consecrated to the manifestations of the great divinities, who had been My guide for prosperous government and the authors of the general good of the whole kingdom. . . . And in order that these ordinances might abide for ever—seeing that it is a religious thing in men of wisdom to observe such ordinances always, not only for Our honour, but also for each man's own hopes of happiness—I consecrated and engraved upon inviolable tablets, by the judgement of the gods, a Sacred Law, which it is a religious duty for all generations

of men to keep inviolate, &c., &c. This Law, the voice which proclaimed it was Mine, but the mind which ratified it was the Gods' . . .

And whatsoever being or dynast in the long roll of the ages shall inherit this throne, if he preserve perfectly this Law and these Our honours, let My prayer also serve to gain him the favour of all spirits and Gods; but let him whose heart is set on illegality, to the detriment of the honours due to spirits, then let him, even apart from My curse, find the Gods make everything about him hostile.¹

Not exactly a case of Christian humility; but no doubt is left in our minds of the mortality and human limitations of this vain little god. So it was with all these deifications of men: they were political in origin and secular in character, religious neither in feeling nor in belief (they did not affect men's belief in the power of the gods and the weakness of men). They were possible because so much of Greek religion was secular in spirit. There were festivals such as the *Eleutheria* at Plataea, instituted as a thanksgiving for the victory over Persia, the *Soteria* at Delphi for the victory over the Gauls, which were as political as the *Lysandreia*, the *Antigoneia*, the *Sylleia* of the Hellenistic Age; the *Panathenaea* was as much in honour of Athens as of Athena. At the same time the individual gods of mythology, though still the object of official cults (like the new human gods), were no longer regarded as the divine governors of the universe. It was no great matter to be a god.

When we reflect that in Greece most of the literature and art, so long as it was public, was in the service of religion (as of the state), that private art—first to be found in personal dedications in sanctuaries, then in homes—and literature is later; that all athletic contests, every dramatic and musical performance, most sculpture, painting, and architecture, were in honour of some god; that men like Aeschylus, Socrates, Plato were as orthodox in religious observance as their fellows, that the Academy honoured the Muses and the hero Akademos, we may think that there never was so religious or so superstitious a people as the Greeks; and they have been called the most devout of peoples,

¹ See the whole text given in Bevan's *Later Greek Religion* (Dent, 1927), pp. 61 ff.

as the Athenians claimed to be the most devout of Greeks. Yet the secular spirit of their festivals, their art and literature, and their philosophy is not less to be emphasized. Religion was more pervading than in modern times, but less engrossing; and more pervading just because it was less engrossing, because it demanded less of men, was in the main superficial and did not strike deep. Hence it aroused less opposition: there was little *combative* atheism or agnosticism, and naturally no anti-clerical feeling where there was no powerful clergy. Hence also, where there were no fanatics and no proselytizing, there was no religious persecution. Many Greeks were profound thinkers, and some of the profoundest were deeply religious men; but the orthodox religion sat lightly on all, learned and simple.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF SPARTA

Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.

I. THE PELOPONNESE: THE TYRANTS

WITH the advent of the second half of the seventh century, the states of Greece begin to assume those separate personalities which we recognize to belong to them, and individuals appear for the first time (after Homer and Hesiod) in Greek history. Not that we have as yet any contemporary historians, or records other than archaeological; but there are contemporary poets, some of whose poems survive, direct or indirect evidence for historical events and always the best evidence for the ideas and the state of culture of an age; and the most important or interesting or curious events were handed down in men's memories to be recorded (with the help of the other evidence) in writing in the fifth century. Moreover, it was already the custom to keep on record the names of important officers or representatives of states—the archons at Athens, the priestesses of Hera at Argos, the kings of Sparta—with the order of their succession and (in the case of life-tenancies) the lengths of their reigns or tenure of office; further, certain outstanding events were associated with certain years. Thus Sparta had a complete record (not completely preserved for us) of her kings; and the reforms of Solon at Athens were exactly dated (though again not for us) by his place in the series of archons. But as every state had its own system and its own magistrates, it was difficult to equate in time an event in one state with one in another, and to achieve any common system. Later the Olympic festival was adopted (by historians, never officially by states), but it was a clumsy method, for it was a four-year not a yearly festival; and still later, historians would use the Athenian archon-list as a common basis for all. The Greeks never adopted a simple numerical system based on some perhaps quite arbitrary date (for example, of the Fall of Troy) and reckoned from that, as

did the Romans;¹ and by the time such systems as the Olympic or the Athenian had been adapted to the whole of Greece by historians, many of the true dates of earlier events, especially of the eighth and seventh centuries, had been irretrievably lost; and ancient and modern estimates are necessarily uncertain.

About 720–700 B.C. the Spartans crossed the mountain barrier of Taygetus and conquered Messenia, a land as large and as rich as their own Laconia, and divided the land among themselves. Some seventy or eighty years later (say 640 to 620) the Messenians revolted, under that Aristomenes around whose name so many legends of heroic deeds later clustered, but after a long struggle were definitely defeated and those who remained reduced to serfdom. The territory was absorbed, and ‘what was once Messenia became Laconia’. Sparta was now the largest state in the Greek world, and easily the most powerful in the Peloponnese, possessing one-third of the area and most of its richest land. She did not expand farther; long wars with the neighbouring Arcadians to the north, especially with Tegea, resulted in the extension of her influence but not of her territory. But the absorption of Messenia had important results for Sparta and for Greece; it satisfied that land-hunger which elsewhere led to colonization and the expansion of Greece over the Mediterranean, with a further consequence that Sparta was not compelled or tempted to trade, and remained to the end an agricultural state; while the limit to her expansion caused by the check in Arcadia and the peculiar social conditions which she

¹ Almost the only specimen of a numerical system that we possess is the *Marmor Parium*, an inscribed stone with a sort of dictionary of dates of Greek history (very scrappy and often inaccurate), compiled in 263 B.C., in which events are dated so many years before that year. This is simpler than ‘in the archonship of’; but how much simpler would have been the adoption of an agreed era, with the years reckoned *after* that. The Greeks added to their difficulties by not beginning all their official years at the same time: the Athenian year began at a season corresponding to July (roughly), the Spartan in September–October. Hence even when we know that for instance the second year of Pausanias at Sparta equals the archonship of Euthynos at Athens, they do not exactly coincide. That is why Thucydides adopted his own numerical system for the Peloponnesian War, first year of the war, second year, and so on, based on fixed campaigning seasons; for it was a system common to and understandable by every reader, no matter to what part of Greece he belonged; also because the official year at Athens, and so the official system of dating, began in the middle of the season.

had made for herself by her subjection of a large population (as will be later described) led to a quietist policy in foreign affairs, a contentment with her hegemony in the Peloponnese, and a reluctance to interfere with external quarrels which greatly affected the later history of Greece.

Meanwhile, important and very different developments had been taking place in the other states of the Peloponnese. Argos had at first been the strongest state, the leader of the Dorians, and regained that position at the beginning of the seventh century, under her king Pheidon, of the old royal line and the last of his dynasty to rule. She controlled the whole of the Argolid and Epidaurus and the island of Aegina (the latter perhaps after a struggle with Athens and Corinth). Aegina was a trading community, and it was Pheidon who introduced coinage to the mainland of Greece, and on Aegina that he established his first mint; he may have helped Megara against Corinth, for that little state was now at the most prosperous point in her career and founding the colonies of Chalcedon and Byzantium. He interfered in the west of the Peloponnese, and established for a short time an Argive dominance in the Olympic Games (this shows that the festival was already of importance), a usurped authority as it was later regarded. In the course of many border wars with Sparta, the Argives won a great battle (great in later tradition at any rate) at Hysiae, about 670 B.C., and Argive men were lauded in an oracle as the bravest warriors in Greece (Sparta for the beauty of her women). But Sparta remained steady; after the defeat of the Messenian revolt, she was definitely the stronger, and she continued to extend her influence; and a century later, in 546, the Argives were defeated in the Battle of the Champions. (There, we are told, three hundred men on each side fought out the issue; and when only three were left alive, two Argives and one Spartan, each side claimed the victory, and the main armies had to set to and decide the matter.) Thenceforward, in politics, Argos sulked; always the jealous rival of Sparta, baulking and tripping her, instigating alliances against her, occasionally fighting but never effectively; because of that rivalry, out of things in the national struggle with Persia; in the

disastrous wars between Athens and Sparta interfering spasmodically, but neither to end the slaughter nor secure power for herself; with no energy to assert her claims even after the overthrow of Sparta in the fourth century, and taking as inglorious a part in the unsuccessful war with Philip as in the successful one with Persia; apart from her incomparable sculpture, contributing little to Greece.

The states on the isthmus, Corinth, Megara, and Sicyon, had developed their trade and manufacture more than had Argos and Sparta. We know in particular, from the tradition, of Corinthian metal-work and shipbuilding, and of her pottery (the so-called proto-Corinthian and Corinthian of the eighth and seventh centuries) and coinage from their very extensive remains. The older geometric decoration was given up for a new and very lively, naturalistic method, with many motives (mostly animals—lions, tigers, leopards, deer) derived first from oriental art, with which by trade the Greeks were now in contact, later enriched by more elaborate paintings of men and women—scenes from everyday life, a pottery, a quarry and the like, and from heroic legend: the beginning of the long and varied career of Greek pottery and painting (the latter also definitely connected in the tradition with Corinth). The naturalistic method spread all over Greece, with distinct development in several centres—Athens, Chalcis, Clazomenae, Laconia, Rhodes, among others; but more than this: examples of these different wares are found in many places, proving an extensive trade (unlike the geometric pottery in this), and in particular the pottery of Corinth in the eighth and early seventh centuries is found more widely spread than any other, and not only in Greece proper and the islands, but in the western Mediterranean. Corinthian coins are also found in large numbers, especially in Italy and Sicily. The pottery and the metal-work of Chalcis and Eretria too were widely known and exported; these Euboean cities had been prominent colonizers in the eighth century (Cumae under Vesuvius was one of the earliest of their colonies; from her Italy borrowed the alphabet, which became the alphabet of Western Europe), and then and in the seventh

centuries Euboea was more prominent than at any other time. The Greeks had a tradition of a war between them which developed into the first big war in Greek lands since the Trojan, about 710-680 B.C. It began as a war between neighbours for land—the small Lelantine Plain which lies between the two cities; the last hereditary king of Chalcis took part, and fought in a chariot, Homeric fashion. But other states joined in: Samos, Corinth, Paros, Erythrae, her northern colonies, and Thessalians, were allied with Chalcis; Miletus, Aegina, Chios, and perhaps Megara with Eretria; note especially the rivals Corinth and Aegina, Miletus and Samos—almost certainly trade-rivalries; and extension of trade as well as of land becomes a cause of wars. Yet the Greek tradition knew of no great sea-battles in this war, though a new kind of battleship, the trireme, was then first built by a Corinthian shipbuilder for Samos; and the war was apparently decided on land, by a victory of the Thessalian cavalry over the Eretrians. Eretria declined after this defeat; but her principal ally Miletus seems not to have suffered. It must be remembered, however, that we have only the scantiest references to this earliest of big Greek wars.

The growth of a commercial and manufacturing class, many of the members of which were doubtless originally foreigners, that is Greeks from other states mostly, must have profoundly affected the social structure of a community based originally on land; the nobles were no longer the only rich class, nor the only dwellers in the town; and the town was developing at the expense of the country. The nobles in their attempt to preserve their political power and social prestige, became more oppressive and more haughty; in the Peloponnese memory of the old divisions between the invading Dorians and the older inhabitants may have survived; social unrest was the result. We must not exaggerate the new commercial and manufacturing element in the causes of this social upheaval; indeed most of the Greek tradition about it (and some of the contemporary evidence, as that of Solon at Athens) would suggest that the cause was in the main agricultural—an oppression of the poorer farmers by the rich; but we have the indisputable evidence of archaeology

for the growth of manufacture and trade, and their influence must not therefore be denied. However that may be, open quarrels broke out between the Many and the Few; and, as has been the case in most countries where the Many were victorious it was through the appearance of a strong leader who ruled the state as autocrat, keeping the nobles in check in his own and the people's interest. Only in Argos was such a leader found in the person of the legitimate king, Pheidon; elsewhere individuals seized the supreme power by force, held on to it, and tried to found dynasties—these were the tyrants of Greece (*tyrannoi*, probably a Lydian word, borrowed to describe at once the absolute power and the wealth and splendour of a ruler like Gyges).¹

The first tyrant of Sicyon (a little before the middle of the seventh century) was said to have been the son of a butcher and a non-Dorian; he founded a dynasty that lasted a hundred years, whose most famous member was Cleisthenes (c. 600–570 B.C.), the splendid and genial figure who entertained for a year nobles from all over Greece who were suitors for his daughter's hand—a notable breakaway from the normal state-exclusiveness. The tyranny at Corinth was contemporary, but ended sooner; Cypselus, the child of destiny, and his son Periander, the grim story of whose quarrel with his son Lycophron is the best told of all Herodotus's stories, who is at his best in telling of the tyrants. There were tyrannies too at Megara and Epidaurus at the same time; an attempt, but a failure, at Athens; others, in alliance with Lydia, in the cities of Asia Minor. Most of them seem to have followed a common policy, and were often in alliance: intermarriages between their families were not rare. Their rule was marked by a rapid progress in material prosperity, and by great artistic activity. The Corinthian tyrants planted new colonies, and sent members of their own family to rule them, and Corcyra, an older colony, as well. A new architecture of stone was now developing, and the tyrants all fostered this, building some of the earliest temples in Greece; engineering works, roads, and aqueducts, are connected with their rule, but it is characteristic of the new Greece that with all their splendour

¹ Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, iii, p. 549.

they did not build elaborate and costly palaces for themselves; they did not follow in the footsteps of the kings of the Bronze Age and anticipate the emperors of Rome. They were careful to secure influence at the two greatest international centres of Greece, Delphi and Olympia, and many of the earliest buildings there are due to them; they cultivated (for the sake of trade) the friendship of foreign powers, especially of Egypt: Periander's nephew and successor was named Psammetichus after the reigning pharaoh. But in spite of their ability and success, their early popularity, their position as a necessary check on the harsh oppression of the nobles, the tyrannies were short-lived—two or three generations at most: the Greek love of government by discussion, and by amateurs (whether oligarchs or democrats), was too strong. Moreover, the stage was too small for them; in a community where every one knew every one, the weaknesses of personal rule, the caprices, the unjust acts, the prejudices and passions of the ruler, were too apparent; he was exposed too directly alike to the jealousy, the hatred and the mockery of his fellows, so that their enemies the nobles were sure sooner or later of sufficient popular support, or at least apathy, for their overthrow. Sparta, steady in herself and opposed to any great activity in neighbouring states, helped to end them. They left little behind them that was permanent; their influence on the growth of Greek institutions was negligible (except in one respect: the poorer people, whether fresh immigrants or natives reduced almost to serfdom, ruled by them in a common subjection with the original 'citizens', preserved their new status); they were ephemeral, yet romantic and (like everything else Greek) interesting figures.

II. THE REFORMS AT SPARTA

From at least the ninth century the population of Laconia had been divided into three distinct classes: the Spartiatae, the dominant and exclusive citizen body consisting at least in the main of the invading Dorians; the Perioeci ('Dwellers-around', 'Neighbours'), free and living in their own districts on their own land, but without political rights, presumably also providing the

manufacturing population; and the Helots, mostly survivors of the original inhabitants, who as serfs worked the land and were the servants of the Spartiates, an oppressed people who never succeeded in asserting claims to freedom, let alone equality. With the final conquest of Messenia towards the end of the seventh century and the subjection of its population, the numbers of Helots were considerably increased, and the new serfs must have been a hostile and disturbing element in the state. The Perioeci seem always, in spite of their inferior status, to have been loyal; but perhaps not enthusiastically, and the necessity of keeping under control the serfs who far outnumbered the citizen body led to a series of reforms which, though leaving the state in many ways structurally of the normal Greek pattern, made Sparta socially unique in the ancient world.

The Dorians, in Sparta and elsewhere, had been grouped in three phylae, as the Ionians into four, based on some original kinship between their members.¹ These were now abolished, and five new phylae of Spartiates established in their place, based not on kinship but territorially;² almost certainly many persons were admitted as full citizens at the same time, the abolition of the kinship basis making this easier. Characteristically the citizens lived in or near Sparta, the centre of the state, though their lands were distributed over the whole of Laconia and Messenia. This incorporation of new citizens was a unique act; no arrangement was made for its repetition—henceforth, as before, only the children of citizens could be citizens. Every Spartiate owned sufficient land to support him and his family. So far this is normal Greek practice; only in Sparta it was more rigid; there was a rough equality of land in the possession of each citizen, it was in practice if not in law inalienable, and if for any reason a man lost his land, that is, could no longer support himself from it, he lost as well his citizen status.

In her constitution too (except for the peculiarity of the double kingship, the origin of which is uncertain) Sparta was normal,

¹ See above, p. 547.

² The abolition of the kinship phylae, and institution of the territorial ones, have recently been questioned; but in any case the new social structure was based on territorial divisions.

though retaining many primitive elements which had disappeared everywhere else. The hereditary kings remained as military leaders and religious heads of the state. There was a Gerousia or Senate of thirty (including the two kings), here literally interpreted, for the other twenty-eight had to be sixty years of age or more; this was the old consultative body of nobles found in Homer. The whole body of citizens (called Peers to emphasize their equality with one another) met in the Apella; and though this never developed into a deliberative assembly (as in democratic states), and in addition in practice was generally dominated by the senate or the magistrates, it had the power of decision of war and peace, it elected the ephors, and it was formally laid down that authority rested in the demos, the people. The ephors were the only, or the only important, elected magistrates; they were now made five in number, one from each phylê; and deriving their influence from their election by their fellow citizens soon greatly increased their power at the expense of the kings and the senate.

So far there is little that is unusual in the Spartan state; but with the political changes there was instituted the remarkable system of education and training of the citizens which has become proverbial. A boy was taken from his home at the age of seven and placed in a small group ('herd' it was called) which was under the leadership of an older boy, and there received a training in elementary letters, music, and a very rigorous gymnastic, directly at the hands of the state, and almost entirely in public. The 'herds' were organized on military lines, and the later education was mainly military; a public school for the training of soldiers, with no holidays spent at home. Girls also were given a severe upbringing in gymnastic (this was unique in Greece—elsewhere girls were pale-visaged from living in the house, not in the open-air like the boys), though they were not taken away from their parents. At eighteen a boy entered his regiment, and lived with his fellows in camp till the age of thirty (he might marry before then in order to have children, but not live at home). He contributed his own quota to the mess from his landed property—it was when a man failed to do this,

through poverty, that he lost his status as a citizen. After the age of thirty he was free to form a home of his own, though liable, like all Greek citizens, to be called up for service in time of war.

The position of the Perioeci in this scheme is obscure. They were apparently not included in the discipline (and such trade as there was in Laconia remained entirely in their hands); yet they formed a not unimportant part of the army, and in some ways they shared the Spartan idea. A 'Lacanian' was distinguishable from other Greeks to nearly the same degree as a Spartiate; and the decline in the arts which followed the institution of the herd discipline affected the Perioeci, and them alone. The Spartan ideal was implanted in them. The Helots too must have been affected; it is impossible to believe that they all remained permanently hostile, and that the Spartiates were nothing but an army ever mobilized in the midst of an enemy population; for some of the Helots fought as light-armed troops along with the Spartiates and in equal numbers.

It was by the complete control over the lives of the citizens from the age of seven to that of thirty and by the adoption of the severe discipline of the barracks, that the state in Sparta was able to impose its code of morals and manners on all. It was possible there, as it has not been in any less-disciplined state, to maintain a general simplicity and uniformity—expressed for example in the simplicity of dress, in the refusal to allow the introduction of coinage, the forbidding of any display of wealth—to secure a stability and an austere strength that was subject alike to the envy and the mockery of lighter minds.

The reforms had the effect of putting an end for good to all original art, poetry, and thought at Sparta. In the eighth and seventh centuries Sparta had had her full share in the general awakening and forming of the Greek spirit; music had especially been cultivated, and Alcman and Tyrtaeus are among the best of the poets, the latter indeed with his war poems presaging and working for the future barrenness in his art, but Alcman in his choral songs for girls giving a picture of as graceful a life as any known in Greece. But they had no successors. There were

Spartan sculptors and architects in the seventh century, and other Greeks working in Sparta in the sixth; but after that nothing was done, and it was notorious that Sparta had no fine public buildings to reflect her power and preserve its memory. Laconian pottery, good in fabric and design (and evidence for a continued contact with the outside world), ends about 550 B.C. In politics too Sparta withdrew into herself and gave up her foreign contacts (she had been allied with Lydia, and friendly with Samos, Ephesus, and Cyrene). She did not regret the change; she had nothing further (she thought) to learn from the foreigner; and for what she gave up she got a fine army and a stable constitution. She had what she wanted, and hence loved quiet and was opposed to too great activity in neighbouring states; and, having the best soldiers, and being steady when others changed by revolution, was generally able to impose her will. At least within the Peloponnese; where in the course of the sixth century a League was formed of most of the states except Argos, with Sparta at the head; in which the members met at Sparta for the deliberation of war and peace, as independent allies, but Sparta was the permanent head, led the whole Peloponnesian army in war, and sent officers to oversee the mustering of forces in the other cities. She did not interfere directly with the self-government of her allies (except occasionally to end a tyranny or a turbulent democracy); she was content with the influence which her army and the average man's admiration for her institutions and her character secured for her. By the middle of the sixth century she was easily the most powerful state in Greece; and though her direct influence did not extend beyond the Peloponnese, her fame did, and it was taken as axiomatic that when many states joined in alliance to fight Persia Sparta should lead; and even at sea, where she contributed little, some states demanded and none resented her command. On the common memorial of all who 'helped to overthrow the Persian' her name was first.

The characteristically Spartan resistance at Thermopylae and the final success at Plataea under Spartan leadership confirmed the general opinion. But it was not only the common man who

admired; the philosophers of Greece shared his admiration, Plato in particular, who admired in Sparta not only the stability and singleness of aim remarkable in a world so unstable, so quickly changing, so apparently lacking in purpose, and the general simplicity and self-command of the Spartan character; but also and chiefly, the superiority of the state over the individual, the way in which the latter was moulded by the former, and the consequent uniformity, the absence of division in the state. For to Plato, to say that you cannot make a man good by legislation was almost equivalent to denying the possibility of improvement; and Sparta was there to prove the contrary; if certain state institutions could turn out Spartans, others could turn out citizens such as Plato desired, and so a new and better state be formed than any hitherto known. Moreover, the strength of the state at Sparta in itself meant much; there great leaders were cut off in their prime, others were corrupt or incompetent, as elsewhere; but the death of a Brasidas or the treason of a Pausanias was not so full of danger for Sparta as the death of Pericles and the treason of Alcibiades proved to be for Athens; the state survived. There was that in Sparta which no other Greek state possessed: a soldiery (equalled only by the Boeotian), capacity for leadership (though not for empire), and steadiness of purpose; so that, though the conditions in the two great national wars of Greece, against Persia and against Macedonia, were in many respects similar, the conduct and event of the latter were different, and made different by the absence of Sparta from the Greek forces. Simplicity was ever a Greek note, but it is severer in Sparta than elsewhere; witness their tombstones with the bare inscriptions 'In battle', or 'Farewell'. Even after the Macedonian conquest there is something in the Spartan ideal which compels us to as great a liking for the then diminutive state helplessly trying to preserve or renew its ancient glory, as we feel for all the struggles of Athens.

III. ATHENS FROM 650 TO 500 B.C.

The story of Athens, the most gifted and civilized of the Greek states, is more varied, and—this is characteristically

Athenian—witnessed to by contemporary writing, the poems of Solon. For long the whole of Attica had been united to make what was a large state for the Greek world; the kingship had been abolished, and by now yearly magistrates appointed. The nobles, owning the best land, most of it near the city, formed a governing class.¹ Good land is rare in Attica, especially corn-land, the light soil being more fitted to the olive and the vine; a poor harvest meant starvation to the small farmer, who had to borrow in order to live, and in those early days, to borrow in kind, when corn was scarce, and could only attempt to pay back when it was plentiful. So he was made to pay dearly for his loan, first in a mortgage on his land, then by binding himself and his family to personal service to his creditor. The land thus fell into the hands of the Few, and the Many became practically serfs working for masters; some became enslaved and even sold abroad. At the same time there was a growing manufacturing and seafaring class (already Athenians were fighting Mytilene for the possession of Sigeum at the mouth of the Hellespont), and they added their political discontents to the economic discontents of the small farmers. An attempt at a tyranny by an Athenian noble, son-in-law to the tyrant of neighbouring Megara, was premature; his fellow nobles were too strong. But they were soon after forced to publish a code of law—that of Dracon, one of the earliest written codes of Greece, at least since the Aegean Age (some 1,400 years later than the code of Hammurabi in Babylonia). This was an important event in many ways. Hitherto judgements had been delivered, of course by the nobles, according to tradition and not to a written law; for some sixty years magistrates had been appointed to record individual judgements (and so establish fixed precedents), but not to draw up a code to enable every citizen to know what the law was. But more than this: Dracon, apparently for the first time, established the authority of the state in place of that of the family in criminal cases. A man, for instance, who had killed another, whether on

¹ If the Eupatridae, men of noble birth, formed a definite class, like the patricians in early Rome, they may have been, as Wade-Gery has recently suggested, the descendants of the men once selected by the kings to form their Council of State.

purpose, or in self-defence, or accidentally, was an outcast, blood-guilty, till the family of the victim ended the matter by consenting to his 'purification' or killed him in their turn. Dracon's code not only distinguished between and defined the different kinds of homicide, but established the old court of the Areopagus as judge and jury; the victim's family had still to prosecute—this continued to be a feature of Attic law throughout, at least on paper—but a state-court gave the verdict and inflicted the punishment. Solon carried the principle a stage farther when he laid down that in the case of offences against the state, 'any one who wished might prosecute'.

But important as was Dracon's legislation, it did nothing to alleviate the economic evils. These increased, and with them faction and civil strife, till the election of the great Solon, the
 594 B.C. poet, as chief archon and 'reconciler of parties'.¹ By a single revolutionary decree, and by a new law, he solved the immediate economic problem, as it turned out, for good. He abolished all existing debts, and so freed at a blow all those small farmers who were still nominally the owners of their heavily mortgaged lands, and all the debtors who were paying for their loans by personal service or had been sold abroad as slaves ('I restored to their homes many who wandered abroad and had almost lost their Attic speech'), and made illegal for the future any loans made on the security of the person. This legislation had as well an important political and social consequence, for it secured for ever for the entire agricultural population their citizen status; there were to be no Thessalian *penestae* nor Laconian *helots* in Attica.

5 He combined with it certain measures for the improvement of agriculture, and also of manufacture by encouraging citizens to engage in it and foreign craftsmen to settle in Attica, and of trade by alterations in the coinage and weights and measures to bring Athens into closer touch with the commercial states of Euboea, and with Corinth and Miletus, and so with the Black Sea and the West. The development of Athenian manufacture

¹ Wilamowitz said: in Israel, at a time of crisis, 'a prophet arose'; in Greece a poet is elected a magistrate.

and trade, soon to rival that of any other Greek state, dates from this time; and is especially illustrated by her pottery, so excellent in its technique, so varied and interesting in its design (showing us too how Greek painting developed), which gained so great a repute that it gradually ousted all rivals from foreign markets; from the latter half of the sixth century to the end of the fifth, scarcely any but Attic pottery is known. It is found all over the Mediterranean area, and far inland (especially up the Danube Valley); Etruria in particular imported it in large quantities and based her own art entirely on it; so, later, did the Greek cities and native peoples of south Russia.

Solon's political reforms were an immediate failure, yet he laid the foundations of the later democracy. The citizen body was divided into four classes according to their wealth, expressed in terms of agricultural wealth—terms which remained always in use, so persistent was the idea that the possession of land was the basis of citizenship. The magistracies were mostly confined to the two richest classes, but the real distinction lay between the first three—the landowners, big and small—and the fourth, the property-less men who worked for hire. Characteristically Greek is it that only to the first three classes fell the full rights and burdens of the state—the holding of office and military service in particular; but in Athens the poorest were not only confirmed in their civil rights, but given certain political rights which, perhaps regarded as unimportant at the time, were later of the greatest significance. One was membership of the Assembly (called *ecclesia* at Athens): for Solon converted this from a vague meeting of citizens to an organized body with its proper functions in the constitution of election of magistrates and decision of certain vital questions such as peace and war. Secondly, he created an elective council or Boulê in place of the old Gerousia, or Council of Nobles. Lastly he established the jury-courts or *dicasteries*, to which all the citizens were eligible, as to the *ecclesia*. It was a characteristic of the Greek states (common to the primitive Indo-Europeans) that a man accused of a wrong done to the community should be tried by the community as a whole—only all his fellow citizens could pass judgement. As

life became more complex and crimes increased in number, this principle was retained, though in a modified form: at Athens in particular, where law and jurisprudence developed farther than elsewhere and all the people were citizens, the jury-courts became one of the most important elements in the state; they were always large in number (200, 400, and 500 generally, 1,000 and 1,500 in important state-trials), and membership of them was one of the privileges of citizenship. In modern states trial by jury is a right of the accused man, a protection for him against the executive; in Greece, and especially in Athens, it was both that and the citizen's privilege as juror. For the most obvious way in which a man might do wrong to the community was as a magistrate; and one of the principal later developments of the dicasteries was to hear and try complaints against magistrates. They thus became of great political importance, the chief means (in addition to the system of annual appointments) by which the executive was controlled.¹ It is easy therefore to see how membership of the dicasteries was as important a privilege of citizenship as membership of the ecclesia; and in the fully developed democracy, when the ecclesia and the dicasteries were the supreme organs of government—the one the legislative and executive body, the other the controlling power over individual citizens—in a state where government by discussion was carried to its fullest extent—"Who wishes to prosecute?" the formal opening at the examination of an outgoing magistrate, was as characteristic as "Who wishes to speak?" the formal opening of a debate in the ecclesia. Neither of these developments took place till well over a hundred years after Solon's legislation; but by establishing the principle that all citizens, including those without property, were to be members of the ecclesia and the dicasteries, he securely laid the foundations.

Solon, however, by these measures, had hoped to reconcile the conflicting parties at Athens, and in this he was disappointed. Strife broke out again between 590 and 580, when on two occasions no archons could be appointed at all—years of 'anarchy'—and one archon succeeded in holding on to office for over two years. There were quarrels both of political and of

economic groups; and the situation was further complicated by a long war with Megara, from which, however, Athens emerged successful (perhaps with the help of Corinth) with the secure possession of Salamis. In this war a certain Peisistratus had distinguished himself. With this to help him, he took the lead of the masses against the factions of the rich, and made himself tyrant. Solon is said to have lived to see the day when all his ^{561 B.C.} work was apparently undone. Peisistratus had a chequered career—he was twice driven out by the nobles, and twice returned, finally establishing himself firmly and handing on his tyranny at his death to his son Hippias, who ruled till he was ⁵²⁷ overthrown fifty years after Peisistratus had first made himself ⁵¹¹ tyrant. They proved themselves intelligent and beneficent autocrats. The forms of the constitution were preserved, care only being taken that their own partisans held office; peace was finally established at home, and preserved abroad; while at the same time Athenian influence was extended both in Greece proper by friendship with Sparta, and farther afield, particularly in the Hellespont, where, with the help of a recalcitrant noble, Miltiades (uncle of the hero of Marathon), whom Peisistratus was glad to have out of the way, the Chersonese was gained for Athens. By his own active interest and by keeping a firm hold over the rich, Peisistratus helped in a rapid development of agriculture, manufacture, and trade; Attic art—painting, sculpture, architecture—entered on its wonderful career; new temples were built on the acropolis; foreign poets, chief among them Simonides, were attracted to the tyrant's court; and Athens for the first time becomes an international centre. In the fifty years of the tyranny she had taken the opposite direction to Sparta; she looked outwards, to the world abroad; and the democracy which followed continued in the direction to which the tyrants had pointed.

Hippias was overthrown by the combined action of oligarchs and the masses (or rather by the action of the oligarchs and the inaction of the masses), when he had ruled for sixteen years and was now an old man. A private quarrel of some young nobles with his brother began it; the oligarchs were only too ready to

take it up, and large numbers of the middle and poorer people, who had so greatly benefited by the tyranny, felt themselves by now too grown up to need the help even of the most beneficent of autocrats. They were right: for that now happened in Athens which is rare in history—the autocracy was succeeded not by an oligarchy but by a democracy. The nobles attempted an oligarchy and were helped by Sparta, with an armed force; but the mass of the people showed an activity against foreign enemies and a steadiness of purpose at home that won a decisive victory. They were aided by the head of one of the most powerful of the noble families, Cleisthenes (a grandson of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon), who joined the democratic ranks; and the new constitution then established has always been called after his name.

510-507
B.C.

It was a thoroughgoing democracy of the Greek pattern; that is, full force was given to those institutions which Solon established or put on a strong foundation—the elective Boulê, the ecclesia, and the dicasteries; the main business of the state being done by the citizens in person, the less important by delegates. Not that it would have been of any use the masses merely asserting their authority on paper; but the Athenians had the capacity and the will to make that authority a reality. But of this more later, when we come to describe the working of the democracy; at present consider two aspects only of Cleisthenes' reforms. The tyrants, continuing the work of Solon, had encouraged the immigration of foreign craftsmen; Cleisthenes wished to incorporate them in the citizen body. The old distribution of the people into four phylae based on kinship-groups and families stood in the way, as at Sparta a hundred years previously; they were abolished and ten new phylae, territorial divisions, took their place; a new citizen was not akin to every one in his phylê, as the old had been. Secondly, the Boulê, the magistrates, and the army were based on these new phylae; that is (generally) boards of ten magistrates were elected, one from each phylê, and the army was organized in ten regiments, each regiment being composed of the men of one phylê; but in order to prevent the recurrence of factions based on local interests—

townsmen versus countrymen, for example—Cleisthenes by an ingenious arrangement divided the whole of Attica into three parts roughly equal in population: the town (Athens and its port and immediate environs), the inland, and the coast; and each phylê took one section of its population from each of these three parts, so that it consisted of three non-contiguous districts;¹ a highly artificial but apparently quite successful arrangement, by which any one regiment or section of the Boulê or magistrate was representative of all three different groups in the population. Lastly, the old *demes* or villages were made into an important part of the constitution. They were territorial, not kinship groups, and naturally varied greatly in size; they were now made the basis not only of local government (of such local government as Athens had need of), but of citizenship. Hitherto a man was a citizen because he was one of a family which belonged to a kinship-group which was part of one of the old phylae; henceforward he was a citizen because his name was enrolled in the deme-register, and his deme was that one in which he resided—a territorial and not a kinship basis.

Henceforward in public life a man is an individual; the individual has emerged at the expense of the family, more completely than he did in law and social custom. He is as free from the old bondage of *status* as is possible, dependent on his own energy and skill. That and the settlement of strife and faction are the great achievements of Cleisthenes. Yet in the law of the constitution the idea of kinship survived and triumphed: in the first place, this granting of citizenship to foreigners was, as it had been at Sparta, a single act; no provision was made to enable foreigners in future to acquire citizenship—on the contrary, it was later made more difficult, and those only were citizens both of whose parents were citizens, so that no marriage could be contracted between a citizen and a foreigner, or rather no marriage the issue of which were to be citizens. In the fifth and fourth centuries foreigners, mostly other Greeks, but many

¹ For example, on the map of Attica, Euonymeis (town-district), Kephisiëis (inland), and Anagyrasioi (coast), with other small *demes*, belonged to the first phylê; Meliteis (town), Athmonëis and Phlyeis (inland), and Aixoneis (coast), to the seventh; Peiraieis (town), Dekeleëis (inland), and Eleusiniöi (coast) to the eighth.

from Egypt and Asia and the north, settled in large numbers in Athens, attracted by the opportunities for trade and manufacture; emancipated slaves joined their ranks; they remained for generations, served the state in many ways and were protected by it and had every freedom; but they did not become citizens (except by special grants to individuals), and so could not hold land, or take part in public affairs, or serve in the regular army, or intermarry with citizens. Secondly, the territorial basis of the deme-system was also for this occasion only: subsequently a man belonged to his father's deme, even if he changed his residence. With the growth, especially in the fourth century, of Athens and the Peiraeus, many members of country demes dwelt there, with a consequent great confusion both in local government and in those matters, chiefly of finance and of citizenship, in which the deme acted for the state. But no change was made, nor proposed; so much was it taken for granted that a man belonged where his father had belonged before him.

CHAPTER IV

GREECE AND THE EAST: THE PERSIAN WARS

I. THE SIXTH CENTURY

THE Greeks had originally been able to settle, and then to prosper, on the coasts of Asia Minor owing to the weakness of the Asiatic states after the decline of the Hittite power. The great Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs of the eighth and seventh centuries did not penetrate so far west; and the recovery of the states to the west of the Euphrates had been considerably retarded by barbarian invasions; which had also affected the Greek cities of the coast, so that we find echoes of them in the contemporary poetry. This is the period of the great colonizing and trading activity of the Ionian Greeks, especially of Miletus, when the coasts of the Propontis and the Black Sea were covered with Greek settlements, and trade with Egypt, Cyprus, and the south coast of Asia Minor was fully developed. But the first half of the sixth century saw the consolidation of the power of Lydia, in the centre of the western half of the peninsula, with its capital at Sardis, not more than three to four days' march from Greek territory on the coast. The Greeks had long had contact with the Lydians, from whom, in the early seventh century, they had taken the idea of a coinage; now they came into conflict with them, when the Lydians under their Kings Alyattes and Croesus, having extended their power over neighbouring states north, south, and east as far as the river Halys, attempted and after long struggles succeeded in getting control of the coast and the majority of the Greek cities.

c. 600-561
B.C.
561-546

Something more important was to follow. In 546 Croesus himself was conquered by Cyrus of Persia, and Lydia absorbed into the vast empire which had succeeded to and increased the territories of the old eastern monarchies. With Lydia went the Greek cities of the coast. The northern and southern coasts of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and, later, Egypt also fell into Persian hands, so that a great deal of the trade of the Ionian cities was now with lands under Persian control. The great Darius was

521-485

the organizer of the empire: he divided his territory into satrapies, each under a governor responsible to himself, and he carried out a system of communications between all parts and the centre by means of great roads and a regular post such as the world had not seen before his time, and which enabled the central government for many generations to control the most distant provinces; which aroused the Greeks to admiration and wonder, but not to imitation until Alexander. The Greek cities were generally left the power of local government, though often placed under a Greek 'tyrant' supported by Persia; but they were included in a satrapy under a Persian governor, forming but a small part of an empire whose capital was three months' journey inland (yet directly connected with them) and which extended as far again in the opposite direction, under the control of and in daily contact with (though never absorbed by) a system as different from anything of their own as can well be imagined. And facing them across a few miles of open sea were the Greek islands still free from foreign rule, following their own independent policies; one of them, Samos, enjoying a period of particular prosperity under the splendid but ill-fated tyrant Polycrates; beyond these all the other small and free states with whom they were in regular contact.

c. 540-523
B.C.

But foreign rule did not result in any decline in material well-being or intellectual activity. The sixth century was the age of the Ionian philosophers (especially in Miletus, the city moreover which had resisted longest the Lydian attack), when European science was born; questions were asked, for the first time in a scientific spirit, as to the nature of the existing world and as to its origin (and, as always, answers were suggested long before there was sufficient evidence to justify any opinion, when further and prolonged inquiry and nothing else was needed; but mankind insists on answers); metaphysics, astronomy, and geography came into being. Astronomy in particular was studied, for in this the Greeks had some advantage from the very considerable knowledge of the Babylonians; it is characteristically Greek that they completely ignored the astrology of the East. The trade and industry of the cities also continued to flourish

and probably even increased, owing to the improvement of communications with the interior and the peace imposed by Persian rule.

Most interesting to us are the mutual reactions of Greek and Asiatic. The Lydians, or at least the king and his court, learnt much from the Greeks and sought their help. Croesus (among the first of foreign philhellenes) cultivated the friendship not only of Ionian Greeks but of those beyond the Aegean; he was curious about them, and particularly about their religion; he consulted their oracles, and was a generous giver of rich gifts to Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi, to Miletus, and to Ephesus. Some of the Greek states in their turn were influenced by Oriental ideas, again especially their religious ideas and customs; Ephesus in particular was a quarter Oriental (her goddess Artemis, Diana of the Ephesians, was more Eastern in character than Greek). The more distant Persian was not as yet touched by Hellenism, nor the Greeks by purely Persian thought—not by Zoroastrianism for example; but already by the end of the sixth century individual Greeks were travelling into the interior and some settling at the Persian court, the precursors of those countless later Greeks who sought fortune or fame in the East as doctors or engineers or generals, or as simple soldiers and traders.

Politically, there were two ways in which the Eastern state was most opposed to the Greek, both in theory and practice. The first was its vast extent, its territorial character—its faculty of including within one system a number of different peoples; from this it got at once its power and its character; whereas the Greek state was small and, theoretically at least, a unity—single, not diverse, based on kinship; the Greeks, if one may use the expression, never 'rationalized' their political system.¹ Secondly, the whole Greek idea of government and administration, whether oligarchic or democratic, was based on a magistracy, that is on the election of certain persons, citizens like the rest, by their fellow-citizens, and with limited and defined powers, and on discussion between citizens (government by discussion was

¹ Using the word 'rationalize' in its modern, strictly journalistic meaning. How different the Greek meaning would have been.

the great achievement of Athens); in this Europe in general has followed them. The Eastern idea was personal rule, non-elective, and with unlimited, undefined powers (though one can see perhaps in the relationship between Cyrus and Darius and the Persian nobles some traces of the old Indo-European idea of kingship); there was a monarch and the rest of the population his subjects, generals and powerful ministers no less his subjects than humble peasants (in the Orient, socially so much more democratic than Europe, especially northern Europe, this is particularly true); the monarch might ask advice of a subject, but he issued orders which were not discussed. That the supreme authority of the state, whether ecclesia or oligarchic boulê or king, should be bound by its own laws and regulations, was a Greek idea. With the Eastern system went the court surrounding the person of the sovereign, and the harem, and all the intrigues of the court and harem, so different from the intrigues of politicians in Greece. The monarch addressed any one of his subjects as 'my servant'; which the Greeks naturally translated 'slave', at a time when a free man was nobody's servant and when they themselves had many slaves who were the personal property (and generally the domestic servants) of individuals; and their picture of the social structure of Persia therefore was often simply that of the autocrat and his slaves.

Yet all Greeks were tolerant of foreigners personally, and many had a sympathetic understanding of and liking for Eastern peoples—above all Herodotus, the most open-minded and at the same time the most amused of men, who travelled and wrote about the middle of the fifth century, after the Greek victory. (Incidentally, he is our chief authority not only for Greek history of the sixth century and first twenty years of the fifth, but for Persian, Lydian, and Egyptian of this period; from the Persian side we have little evidence, and that little consisting of official documents. This is characteristic; the Greeks were now putting themselves and others on record as no other people had done before them. Herodotus got his evidence for the East from his own extensive travels and accounts given him by natives—such as he understood: like Greeks generally, he did not trouble to

learn a foreign language—and from previous Greek writers.) His general picture is entirely favourable, especially of the wise, generous, and courteous Darius, and the Persian nobles; he sees to the full the political shortcomings of the Greeks, their jealousies and quarrels, and praises in particular the Persian settlement of Ionia after the suppression of the revolt of the Greek cities—the excellent system of taxation and stopping of fighting between one city and another. His Croesus too is a sympathetic figure: his dignity and courtesy towards Alcmaeon, the Athenian noble who, the story said, visited his court:

To the Lydian envoys sent by Croesus to consult the oracle at Delphi Alcmaeon son of Megacles gave every help and aid; and Croesus learning from his envoys visiting the oracle how Alcmaeon was benefiting him, sent for him to come to Sardis. On his arrival, he made him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at one time on his person. Such being the offer, Alcmaeon met it by the following device: he put on a wide tunic with a deep fold in it at the waist, and the biggest buskins he could find, and so clad followed his guides into the treasure-house. There he fell upon a heap of gold, and packed as much as he could inside his buskins, in the feet and up the calves of his legs; then filled the fold of his tunic all full of gold, and strewed gold-dust over his hair, and took some more into his mouth; until, when he left the treasure-house, hardly dragging his legs along with the weight of the buskins, he was like anything rather than a man, with his mouth all stuffed full and his body hugely swollen. When Croesus saw him he laughed aloud, and gave him all the gold he had already and as much more again. So the family became immensely rich, and Alcmaeon was able to keep a racing stable, and won the chariot-race at Olympia.¹

The story of Solon's visit to Croesus (chronologically impossible) gives best Herodotus' ideas of the difference between the Greek magistrate and the Oriental monarch, or rather one aspect of it:

On the third or fourth day of the visit he bade his servants conduct Solon round his treasures, and show him the splendour and prosperity of it all. When he had seen and considered

¹ Herodotus vi. 125.

everything, Croesus, taking the opportunity, thus questioned him: 'Stranger of Athens, we have heard here much of you, of your wisdom and your travels, how you have journeyed far from a love of knowledge and to see the world. A desire has come upon me to inquire of you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all other men?' He asked this, expecting that he himself was the most blest of men; but Solon spoke the truth, without flattery, and said: 'Yes, O King; Tello of Athens.' Croesus was astonished at the reply, and asked sharply: 'How do you judge Tello to be the most blest?' And Solon answered: 'Firstly, his country was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons and lived to see children born to all of them and everything well established; secondly, he was himself well-to-do (as wealth goes with us) and he crowned his life with a most glorious death: in a battle at Eleusis between Athens and her neighbours, he attacked and routed the enemy and died upon the field most nobly; and the Athenians gave him public burial there where he fell and paid him the highest honours.' Croesus thereupon, says Herodotus, asked his guest who was the second happiest of men, and Solon mentioned two brothers of Argos 'whose fortune was enough for their wants and who had great strength of body'. They did a simple thing well, and then died. They were the second happiest men Solon had heard of. This made Croesus angry and he said: 'What then of my prosperity? Do you despise it so utterly that you do not deem me a match even for common men?' Whereupon Solon gives him a homily on the uncertainty of worldly success: call no man happy till all his life is over, 'for there are many to whom the god has given a vision of blessedness and then brought them to utter ruin'. Croesus was in no way grateful, and dismissed him thinking him a fool who disregarded present prosperity and bade men look to the end of everything. But he remembered his words on two occasions afterwards, when his son was killed in a hunting accident, and when he himself was conquered by Cyrus and he was about to be put to death, when he quoted Solon's words, and happily convinced the Persian.¹

¹ Herodotus i. 30 ff.

Some, but not all, of the Greek tyrants modelled themselves on such a Croesus, fond of display, but essentially sensible, generous, and chivalrous. Xerxes, however, the commander of the greatest of expeditions against Greece, was for Herodotus (and therefore remains for us) a ridiculous figure: vain, petulant, selfish, sentimental, cowardly—the perfect picture of the bad Oriental monarch as Westerners see him. Here is one story of him, which Herodotus asserts indeed cannot be true, but which he nevertheless is not loath to record:

When Xerxes was retreating from Greece after the battle of Salamis, he went as far as the river Strymon by land, and then 'entrusting the army to Hydarnes to lead to the Hellespont, himself embarked on a Phoenician man-of-war and set sail for Asia. But on the voyage he was caught by a strong wind called the Strymonian and the sea began to run high. They were in the greater straits because of the heavy loading of the ship—for there were a large number of Persians of his suite on deck with him—and Xerxes was frightened and called out to the captain and asked if there was a chance of reaching harbour safely. "Master," said the captain, "there is none, unless it were possible to be rid of the many passengers on the ship." Whereupon it is said Xerxes turned to his suite and said: "Gentlemen, now is your opportunity to show loyalty to your king: my safety it seems rests with you." Thus Xerxes; and they salaamed low and leaped into the sea. The ship was thus lightened and reached Asia in safety; and as soon as he was out of the ship and on land, Xerxes presented the captain with a golden crown for saving the life of the king, and ordered him to be beheaded for having lost those of so many Persians."¹

In spite of the very genuine admiration for Persia felt by many Greeks, there was never any suggestion that Greece could in practice learn anything from the East—politically, that is: they learnt much in other ways. They did not for instance attempt any improvement in their political organization, even within

¹ Herodotus viii. 118. It is most interesting to compare Herodotus' stories of the East with the Arabian Nights, to observe the frequent likeness both in matter and manner of narration between him and the oriental writers.

their own system (as Rome did), based on their knowledge of Persia; to take even so obvious a matter as communications between the different states, they did not build roads, nor institute a postal service. The wars and the Greek victory tended, in spite of Herodotus, to close their minds to what the East might teach them; and in the fourth century—when the weaknesses of their own political system were so apparent, and so acutely observed—even the greatest of political philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, do not argue that that system is the best, or best suited to Greeks, they assume it, and do not even take into consideration the advantages of the large territorial state.

II. THE PERSIAN WARS (500-449 B.C.)

The struggle of what may almost be called the national forces of Greece against Persia began with the revolt of the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor, led by Miletus; a foolish attempt according to Herodotus, doomed to failure from the start, productive only of misery. The causes of the revolt we do not properly know: internal discontent with the ruling faction or tyrant supported by Persia, some of it justifiable, much only party feeling or personal jealousy, all of it understandable; the dignity of political freedom, the taunts of the independent Greeks of the mainland at their contented prosperity under foreign protection; all this will have stirred both base and noble minds. Eretria in Euboea, the old friend of Miletus, promised support; so did Athens, now a democracy and full of confidence; Sparta refused (through her king Cleomenes, according to Herodotus: how much easier it is, he says, to persuade a crowd to folly than a single ruler). The warlike Carians to the south joined them, though not the Dorian Greeks on the Carian coast. The war

499-494
B.C. lasted some four to five years. It was a signal failure—a failure due as much to the military incapacity of the Greeks, their disunions (Ephesus kept aloof from the whole affair, as far as she could; other cities were half-hearted), their lack of steadiness of purpose, as to the immensely superior resources of Persia; the Persian victory was one not only of the big battalions, but also of organized over unorganized forces. The Greeks began by

marching inland upon Sardis, the rich capital of the satrapy; they failed to capture its fortress, though the whole of the town was destroyed by fire, and returned to the coast; and Athens and Eretria sent no more help after this first campaign. The story of the next years is confused. The Persians were slow to move; doubtless from the point of view of distant Susa, the whole affair was unimportant. The Carians won many isolated successes over Persian generals in their difficult, mountainous country; but there was no permanent gain, and the Persians re-established their ascendancy. Finally they brought their fleet, 494 B.C. manned by Cilicians, Phoenicians, and Egyptians, to the Aegean; and the last battle was fought at sea, off Lade near Miletus. The combined Greek fleet had no unity of command, and was torn by dissension. Dionysius, the leader of the small Phocaeen contingent, energetically wanted to give the troops some intensive training before the enemy arrived; but after a day or two the majority objected to rowing about in the heat of the day at the orders of an insignificant captain, the other leaders were jealous, and the fleet relapsed into inaction. When the enemy arrived they proved themselves better equipped, better sailors, and better fighters. Half the Samian contingent left before the battle began (for Samos was divided between oligarchic and democratic factions, and the former were looking to Persia for support); others scarcely joined in the fight; only the large Chiote contingent, the Milesians and the rest of the Samians, fought bravely to the end. The Persians won a decisive victory, and the revolt was over; it was they who put an end to the inter-city and inter-party quarrels of the Greeks, and imposed on them peace once more and a settled and improved government. The better side won? But, it is important to note, we owe our whole knowledge of the war to Greek historians, and this is a Greek explanation of their defeat: the failure is not hidden. The Phocaeans, that gallant people (who, when Cyrus had subdued Ionia half a century earlier, had all of them, men, women, and children, with their gods, left to found a new city in the West rather than put up with slavery; but half of them 'overcome by a longing and pity for their old homes', had returned), these now

again would not endure subjection and went off first to Phoenicia, then to Sicily, to act the pirate against Carthaginians and Etruscans.

Persia was not content with the subjection of the Ionians, but during the next three years (493-491 B.C.) extended her ascendancy into Europe, over Thrace and Macedon (incidentally driving out the Athenian Miltiades from the Chersonese, and securing control of the passage from the Aegean to the Black Sea). In the next year they sailed across the Aegean against mainland Greece, to exact punishment, according to the simple Greek version, for the part Eretria and Athens had played in the sack of Sardis—and there must be some truth in the explanation, for only these cities were attacked. There was an earthquake on the sacred isle of Delos—a presage, says Herodotus, of evil for Greeks and Barbarians alike, for three generations: almost continual war. Hippias, the ex-tyrant driven out of Athens more than twenty years before, was with the Persians. The islands en route all submitted; Eretria was besieged, and fell, through treachery it was said, in six days. The Persians landed as well at Marathon, on the north-east coast of Attica, twenty-five miles from Athens.¹ Discussion arose in the assembly as to how the danger was to be met. Sparta had promised help, which was delayed, however (or so many Greeks thought), by regard for a religious festival; except for the forces of the small city of Plataea, their Boeotian ally, the Athenians were alone; and there was fear of dissension as well. Nevertheless, they resolved to march out with all their army to meet the Persians at Marathon. Miltiades, who since his expulsion from the Chersonese had established his influence at home in spite of the efforts of other noble families, was chiefly responsible for getting this resolution carried, and though only one of the ten elected commanders of regiments and not the general in command of the army, continued to be the dominating figure on the Athenian side. The Athenian forces were quick enough to take

¹ Probably simultaneously with the attack on Eretria. See Sir Frederick Maurice's able discussions of this and of the next Persian invasion in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1930 and 1932; they give the only good account of the military conditions, and the way the campaigns were affected by them.

up a position near Marathon, sufficiently strong that it would be a difficult task to dislodge them and at the same time guarding the roads to Athens. There they waited for the arrival of the Spartans; the Persians, unable to turn the position and to use their cavalry¹ (of which the Greeks had none) so long as the Greeks refused to move, waited too, for the other half of their forces from Eretria and in hopes of dissensions in the city. Then suddenly, on the tenth day, Miltiades saw an opportunity to attack, and persuaded Callimachus the general in command. How this opportunity arose we do not know; perhaps the Persians, despairing of breaking down Athenian patience and hearing that the Spartans might arrive any day, had decided to re-embark their forces and attempt a landing at Phaleron and immediate attack on Athens, and were surprised before they had half completed the manœuvre; more probably, Miltiades heard of the impending arrival of the Persian force from Eretria, and was compelled to attack before the Spartans arrived. Anyhow, the Athenians and Plataeans attacked. The Persian centre held out and even drove in the purposely weakened opposing centre; but the strong Greek wings carried all before them, and then wheeled and attacked the enemy centre in flank and rear; and the Persians fled to their ships. Many more fell there; but they managed to get away with the greater part of their forces. They sailed round the Attic coast to Phaleron, hoping to find the city undefended. But Miltiades returned as quickly, and the whole Persian armament retreated to Asia. The Athenian loss was 162 men, including Callimachus the commander, who 'proved himself a brave man'.² The Spartans arrived two days after the battle. It was a complete triumph for Athens that almost single-handed she had beaten off the forces of the Persian king.

But it had been only a punitive expedition, the defeat of which the Persians soon prepared to avenge. They were delayed

¹ If they had any cavalry there—it is much disputed.

² The size of the Athenian army is unknown, Herodotus giving no figures. The traditional figure of 9,000, with 1,000 Plataeans, has no authority; but it is probably not far out. The Persians at Marathon may have had 12,000–14,000 men, in addition to the division sent against Eretria.

485 B.C. by the death of Darius (after one of the great reigns of history), and a revolt in Egypt, quickly crushed. The new war was to be on a grander scale. An immense army, representative of many different peoples incorporated in the Empire, elaborately organized, with a vast system of transport, mustered at Sardis towards the end of 481; perhaps over 200,000 men in all.¹ The fleet was collected in the harbours of Cilicia. The invasion this time was to be by land, and Xerxes the King led his forces in
 ring 480 person. They crossed the Hellespont by a bridge of boats (Xerxes looking on, delighted at first, then bursting into tears at the thought that a hundred years hence none of all this multitude would be alive), and marched through Thrace and Macedon undisturbed, and, for so large an army in a country bare of roads, rapidly. The fleet sailed along the coast with the army, keeping in close touch. So elaborate were the preparations that, because a squadron had been wrecked the year before in a storm when rounding the peninsula of Athos, a canal had been cut across the low neck of land that separates it from the mainland, and through this the fleet sailed.

The Greeks had ample warning of the attack. But now the weakness of political division showed itself. Not that there was any hesitation about resistance on the part of the large majority, though Argos and Corcyra held aloof; nor any difficulty, as it proved, over the command. On land this went without question to Sparta, permanent head of the Peloponnesian league, and recognized by all as the first military state; at sea the Athenians had the strongest claim, for they now had the largest fleet of any Greek state (recently built, and exercised in a war with the neighbouring Aegina—an inconclusive war it had been, now ended in face of the common danger), and by their success in establishing their democracy against the efforts of others and still more by their victory at Marathon and general energy, had become suddenly the second strongest state; but some maritime states refused to serve under her, she waived her claim, and Sparta, though providing but a small squadron,

¹ For the limits of the Persian numbers, see again Sir Frederick Maurice, *J.H.S.*, 1930. Herodotus speaks of millions of men; having no idea what a million means.

provided also the commander. But counsels were divided; no state was strong enough to impose its will unquestioned; and decisions on the major questions of strategy were only made after long debate among the many allied generals. At first it was decided to defend the passes leading from southern Macedonia into Thessaly, and forces were sent there; but soon recalled, so that Xerxes was able to march down them unopposed; the Thessalians submitted, and their cavalry (an arm in which the Greeks were very weak) incorporated with the invading forces. The next position chosen, Thermopylae-Artemisium, was particularly strong. The army at Thermopylae and the fleet at Artemisium could act in close co-operation, and for both there was only a narrow space of manœuvre, which suited their inferior numbers and the comparative slowness of their ships. But again there was muddle; whether due to mistaken judgment of commanders who expected that the decisive battle would be fought at sea and that the forces sent to Thermopylae would be sufficient to hold the position long enough to prevent the enemy getting to the rear of the fleet by land (it is to be remembered in all Greek wars that, normally, a fleet had to have a friendly shore near by as a base, as warships were not built for long unbroken sea cruises),¹ or whether there was shameful delay and hesitation in getting ready; certain it is that, whereas the whole of the allied fleet (half of it Athenian) was sent to Artemisium, insufficient forces were sent to Thermopylae under Leonidas, the Spartan king—the Phocians, defending their own land immediately to the south, Thespians and Thebans from Boeotia, and but 300 Spartans and 4,000 other Peloponnesians; not a quarter of the available force. The Persians marched rapidly down through Thessaly, their fleet sailed along the coast; the forces were opposite each other about the end of July 480, and the attack began at once. As it happened, the Greek fleet could do no more than hold its own in several days' fighting (in spite of heavy losses suffered by the Persians in a storm just before the battle): there was just room for the superior

¹ See above, pp. 561–2; and for a more detailed discussion, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1933.

numbers and manœuvring power of the enemy to tell. The army held the pass of Thermopylae steadily against all direct attacks; but the position was turned (a Greek it is said showed the Persians the way); the enemy marched up by a path over the mountains and threatened to surround the whole Greek force, except the Phocians who were waiting for an attack by the southward pass. Leonidas succeeded in getting the greater part away in time; he himself with his 300 Spartans and the Thespians remained to cover their retreat and delay the invader. They fought all day and fell to a man. The enemy thus cleared another path on his way through Greece; the Greek fleet, with its base now threatened, had to retreat with the land forces. What was more, Boeotia surrendered (only the Plataeans retreating with the rest); more Greek troops, of fine quality, were added to the enemy's army (it was said afterwards in apology that Thebes was then ruled by a narrow clique of oligarchs); and the road was open into Attica.

It had been a disastrous beginning to the campaign, and the quarrels and recriminations among the various leaders only increased. Nevertheless, their partial success at sea (where they had learnt something of the Persian methods), and the prolonged resistance against overwhelming numbers and the heroic death of Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae filled the Greeks with greater confidence; and the Athenians, guided by all their leading men and especially by the inspiring genius and ceaseless activity of Themistocles (who had been chiefly responsible for the creation of the fleet) refused to follow the example of Thesaly and Boeotia, but 'remembering the common blood, common religion, and common culture of all Greece', gave up their land to the enemy and kept their post in the allied forces. All of them, men, women, and children, free and slave, left Attica and were taken some to the Peloponnese, most to Aegina—their late enemy—and Salamis (there was no time to go farther), trusting to the protection of the fleet. The Greek army, that is to say now the Peloponnesians, were assembled in full force at the Isthmus of Corinth, a position which they were rapidly strengthening by a wall and one which could not be turned

except by sea. If the Persians won at sea they could land troops where they wished, at friendly Argos for instance, in the rear of the Greeks; otherwise the Isthmus could be held indefinitely, and the Persians could not keep their huge forces so far from home, in a poor and ravaged country, for long; they had to seek a decision. But where was the Greek fleet to take up position? From Artemisium it had retreated to Salamis, where it had assisted the transport of the Athenian population. The Peloponnesians wished it to retire farther to the eastern port of Corinth, to keep in touch with the army. This meant the abandonment of Salamis and Aegina, and all the wives and children of Athenians and Aeginetans there. But more than this: Themistocles saw that the Greeks, still greatly outnumbered and slower movers than the enemy, must fight in yet narrower waters than they had at Artemisium; the straits of Salamis, the tortuous channel between the island and Attica, was the place, if they could but compel the enemy to fight them there. The latter's fleet was sailing round to Phaleron, only a few miles from the Greek position; their army was ravaging Attica and destroying Athens—the whole city, with its fine new temples, was given to the flames; the smoke from their burning homes was clearly visible to the Athenians at Salamis. It is said that Xerxes sent a dispatch to Susa: 'My army has captured and destroyed Athens; victory is mine.' The position of the Greek fleet was indeed perilous; it might be surrounded and destroyed; and the food supplies on Salamis, for the fleet and the refugees, must have been scanty. The Greek admirals met and argued; now a decision was taken to remain; now to retire to the isthmus while there was yet time. But Themistocles persisted; he met all the reasonable fears, the timidities, and the jealous taunts of the rest with cajolings, threats (to give up all and go and found a new Athens in the west), and untiring argument. He prevailed; and then, by some stratagem, induced the Persian first to divide his forces and then to attack within the straits. Here the first enemy ships were caught in flank as they entered; there was but little room to manœuvre; as more ships advanced they jostled and collided with each other; there was no co-ordination

between the different squadrons. The Greeks rammed and boarded the enemy; the fighting was fierce, but order was better on the Greek side. Some of the enemy fled, only to collide with the advancing rear squadrons; the confusion increased; the Greeks pressed on and before the sun had set won a decisive victory—more decisive than they knew, for they expected another attack next day. But in fact the Persian fleet retired eastward across the Aegean; Xerxes himself, who had watched the battle from a throne erected on a height on the Attic shore, decided that there was no chance now of further advance and, fearful that the Greek fleet might cut off his passage across the Hellespont, beat a hasty retreat in advance of the greater part of his army back through northern Greece, Macedon, and Thrace to Asia. Greece was saved: if she could keep the command of the sea, it was only a question of time before the remaining Persian forces on land must retire; Themistocles had staked all on a single throw, but the event showed that his judgement was right.

Salamis was fought in September. Mardonius, left in command of the remaining Persian forces, retired into Boeotia for the winter. He was in no hurry to leave Greece; throughout the spring and summer of 479 he remained there, in Boeotia and Attica, trying to force a battle, apparently intending to keep northern Greece and Macedonia as satrapies of the Persian Empire. Finally, in the autumn, just a year after Salamis, the Peloponnesians and Athenians marched out in full force, secured the passes of Cithaeron between Attica and Boeotia, and took up a strong position on the north slopes, facing Thebes, the Persian base. After some days' delay, during which the co-ordination of forces on the Greek side was dangerously weak, and Pausanias, the commander-in-chief (regent at Sparta for the young son of Leonidas), was showing himself no great master of tactics, Mardonius attacked. A confused battle ensued; but Greek discipline, once the fighting had begun, then showed its worth; the Spartans, in particular, displayed an unshaken firmness. The Thebans fought bravely on the Persian side (as had the Ionians at Salamis), but the day ended in complete victory

for the Greeks. The enemy retired northward, and, except for a few fortresses, left Europe altogether. At the same time the Greek fleet met the enemy off the Asia Minor coast and defeated them. The great Persian attack was over.

The war is of perennial interest. Not only for its result, that it saved and inspired a people that had yet to give to the world its greatest and most varied achievements; but for the nature of the military action. For it was a victory of ill-organized, free states over a well-organized empire at the height of its power. It taught the Greeks, so they thought, two things: that their political disunion (that autonomy which they so dearly loved for its own sake) was not fatal, that they could sink their differences in time of need, and were then strong enough to resist the mightiest enemy they were ever likely to encounter; and that their military system was superior, that as soldiers they were better than all foreigners. Yet except at Sparta, this system was amateurish; their armies were pure militia, based on conscription with no professional nucleus. All boys for two years, from eighteen to twenty, received a military training, more or less severe from state to state, and from time to time, but no further practice except in war. There was no officer class; all officers were elected by popular vote, and for a year only; a man could be, and was normally, an officer one year and a common soldier the next, without any slur on his ability; and an officer who made himself unpopular was easily made to feel the people's anger. It was such a militia that had won Marathon; for the Greeks, for all their weaknesses, their caprices, their passion and opportunity for criticism of superior officers, their dislike of obeying orders, had developed a sort of self-discipline which worked well on a campaign (its most signal achievement was in the retreat of the Ten Thousand in 401); at least for a time, and while self-confidence lasted. This self-discipline, under the leadership of the really proficient soldiery of Sparta, gained them the victory over Persia.

Two other points. Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis, Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, are of interest to us not only in themselves, but because they are part of Herodotus' theme;

for what the Greeks wrote is as important as what they did. Second: note how they *recorded* their victory. Records in sculpture and painting; not, as in the East, a great king receiving the submission of miserable adversaries, bound and kneeling, but an equal fight between Greek and Persian (or, symbolically, Greek and Trojan, Greek and Amazon, Lapith and Centaur) which either side might win. And no boasting inscription: 'I marched through the land; I brought the nations under my sway; thousands fell before me'; but the *Persae* of Aeschylus, and, on monuments of gold and bronze set up at Olympia and Delphi, 'The following took part in the war: Sparta, Athens, Corinth', and so on, separate, independent states;¹ and Simonides' lines on the dead at Thermopylae:

Go, tell at Sparta, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to her laws we lie.²

After the retreat of the Persians, the Greeks took the offensive. The islands and the cities of Asia Minor all declared their independence. The fleet cleared the Hellespont and the Bosphorus of the enemy, and at the other end of the sea, captured Cyprus. 478 B.C. Sparta and the Peloponnese, losing interest, soon withdrew from their forces, but the active Athenians carried on. Inspired by the victory at Salamis, they paid more and more attention to their navy, allied themselves with the states lately revolted from Persia (mostly Ionians like themselves), and carried on the war by sea. Cyprus apparently again came under Persian rule, or part of it, but the Greeks (under the command of Cimon, c. 467 Miltiades' son) won a complete victory at the mouth of the Eurymedon in Cilicia, sinking or capturing almost the entire Persian fleet, then landing and capturing their camp. But Persia had some compensation a few years later. Egypt revolted,

¹ Among them are Mycenae and Tiryns, now tiny states who had sent contingents of two hundred men each (their whole force). It is their last appearance as independent states; within a dozen years Argos (absent from Plataea) had absorbed them.

² Compare also the rows of stiff, almost motionless soldiery, all alike, in the newly discovered sculptures of Persepolis, with the freely moving, *seemingly* undisciplined cavalry on the Parthenon frieze.

and Athens sent a fleet to her assistance, which sailed up the Nile and attacked Memphis. (Athens was now at the very height of her energy; moreover there was not only imperial ambition in this, but Egypt was at the time the most important foreign source of corn to Greece.) Persia made a great effort: a large army was sent overland through Syria, subdued the Egyptian forces and managed to surround and at last to destroy the whole Athenian armament. The revolt in Egypt only continued ^{459-454 B.C.} sporadically in the Delta, sporadically helped by Athens. A last expedition was sent to Cyprus, again under Cimon; but Cimon died, and after some fighting the fleet returned; and now at last peace was made. In spite of their recent failures, the ⁴⁴⁹ terms of this peace show how successful in the main Athens and her allies had been: for by it Persia agreed not to send her fleet farther west than Phaselis, nor her army farther than three days' march from the Asia Minor coast. The whole of Greek lands were once more free from the Eastern threat.

Indeed, although from the Persian point of view the whole of the struggle with the Greeks may have seemed little more than a war on her outskirts, with little reference to the heart of things, yet she hardly recovered from it. The great organization went on, but henceforth with little vitality or energy; it was as though after the death of Darius, the Persians had little fresh to contribute. Even in the fourth century when the quarrels of the Greek states gave them every opportunity of again playing a decisive part in the Aegean, they were unable to do anything effective. The life went quickly out of the giant machine.

CHAPTER V

ATHENS: THE ATTEMPT AT UNITY IN GREECE

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

WE have seen above (pp. 610-11) that after the overthrow of the tyranny at Athens a full democracy was established. But in reality or on paper only? There is one test of this which is applicable to every state in which government is by discussion (and there can be no question but that at Athens government was by discussion, not by orders of autocrat or official): where did discussion take place? Which was the assembly of debate and decision? In republican Rome it was the senate, though there existed *comitia* of the whole people; in England of the eighteenth century it was parliament, both Lords and Commons—good examples, these, of oligarchic government. In Athens it was the *ecclesia*, the assembly of all the citizens; all the great debates took place there, not in the Boulê, nor in informal mass meetings; there were heard the great speeches of Themistocles, Pericles, Cleon, Alcibiades, Demosthenes; there, too, foreign ambassadors came and argued for peace or for alliance. The decisions therefore of the *ecclesia* were real, not paper decisions prepared beforehand or ignored afterwards by powerful officials; the *ecclesia* was the sovereign body in fact as in law. The Boulê, democratically elected, had important powers, for it prepared business for the assembly, carried on the day-to-day work of the state, co-operated with the officials, and was always regarded by the Athenians as an essential element in their democracy; but it was in no sense a sovereign body, as is a modern parliament; it did not elect or dismiss the executive, it did not legislate, it did not decide questions of foreign policy. All that was reserved for the people as a whole.

But how could the people in fact control the executive, which would consist of persons of ability (of one kind or another, even if only the demagogue's), energy, and, above all, experience? A hard task in any state; and surely impossible for mass meetings of ignorant citizens? The way the Athenians met this difficulty

is of lasting interest, because it was effective (too effective for good government) and logical. In the first place, tenure of office was for a year only, and in the case of the great majority of offices election was by lot, and no one could hold the same office more than once; hence ordinary citizens held office, there was no permanent, therefore experienced and powerful, class or bureaucracy, knowing the secrets of government hidden from the mass, and large numbers of citizens held office of some kind at some time in their lives. In particular, the Boulê of 500, to which appointment was by a combination of election and lot, 50 from each phylê, each deme being represented according to its population: a man could be a bouleutês twice (though not in consecutive years—how they did think of everything!) and not before he was thirty; this meant that at least 250 new members were elected every year, out of a citizen population that probably never reached 50,000, and in the fourth century only 25,000–35,000.¹ Supposing the average age at which a man first became a bouleutês was thirty-five, this minimum of 250 would be taken from about 1,100–1,200 men reaching the age of thirty-five every year in the fifth century, from about 600 to 800 in the fourth century. Secondly, at the end of his year of office a man had to submit an account of his rule, and have it passed; doubtless in the vast majority of cases a purely formal business; still any one could bring a complaint, and if any were made, the official had to stand his trial before a dicastery of some 500 of his fellow citizens. Thirdly, there was no council of citizens with experience of office. Under the original constitution of Cleisthenes, the archons (nine in number every year) were the highest officers of the state (including the chief archon who was head, and the commander-in-chief of the army), and they were elected by the vote of the whole people; they were therefore influential persons. All ex-archons became automatically members of the ancient and much revered Council of the Areopagus. This Council had wide though vague powers of control over officials and as protectors of the constitution, and as a body consisting of experienced and influential citizens might, by the mere weight

¹ See below, pp. 644–5.

of its authority, have come in time to exercise a power greater than that of the assembly (as did the senate at Rome). This danger to the democracy was prevented by the reform of 487 B.C., by which archons were to be chosen by lot, not by vote; henceforward the archonships ceased to have any political importance (Themistocles and Aristides were amongst the last of the powerful archons), and the influence of the Areopagus rapidly declined; the change was confirmed in 462, when most of its powers of control were transferred to the *ecclesia* and the *dicasteries*. The place of the archons as political leaders was taken by the ten *stratêgoi* or generals, originally only the commanders of the ten regiments of the army. These were regarded as belonging to the class of specialists (like architects, engineers, or doctors), and so, characteristically, were always chosen by vote, not by the lot, and could be re-elected any number of times. Themistocles and Aristides, not very important as *stratêgoi* in 490, were all-important when elected again in 480 and 479, when the archons were nonentities; they were chosen to command armies, not regiments, or the fleet, as occasion demanded. In peace-time they were naturally the most influential speakers in the assembly. Pericles exercised his long tenure of power through the office of *stratêgos*, to which he was elected year after year. But *ex-stratêgoi* did not become members of the Areopagus or of any council, but simple citizens; so that there was no body of men, meeting regularly, in contact with each other, of sufficient authority ever to outweigh the power of the *ecclesia*; with that corporate feeling so characteristic of a parliament, that protects it alike from a powerful monarch and from the electorate. (Later a further development took place; it was recognized that military skill and political wisdom, still less oratorical ability, were not necessarily found in the same person. No change was made in the constitution; *stratêgoi* were still elected yearly, by the people; but soldiers and sailors, not politicians, were elected. The politicians swayed the assembly, but they held no political office, apart from minor ones to which they might be elected from time to time; they were therefore irresponsible, keen critics—like all Athenians—of course, but not called upon to hold

office in turn. The beginnings of this change can be seen in the Peloponnesian War; it is complete in the fourth century—the careers of Cleon and Demosthenes illustrate it. Alcibiades was the last of the men who combined a military career with a dominating part in the ecclesia.)

Lastly, owing to this system of yearly changes of office, a very large proportion of citizens (certainly of those interested and active enough to attend the ecclesia) will have had at one time or another experience of office, of the way business was managed, and have been in direct contact with most of the important officers, that is, the powerful individuals, of the city; this and their continued work in the Boulê, the ecclesia, and the dicasteries will have given the citizens a knowledge of politics sufficient to prevent them being simply led by ‘people in the know’, being just told by officials what to do, being governed by a clique (which is not the same thing as being misled by specious arguments, catchwords, fine oratory, or appeals to selfish interests; this was common in Athens, as elsewhere). Naturally, there were cliques of politicians, who tried to pack meetings with their supporters and pass measures by snatch votes (there was no permanent president of the ecclesia to prevent or assist such tactics: a member of the Boulê, chosen by lot for each meeting, presided); but such successes were isolated and temporary; no clique ever governed Athens; the ecclesia was always in the end too strong. And the long political career of Pericles, in that golden period which has been called after his name, when we speak, and rightly, of his *rule*, was only possible through his continued personal influence in the ecclesia. It is not simply that the forms of the constitution were observed (as under Peisistratus); but only through them did Pericles exercise his power, by the force of his personal character (so well known to every one in Athens) and by his ability as an orator: by his action in the ecclesia, not by action independent of it, or by ignoring and stifling opposition. In particular, in that sphere of his activity which we should expect to be most alien to a popular assembly—the restoration of the temples of Attica: it was Pericles who inspired and guided this policy throughout;

doubtless no other man could have done it, and the assembly would not have done it without him; but he not only had to persuade the people to vote for the general policy; it was they also who elected the architects, sculptors, and painters, who passed the plans, and month by month, over a period of eighteen years, voted the money. And they could dispense with Pericles' services if they willed; not only could they dismiss him from office, but they could take important action against his advice and retain him in office (as at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War). And no other man ever dominated Athens as Pericles did; other popular favourites rose and fell, at the wish of the ecclesia, only too rapidly.

What is remarkable, too, at Athens is the amount of time spent in public affairs; the ecclesia met regularly forty times a year, and as often at other times as occasion demanded; the dicasteries more often, probably on at least two hundred days in the year; and not only all this political and semi-political activity (and in addition much local, municipal life in the demes), but the military and naval campaigns, on which the citizens as a body served, and the many religious festivals (in the open air, all of them); and their art and literature, as their athletic contests, were public, the former expressed in public monuments, the latter mostly tragedy and comedy given in the great open-air theatre twice a year at the festivals of Dionysus, before an audience of thousands. Only science and philosophy were more or less private and confined to the few. Yet the Athenians admired as much as anybody did the quiet man, who attended to his own affairs, did not concern himself overmuch in politics, and was not for ever setting other people right; perhaps, however, because he was rarer among them. And Athens was in structure essentially like all Greek states, only more active, varied, and gifted, more restless in every way; the principles for example that all full citizens should take a personal part in public affairs, not delegate their functions, that all office should be elective and tenure for a short period (generally a year), that there should be no permanent, experienced body of men either as bureaucrats or as a military class, these were common to all

Greek states (except in some respects Sparta) and to most Greek political philosophers. What is unique about Athens is the determined and consistent attempt at a logical democracy on the part of an important state—important both in the part she played in contemporary politics and in her permanent achievement. To this democracy the Athenians were devotedly attached, not as an efficient instrument of government (they knew all about its defects), but as good in itself; once and once only in the course of 250 years, from 507 to 262 B.C. (when their independence was finally crushed), were they persuaded and terrorized into the experiment of an oligarchy—in 411, in the worst days of the Peloponnesian War, and for a few months only. More than once an oligarchy was imposed by a victorious enemy and secured by a foreign garrison; but on each occasion that Athens regained her freedom, she re-established her democracy, with its numerous and ever-changing officials, election by lot, dicasteries, representative Boulê, and the sovereign ecclesia of which every citizen was a member.

II. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. FOREIGNERS AND SLAVES AT ATHENS. POPULATION

In spite of all this essentially urban activity (in which country people living at any distance from Athens could have had only a limited share), agriculture remained the most important industry of citizens, and indeed the Athenian farmer, until the repeated invasions of the Peloponnesian War drove men within the walls of the city, was known for his attachment to his home and a country life. Agriculture shared in the general growth of prosperity in the fifth century, and Attica was noted for the careful and various cultivation of the soil. Corn was not much grown, except in the plains of Eleusis (wheat hardly at all): the soil was not favourable, and the large quantity of imported corn necessary to feed the growing population of the towns kept down the price; most farmers would grow enough for their own use, not more. Vines and olives (far more profitable per acre) were chiefly grown; and the olive-oil of Attica was famous, and widely exported. Men farmed their own land, with perhaps some hired

help at harvest and vintage; mostly small proprietors, peasant-farmers—for the possibility of the land falling permanently into the hands of a few, with tenants or serfs, had been ended by the legislation of Solon.

The Peloponnesian War, particularly the last eight years when the enemy were in permanent occupation of a good part of Attica, was disastrous for Athenian agriculture; and unfortunately we do not know how far it recovered in the fourth century. Men had been driven from the country to the town; the loss of life had been great, though partly compensated for by the return of Athenian colonists after the war. That agriculture in part revived we can be certain, and it retained much of its old prestige. Even in that city of traders, manufacturers, and sailors, there lingered on the belief which has been common to all peoples and all ages, that agriculture is in some way a more respectable occupation than other industries. Still no foreigner could own land, and though in other respects political equality between the citizens was complete, the old distinction was preserved to the end between men of the hoplite class who served in the army, providing their own armour, and the poorest class (men with little or no capital) who were called upon to serve in the fleet: this in spite of the fact that it was at sea that Athens had won her greatest glory, and that her sailors were the staunchest upholders of the democracy.

All kinds of manufacture then known flourished at Athens, especially in the fourth century. As with farming, they were all small, personal businesses; a man owned a factory and worked in it himself; he and his family lived in the building; occasionally two men formed a partnership. A shop with twenty hands employed was a large one; a man who could employ forty or fifty men (in one or more factories) was very rich; most manufacture was in shops where a man worked with his sons, with two or three men to help. Trades such as building, quarrying of stone and marble, and mining were similarly carried on; there were no large contractors or companies. When a large building, as a temple, was erected by the state, the work was let out in very small sections, often month by month, to indi-

viduals or groups, sculptors, masons, bricklayers, wood-workers, removal-contractors, and so forth, who might or might not have a few others (free or slave) working under them. The productive lead and silver mines at Laurium, owned by the state,¹ were similarly let on short leases to individuals, each of whom worked a small section carefully determined in the contract, and who took all the risks of working old mines or sinking new ones, and building and working the small washing and smelting plants. Considering the limited chemical knowledge of the time, and the still more limited mechanical appliances, these mines were well constructed and skilfully worked; and in the absence of mechanical appliances, the divisions into numerous small mines worked well enough.

So in foreign commerce: a shipowner generally owned but one ship, on which he sailed; the captain was his employee, the crew his servants. The merchant chartered this ship for one voyage (single or return), generally himself sailing with it to conduct the sale of his goods and the purchase of the return cargo. He would borrow the necessary money for this by a loan the terms of which included insurance against loss; every such transaction was for the one voyage only, and the capitalist who lent the money was an individual, not a company.² Banking was also important, but it was undeveloped. As far as we can see, its business was limited, normally, to exchange of foreign moneys (not unimportant, where there were so many currencies), receiving deposits, making private loans (only later do we hear of loans from individuals to states), and, what was of great value, arranging with its agents abroad that merchants or shipowners be enabled to raise money on the security of deposits at home—avoiding the excessive and unnecessary carrying about of coin and thus carrying out one of the first purposes of a banking system. But the bankers did not normally invest their deposits

¹ It was perhaps Peisistratus who, confiscating the nobles' property in this district, asserted the state's ownership of the underground wealth, and first systematically worked it.

² As there were no joint-stock companies, so there was no dealing in shares, no stock-exchange; and Greek law, perhaps because there were no industrial companies, never recognized an association of men as a legal person, as Roman law did.

in industry; they were not the sources of industrial capital; and since, in Athens at least, they were most of them foreigners, they could not lend money on land-mortgage, for (as they could not own land) they could not foreclose—a serious limitation. Many of the bankers, however, were very rich men, and some were important enough to receive the citizenship (like a peerage) as a reward for public and philanthropic service; and it is possible that we do not know all their activities. But because trade was carried on in this irrational way by a very large number of small businesses, it must not be supposed that it was not extensive and important. On the contrary, Athens depended on foreign trade for the greater part of her corn, all her timber (for ships, for building, for the mines), and all her slaves, as well as for innumerable luxuries; and practically all came by sea to the Peiraeus, from all over the Mediterranean. It was a boast that the products of every country were to be found there; and her own went not only to every port, but far inland, up the Danube into Etruria and across the Alps, up the Rhone and Saone valleys. Not only bankers, but merchants had their agent abroad, who sent information of prices and market opportunities; it was an international system. Nor was Athens alone in this. Most Greek states depended to some degree on foreign trade (only Laconia, Boeotia, and Thessaly for instance growing enough corn for their own population), and other commercial cities, such as Rhodes, Samos, Corinth, Syracuse, Marseilles, were much like Athens; a great deal of trading activity, and everywhere the same individualist system.¹

The growth of manufacture and commerce naturally attracted many foreigners to settle in Athens, mostly Greeks from all over the Greek world (the same is true again of other trading states, but we know much more about Athens). Those who had come in the sixth century were most of them enfranchised when the democracy was established; but thereafter all settled foreigners belonged to the class of *metics* (see above, p. 548), debarred from

¹ Trade was almost all by sea. By land goods could only be carried on pack-animals; it was therefore local, and in small quantities (small even for Greece), even if frequent. Athens did not trade much with Boeotia.

political activity, from holding land, from regular service in the army (many of them served in the fleet), but otherwise sharing to the full in life at Athens, with civil rights, protected at home and abroad by Athenian law and Athenian arms, the foster-children of Athens; recognized as an important element in the state. Since they were manufacturers and traders, they were nearly all resident in Athens or the Peiraeus. Undistracted by public affairs, they had more time for their businesses than the average citizen, though it is a mistake to suppose that the industrial life of Athens was confined to them, or that citizens despised it. Large numbers of citizens were traders and craftsmen; many were directly or indirectly (by lending capital) engaged in commerce; and it must be remembered that all farmers and all mine-owners (since mines counted as real property) were citizens.

The growth of industry, in Athens and elsewhere, also led to and was in turn made possible by a large increase in the number of slaves. Slavery had been known in Greece at least since the days of Homer; but then it was an isolated and accidental business—a few unfortunate individuals had been captured in piratical raids. Later, in certain states, it became common, especially in Corinth and Chios, then in all trading states. How common they were at Athens in the sixth century we have no means of knowing, but by the end of the fifth and throughout the fourth century they were very numerous, and the slave-trade a frequent and profitable business. The majority of slaves were imported from Thrace, south Russia (the Scythians), and Asia Minor; how obtained in the first place, we do not know; probably powerful tribes situated near the coast raided the interior and sold their captives to Greek traders. In addition, all wars tended to increase their numbers (and so lower their price: slaves were always cheap to buy, not always cheap to keep); for not only did a victory often mean the capturing of slaves belonging to the enemy, but it was by no means unknown, when a town was captured, for the adult males to be killed and the women and children sold as slaves. We must not suppose that there was any system in the employment of slaves; that, for example, all

manual work was relegated to them. Hardly any slaves were employed in agriculture; practically all domestic servants and all underground workers in the mines were slaves; but beyond that there was no regular rule or custom. In one shop a man might be working alone with his family, in another with free hired labour, in another—in all other respects similar—with slaves, because the owner had been fortunate enough to buy a skilled man or had bought a slave young and trained him. Another way was for a man to invest his money in buying slaves and let them out on hire to industrialists—a practice especially common in the mines. Naturally there was a tendency for heavy unskilled work to be done by slaves; but in the skilled trades, slave and free might work side by side, at the same kind of work, even at the same piece of work, and for the same pay, as on the Acropolis temples.¹ A great deal of spinning and weaving and making of clothes was done at home; in rich houses this was done by women slaves under the supervision of the mistress of the house—such a business being managed very like an ordinary factory under a man's direction, where he lived in his shop, except that normally nothing was made for sale.

Hence we find that there were far fewer slaves in the agricultural states; in the poorer ones, such as Aetolia and Phocis, none; in Boeotia a few craftsmen in the towns, a good many domestic servants in the houses of the rich, and few others. Towns such as Corinth, Chalcis, Rhodes, Syracuse, were like Athens. Chios and Corcyra were exceptional in having large numbers of slaves, most of them employed on the land.

It was not normal for slave-children to be reared; there was

¹ It is sometimes stated not only that the temples are the product of slave-labour, but that their structure and ornament, repetitive and restrained, is characteristic of slave-work, in contrast to the variety and freedom of Gothic. Nothing could be farther from the truth. We have the building accounts of some Greek temples (at Athens and Eleusis, for example), giving in great detail the payments made to workers. The number of slaves employed in skilled work was very small (on the Erechtheum about 15 per cent. of all the workers), and those were clearly selected as individual skilled men, and worked side by side, at the same job, with free men, citizens or metics. To judge by our scanty evidence, mostly from the building trades, there was an increase in the proportion of work done by slaves during the fourth century; and work was more often allotted to contractors (still in small quantities) instead of to individual craftsmen.

no plantation system in Greece. The numbers of the slave population were kept up by purchase from abroad; hence only among the helots of Sparta and the penestae of Thessaly was there any large number of child slaves. A slave was completely the property of his owner, and could be bought and sold at will; he had no civil rights, and any claim he might make before the law could only be made through his owner, who was his legal representative in the same way as a father for his infant children, a husband for his wife. He could not even give evidence before a court (also a free man's privilege); legally his evidence, given under torture, could be taken on commission, but this was a device seldom, if ever, resorted to. He was protected by custom and by law, as well as by the owner's interest, against ill-usage; and the naturally democratic temper of the Greeks tended to obliterate in daily contact the too rigid distinction between free and slave. Indeed, at Athens it was said by noble grumblers that in the streets you could not tell one from the other, either by dress or manner.¹

Manumission was not uncommon and was duly registered by the state to protect the ex-slave in his new status as metec. Some ex-slaves rose to positions of importance, like the banker Pasion, who first came to Athens as a slave-employee of a banker, was freed, and so became a metec, took over the business when his former master died, and became so rich that he was given Athenian citizenship. A slave of his in turn, Phormion, his chief clerk, was freed and later given the citizenship.

¹ Thus there was not more difference in Athens between rich and poor than in modern states; in many ways there was less. There was likeness in manners and speech, which is of the first importance. But consider a particular case—prostitution (common in the big towns then as now). Apart from the 'independents', demi-mondaines and others, the majority of prostitutes were slaves; probably the actual conditions of their lives were no worse than those of modern times—for obvious reasons an owner must treat them well. But it marks the moral difference that they were legally compelled to obey their owners, that they were hired out; that if they escaped they were runaway slaves like any other, and could be recaptured, the owner being aided by the law in asserting his authority. Another point: if there were few slave children, as all our evidence suggests, either there must have been very frequent infanticide, which there is no reason to believe, or the sexual life of the slaves must have been cruelly stunted (especially the women's: the men had low-class brothels to go to): a factor to be weighed against their generally kindly treatment.

We have unfortunately no exact knowledge of the size of the population of Athens, either of its citizens, foreigners, or slaves, or of the changes during the fifth and sixth centuries: perhaps the most important gap in our knowledge. We have many isolated and different pieces of evidence, but none of it sufficient and some of it contradictory. But such as we have gives the following *probable* results, with a considerable margin for error:

(1) *Citizens.*

In the period 450–430 B.C., 43,000–45,000 males over eighteen (of whom about 25,000 of the hoplite census and over—only few citizens below the border-line of poverty), or a total of citizens 160,000–180,000.

About 400 B.C., after the Peloponnesian War, not more than 25,000 adult males, or a total of citizens *c.* 100,000 (with a majority of women over men).

About 330 B.C., 30,000–33,000 adult males giving a total of citizens 120,000–125,000.

(2) *Metics.*

450–430 B.C., perhaps 10,000 adult males, which might mean 30,000 in all (there would be many metics lately settled without families).

400 B.C., considerably less, but we have no means of knowing the figures.

330 B.C., perhaps 12,000 adult males, or 40,000 in all; that is, by now, a third of the citizen population.

(3) *Slaves.*

450–430 B.C., perhaps 65,000–70,000 domestic servants¹ (rather more women than men), and perhaps 50,000 in industry (nearly all men), including, according to one poor authority, 10,000 in the Laurium mines: say, 115,000 all told.

400 B.C., no figures, but probably scarcely half the previous number.

330 B.C., perhaps 40,000–45,000 domestic servants and about 60,000 in industry: say 100,000 in all.

¹ Most men of the hoplite class—citizen and metic—seem to have had at least one servant, and their wives another.

That is to say, the total population of Attica in 450-430 perhaps numbered 320,000 souls; by 400 it had declined, perhaps to 170,000; in 330 it was larger again, though not so large as in the fifth century: some 260,000. In the fifth century the slave population (almost all adult) about equalled the adult free; by the end of the fourth it was rather larger.

To these would have to be added an unknown but considerable number of non-resident foreigners, especially during the summer months, when trade was busiest and many men came to Athens from the islands to serve in the fleet.

In the fifth century there lived in Athens and Piraeus and their environs about a third of the citizens, practically all the metics, and, of the slaves, presumably one-third of the domestic and nearly all the industrial except the miners: that is, about 150,000 persons out of over 300,000. Not all, however, were living an urban life, though all had access to it; the environs included much agricultural land, especially some of the estates of the nobles. In the fourth century, probably nearly half the citizens lived in the town, all the metics, and nearly half the domestic and nearly all the industrial slaves (there were now fewer employed in the mines): or about 170,000, or considerably more than half of the total of 260,000.

After the fourth century we have no figures: but we may be certain that the population rapidly declined, particularly that of the metics and slaves. There was a general dispersion of Greeks over the whole of the Middle East after Alexander's conquests; and Athens was no longer the chief centre of the trade of the eastern Mediterranean.

While, however, we can claim no exactitude for these figures, we can be reasonably sure of a big increase of population during both the fifth century (from 500 to 430 B.C.) and the fourth till the defeat in 322. This is important, for such increases are rare in history, and are due to particular causes, geographical expansion as in the colonizing period, and greater economic opportunities, when through improved methods of work more persons can live and prosper within the same area. This was true of Athens and many other Greek states from the sixth to fourth centuries.

Athens was both in the fifth and fourth centuries the most populous state in Greece proper; in the fourth century the citizen populations (and hence the armies) of Argos and Boeotia were equal to hers, but not the foreign and slave elements. Syracuse was her equal, and, towards the end of the fourth century, Rhodes. Other not unimportant states, Corinth, Chalcis, Byzantium, were not nearly so large. Athens was a true international centre, with a crowded, jostling population in the towns, of many races and tongues; every language could be heard in its narrow streets and in the docks and wharves of the Peiraeus; strange men brought strange religions with them, from the north and the east, and formed societies for their observance; some of these cults even became part of the public worship of Athens. It was said later that good Attic was to be heard only in the country districts; but in the main Athens absorbed her foreigners, learnt from them, but remained to the end true to her own faulty and ever likeable character.

III. THE GROWTH OF LAW

The manifold activities of Athenian life and the growing complications of the social structure, both among the citizens themselves, between them and the metics and slaves, and between Athenians and citizens of other states (added to the litigious and talkative character of the people), led to a wide development of the legal system. We possess a number of speeches made in law-court trials of very many kinds (written by famous orators and so happily preserved as literature) which show us how the system worked. There was but little change in the judicial process in the fifth and fourth centuries; all trials were before a jury of 200, 400, or 500 persons (1,000 in important political trials). Petty cases could be and were generally settled by a small jury on circuit or by private arbitrators, whose decision was binding. But normally, a man brought a plaint before the appropriate magistrate (generally one of the nine archons), who first sent the matter before a public arbitrator (any citizen of sixty) and then fixed the day of trial. This arbitrator, before whom both parties to the suit and all witnesses legally summoned

were bound to appear, heard all the evidence, and had a written record made of it; he might give his opinion, and if both sides agreed to it, it was legally binding; otherwise he sent the record sealed, with a report on the case, to the dicastery. In criminal cases the archon himself conducted the preliminary investigation, heard the evidence, and had it set down in writing, ready for the hearing before the dicastery. There, with the archon as president, the opposing parties were allotted so much time each (varying according to the importance of the case) and made their speeches, using so much of the evidence as suited them and bringing in as much irrelevant matter as they thought the jury would stand; no fresh evidence could be brought—an enactment to prevent one side being caught unawares, corresponding to the modern practice by which the opposing side must be made acquainted with the evidence that is to be brought. The jury voted by secret ballot. From their decision there was no appeal (except in special cases, as when perjury was alleged against a witness; if this were proved at another trial, by the same procedure, the original case was retried, again before an ordinary jury; there was no appeal to a higher court). The process in the dicastery therefore corresponded, roughly, only to the opening and closing speeches of counsel and the verdict of a modern court of law. Neither the archon who heard the first plaint and presided at the dicastery, nor the arbitrator who heard the evidence, had any legal training; they were ordinary citizens elected by lot for a year; and the president in no sense guided the jury, nor directed them on the legal issue (there was therefore no such thing as the judge's summing up); his only duty was a chairman's, to see fair play between the parties; if there was a penalty to be inflicted it was assessed by the jury, after they had given their verdict. (In the same way there was no permanent president of the ecclesia.) The dicasteries were regarded as representing the people as a whole, as it were judicial committees of the ecclesia, and hence must be supreme as the ecclesia was. Most elaborate arrangements were made to prevent any one of the dicasts (of whom there might be 2,000–3,000 trying cases in one day) knowing

on which case he was to serve, as a precaution against bribery and personal influence; but once in the court the jury was the people, the ultimate authority. What is astonishing, with such a system, in the law-court speeches we possess (doubtless, however, edited for publication), is their generally sensible and businesslike tone; much irrelevant matter is there, especially quite unproved and unevidenced charges against the opponent, much quibbling, many appeals to sentiment and to selfish interests; but on the whole, like the speeches in the ecclesia, they are a remarkable tribute to the Athenian capacity for making an absurd but democratic system work.¹

It will be seen from this that, with no trained judges and with advocates therefore not obliged to address trained judges, there was no body of jurisconsults, scientific lawyers at Athens (nor anywhere else in Greece), and but little opportunity for the growth of a science of jurisprudence. There were professional advocates, generally writing speeches for their clients to deliver, occasionally appearing in person as the client's friend; and some of these specialized in particular classes of cases; but even they were only specialists in persuading a jury, not in any sense scientific lawyers; and none of them ever wrote a book on law. Yet there was necessarily a complicated and ever-growing code, the most

¹ As a further illustration of the principles here involved, the *nomothetai* at Athens are interesting. This was a body instituted in the fourth century to deal with proposed changes in law (it had nothing to do with administration), in order to avoid hasty and inconsistent legislation, just as the dicasteries prevented hasty judgements on individuals: if the ecclesia decided to support a motion for a change, it elected a number of citizens (usually 500) to sit as *nomothetai*, for a longer or shorter period according to the number of new proposals (but they would have to be re-elected after a year in office). Before this body the new and the old law were *tried*, with advocates, chosen by the ecclesia on either side. It was constituted on the model of the ecclesia and *boulê*, with its own presiding officers; and its decision on the proposed law—which depended on whether the proposal conflicted with any other law not cancelled, or with the general principles of the constitution—was final; that is, the *nomothetai*, like the dicasteries, were regarded as a committee representing the whole people, unlike the magistrates, all of whose proposals needed confirmation by *boulê* and ecclesia unless they had been especially invested with full powers (as occasionally happened in the case of ambassadors at a critical time).

There was clearly a possibility that this body might have developed into a legislative parliament of great weight and influence, especially as it often had to sanction, i.e. legalize, expenditure voted by the ecclesia. But it did not; the tradition of the ecclesia was too strong.

interesting sections of which are the laws relating to property, heredity, and testament, and mercantile and contract law.

Important principles were established; as that a law must not apply to one man, unless to all, the sanctity of contract, the right of association (which in effect meant the freedom of thought from interference by the state), and the infallibility of the law—that is, if a citizen appeal to a law-court, the latter must give a decision; it cannot divest itself of its responsibility. Athenian mercantile and contract law covered all the actions of manufacturers, bankers, and merchants, and is of special importance because it shows the beginnings of international law. In the ordinary way a member of one state could not enforce a contract against a member of another unless there was a special treaty between the two states. Athens developed the system by treaties with the states with which her merchants traded, and her mercantile law and custom, developed and systematized, remained to a large extent the sea-law of the Mediterranean in Hellenistic and Roman times, and through Rome and the Greek Empire of Byzantium lived on as the law of the trading communities of the Middle Ages, Constantinople, Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, Marseilles. Again much of the law of Athens relating to property and inheritance (interesting because it illustrates both the superstitious exaggeration of the importance of the family and the partial emancipation of the individual) was embodied by Plato in *The Laws*, which, in the main a political treatise, yet comes nearer than any other Greek book now extant to a systematic work on law; Athenian law was the most important section of the work of Theophrastus, Aristotle's pupil, on codes; and these two philosophers, Plato in particular, had a profound effect not only on the codes of the Hellenistic monarchies but also through them on the jurisprudence of Rome.

IV. THE ATTEMPT AT UNITY

After the repulse of the Persian invasion in 479 and 478, the Peloponnesians took no further part in the war; they returned to their homes, peacefully inclined as usual. The Athenians put themselves at the head of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the

islands, and the north Aegean coast-land, and under the leadership of Themistocles and Aristides energetically continued the struggle. A formal alliance was made for mutual support against Persia; every state member (a few years later there were over 250 of them) contributed men and ships or money, according to its size and wealth. Only a few of the larger states, Chios, Lesbos, Samos, Naxos, Thasos, and some others, did the former; the vast majority made money contributions on a fixed scale, an obvious convenience. For though theoretically all the allies were equal and independent, from the beginning the inspiration and the leadership was Athenian; every squadron sent by an ally was a separate contingent, the ships built and the crews trained in their own way, and sailing under their own officers; where money was contributed the Athenians built the ships and trained the crews, and in this way a large uniform fleet, under a single command, was kept in being. The meeting-place of the Council of the League was the tiny but sacred island of Delos, where the treasury of the League was kept. There every member had an equal vote; but the great superiority of Athens in energy, ability, and military forces (far superior at the outset to that of any other member, lately freed as they were from Persian rule, and increased at once by the system of money contributions), coupled with the practical difficulty of combination amongst the numerous states, so many of them small and jealous of their neighbours, most of them separated from each other by the sea which Athens controlled, left no doubt from the first that the driving force of the League was Athenian, that it was in reality an alliance not of states of which Athens was one, but of states under the leadership and protection of Athens. It would have been useless for the Council of the League to have passed a resolution which Athens opposed; it would not have been carried out. We do not know that any such was attempted; and very soon the Council ceased to meet, and in name as in fact the decisions of the ecclesia at Athens guided the policy of the League.

At some time in the 'fifties the treasury was removed to Athens, and a quota, a sixtieth part, of the money contributions was dedicated to Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, not of the

League. Athens of course paid no money contribution direct—she supplied men and ships in quite disproportionate numbers; hence the allies became in practice tributaries of Athens, the head of the League.

Quite early some of the more powerful members wished to secede, among them Naxos and Thasos; they said the object of the League—the deliverance of the Greek states from Persia—^{c. 467; 464 B.C.} had been accomplished; they had freely joined and might as freely leave; unanswerable. But unanswerable too was the rejoinder: seceding states would continue to enjoy the benefits of the League without contributing anything towards it; the example would be followed, and the League break up, but it was only by its continuance that the freedom of the Greeks from Persia could be preserved (it was states safe in their island homes who seceded, not any on the Asiatic mainland). Athens did not hesitate; the forces of the League were summoned and the seceders reduced to submission; moreover, henceforth they paid tribute, instead of supplying ships, and were thus more under Athens' thumb. The same fate befell Samos, who, quarrelling with Miletus (as of old) and Athens intervening, seceded in 440, asking help from Persia, and was reduced after nearly a year's ⁴⁴⁰⁻⁴³⁹ fighting. After that only Lesbos and Chios remained contributing ships instead of paying tribute, and still largely independent. Some of the more distant Greek cities of Asia were compelled to join the League by force; but there was at least the pretence that they were being freed from foreign rule. But later Aegina, ⁴⁵⁸ the Dorian island visible from Athens, scarce a dozen miles across the gulf, once her dangerous rival and with her the bravest fighter at sea in 480, was reduced and added to the League's members. Then Megara allied herself to Athens, giving her ⁴⁵⁷ direct communication with the Corinthian Gulf, where she had already an ally in Achaia and a fortified post at Naupactus; important for her western connexions. There were wars on land, against Sparta and Boeotia, to which the allies again contributed men and money; for a short space Boeotia was herself reduced; the Peloponnesians had won a great battle at Tanagra ⁴⁵⁷ and returned home; two months later the Athenians returned,

and defeated and overran Boeotia. This was the time of her greatest military activity; the great campaign in Egypt (see above, p. 631) was being waged; battles were fought as well in the Argolid and in the Megarid against Corinth; a year or two before an Athenian fleet had triumphantly sailed round the Peloponnese, and entered the Gulf of Corinth from the west. We possess the list of dead of one of the Athenian regiments: 'of the Erechtheid phylê the following were killed in Cyprus, Egypt, Phocnicia, Halieis (in the Argolid), Aegina, Megara, in the same year'—177 names (out of a total muster of perhaps 7 B.C. 2,000–2,500). But Boeotia won back her freedom ten years later by a single battle, and Megara broke away and rejoined the Peloponnesian alliance. After that, on land Athens had only allies, and unreliable allies—Argos, Thessaly, and Phocis, besides Achaia. But at sea she was now the head of an empire, the allies were her subjects, and openly so called and treated. When Euboea broke away (with Boeotia in 447), she was regarded as a revolted subject. We have an interesting sign of the change in two public documents—each a decree of the ecclesia containing the terms of an agreement with a member of the League. Athens had occasion about 465 to interfere in the affairs of Erythrae in Asia Minor; the Boulê of Erythrae had to take a special oath of loyalty 'to the people of Athens and to the Allies'. In 446, after the suppression of the Euboean revolt, Chalcis had to take a similar oath of loyalty: in this case 'to the people of Athens' only.

The Empire was purely maritime; that is to say, Athens' connexions with every one of her subjects was by sea. It comprised all the islands in the Aegean except Melos, but not Crete, and all the Greek cities along the coast from Mende in western Macedonia through Thrace, on the western coast of Asia Minor, and on the southern as far as Phaselis; also all the cities on the Hellespont and Propontis and a few within the Black Sea. Athenian influence extended throughout the Black Sea (she planted a colony at Sinope to assist the inhabitants against a tyrant and the surrounding barbarians; when a fleet was lost in a storm, her forces could march back by land through

Bithynia to the Bosphorus); it was strong also in the west, where she had friends in Sicily (to her ultimate undoing), and established a colony at Thurii near the site of the old city of Sybaris, destroyed nearly a century earlier by her neighbour Croton. For this a large and efficient fleet was necessary; some 150 to 200 vessels were kept in commission, triremes with crews of nearly 200, of whom 170 were rowers, well-trained men. For Athens developed a new system of manœuvre at sea, of rapid movement, in contrast to the old manner of getting alongside the enemy ship and boarding her. Her shipbuilders and her sailors (inspired by Salamis) became alike famous, and were easily the first in skill of any in the Mediterranean; her squadrons could face opponents far superior in number, and there were times when her enemies hardly dared to put to sea at all. The crews consisted as to perhaps one-third or more of their number of citizens, of the poorest (and most democratic) class; the rest were metics (the poorest of them too) and volunteers from other maritime states, almost all, in the fifth century, from the subject states, attracted by the pay and the chances of successful campaigns. How exactly these latter were recruited we do not know; for all ships were not kept manned unless an expedition had been decided; but Athens was able to send squadrons to sea quickly, at any rate more quickly than her rivals. The only slaves on board were the personal servants of the few officers, half a dozen at most. Yet even in the navy, where professional skill was required and found, and boasted of, there was one element amateurish even for Greece—the trierarchs or commanders, who were appointed as follows: In the Athenian system of state taxation (all very amateurishly managed) there was no property tax, except in times of emergency when a special tax for a year, not repeated unless again particularly voted for, was raised; instead rich men performed certain expensive services (this was common in other states as well; the idea at the root of it was that a citizen had certain rights and duties; he should not be *taxed*, as though he were a subject, but he *owed* service; the rich man owed special service). For example, the cost of producing tragedies and comedies at the state festivals

was borne by the rich; a poet got his play accepted by the archons; he chose his actors and was allotted fifteen men as chorus; all were then allotted to an individual rich man, who paid for the dresses, the training, and all the costs of production; he was the *chorégos*, leader of the chorus, though naturally he did not himself take part in producing or acting (the poet was the *didaskalos*, the trainer of the chorus). The same system (a survival of old days) was used in the navy. The state built the ships and provided the crews, including the skilled officers, and their pay; they were then allotted to individual rich men who bore the cost of upkeep of the vessel for the campaigning season, taking on all such duties in turn. The trierarch did not navigate the vessel; that was the work of skilled officers; but he served on board and acted as commander, though he had not, presumably, received any special naval training, and in other years remained at home or, in war-time, served in the cavalry or infantry. At the end of the year he must deliver the vessel at the Piræus arsenal in good condition, or prove that its loss or damage was due to an act of God or the city's enemies. Such a system was not only liable to abuse, through men disputing their liability and trying to shift the burden on to others (it was the duty of the *stratêgoi* to draw up a list of available rich men every year—the possibilities of evasion are obvious¹); but even with none but honest men it looks an unworkable system. Yet it worked after a fashion, though it helps to explain those failures for which politicians were in the main to blame and the *stratêgoi* generally were blamed; after all it was only pitted against other amateurish systems. An incompetent general and ill-trained force will be successful (and so never discover their incompetence), if the enemy is more incompetent and worse trained. When we re-

¹ The Athenians had an even more amateurish, laughable way of settling disputes concerning such liabilities: if a man claimed that he had been wrongly put on the panel of those liable to these special services, that another, richer than he, should be put on in his stead, who disputed it, he could offer an exchange of properties; such a case would come before the dicasteries, before a jury of 400 mostly poor men, and the properties in dispute had to remain untouched, even their produce unsold, pending the action (and legal delays were not unknown at Athens); and this without even state officers to see that the properties remained untouched—the litigants and their friends had to do that themselves.

member too how irregular were our own state services till quite recent times, how in Marlborough's wars Parliament voted for the raising of the army but left the colonels of regiments to find recruits and to feed their men, the press-gangs of Nelson's time and the jealousies between the army and navy then, the purchase of commissions, the lack of system in methods of taxation and in the recruitment of the civil service—when we reflect how very recent the good order is with which we are familiar, we should observe not so much the amateurishness of Athenian affairs as the enlightenment of those times.

But Athens was not content to be the head of an empire; she made a conscious effort to make a unity of the League, with herself as the capital. Garrisons were placed, for long or short periods, in some of the cities where there was danger of faction (generally due to the proximity of Persia, as in the case of Erythrae); often the constitution of a state was altered in a democratic direction, with the garrison as guarantor of permanence; Athens was establishing a link between herself and the masses in every state; hence often the nobles' intrigues against her, with Sparta or with Persia. It was naturally members of the poorer classes from the allied states who served in such numbers in the navy, under Athenian officers and in company with Athenian sailors. She planted colonies of her citizens (of various strengths, 500 to 1,000 generally; one or two were larger) in places of strategic importance, as in the islands of Lemnos and Imbros and on the Chersonese, or occasionally on the territory of disaffected subjects, relieving at the same time her own landless population at home. These were different from the old type of Greek colony, for the settlers did not form new independent communities, but remained citizens of Athens; the new territories were extensions of the Athenian state. She also sent out two colonies of the older type, to Amphipolis to command the important crossing of the river Strymon in Macedonia, and to Thurii in south Italy.

Commercial treaties were made between Athens and other cities of the League, by which not only was trade directly fostered, but means were provided of settling disputes between

Athenians and citizens of these states—a matter, as we have seen, of very great importance in a world where there was no common international law. Disputes between subject states were naturally referred to Athens, to the sovereign dicasteries; sometimes also important political trials within a state were similarly referred. The Athenian coinage and weights and measures also spread through the empire; some of the smaller states gave up their mints altogether, others continued their coinage but on the Attic standard, greatly facilitating exchange. Attic coins were of a scrupulous purity, and accepted everywhere. Of even greater benefit was the peace assured over the whole of the eastern Mediterranean and the entrances to the Black Sea by the Athenian fleet (the west too was, in the main, at peace at this time); piracy was suppressed. Trade greatly expanded, especially Athenian trade. Athens continued to export her pottery—both for use and as fine art—in every direction, to the practical exclusion of all other, and her olive-oil; she imported corn, timber, iron, and copper, slaves and luxuries, and most of the carrying trade was probably in Attic ships.

Since a large number of the metics of Athens came from the allied states, their increasing importance and privileges, the special part they played in the growing trade of the Aegean, helped further to unite the members of the League. The metics felt more and more that they shared in the success of Athens; it was the policy of Athens that they should so feel. During the Peloponnesian War the right of intermarriage with citizens¹ was restored to them; many were given the citizenship; and Athens made an agreement with Euboea granting rights of intermarriage. The old city-state exclusiveness seemed to be weakening.

In the religious and intellectual spheres Athens was yet stronger. Her constitution was the most interesting in Greece; there men had most freedom and opportunity for the exercise of every faculty; government was orderly, and law and liberty there best combined. The Panathenaic festival increased in splendour, and foreign athletes were encouraged to compete in

¹ That is, to a marriage of which the offspring would be citizens. Intermarriage as such, with the children metics, was always possible.

the games. At Eleusis the Mysteries were developed; here, it will be remembered,¹ a yearly celebration took place of a rite that promised benefits in the next world as a reward for a good, or at least ceremonially correct, life in this—one that was secret and in which only initiates could take part, but any initiate could introduce a new candidate, and any one could be initiated, Athenian or foreigner, free or slave. It was thus different from the ordinary Greek state religion, which was open to the skies as it were, but belonged only to the citizens—all could watch, but only the citizens or privileged foreigners took part. Without altering its character Athens now included this sanctuary and festival in the imperial scheme. It had been the custom for a certain percentage of the corn harvest of Attica to be dedicated to Demeter at Eleusis—part of the revenue of the temple. The Athenian colonists in the Aegean, as citizens, did the same; and now all the subject-states were ordered to send their quota, just as a sixtieth part of the tribute was dedicated to Athena. (All other states were invited to send a quota if they would; but Athens never succeeded in making Eleusis an international centre like Delphi and Olympia.) Again, it was at the two state festivals of Dionysus in February and March that new tragedies and comedies and musical productions were given; March was the end of winter, the beginning of the year, when travel by sea and land (and therefore fighting) began again; with the increasing fame of the Attic stage, foreigners came to Athens for this later festival which grew to be the more important of the two: the February one remained a home affair. The subject allies sent their own delegates to Athens with the yearly tribute (doubtless under the escort of Athenian warships); it was arranged that they should come in March, at the time of the Dionysia, and they would take home with them stories of the beauty and splendour of the ruling city. (Aristophanes in his adventurous youth wrote a play about Athens and her allies, *The Babylonians*—the sovereign Demos and its subjects like a Grand Mogul surrounded by his slaves, in which the Athenian demagogues and the advantages of democratic government

¹ See above, ch. II, § iv.

for the subject-states were ridiculed; it was produced, under state auspices, at this festival and was a great success with this same Demos. The Athenians could afford to laugh; but it must have been galling for the allies, and Cleon fiercely attacked Aristophanes for ridiculing the city in the presence of foreigners and subjects; but he was not curbed for long.)

Attic drama was then at its height. Aeschylus, who had fought at Marathon, and was middle-aged in 480, lived to produce his greatest work in 458, and then left Athens for Sicily; Sophocles and Euripides lived all through the days of Athenian greatness and of her fall. Comedy flourished from 450 B.C. on. And not the written word only, but the visible arts. Between 465 and 450 the greatest living painters (including Polygnotus of Thasos, the friend of Cimon, who as Athenian general suppressed the revolt of his native island) decorated the central stoa of Athens. Between 449 and 431 (when the Peloponnesian War put a stop to such activity) were built the great temples on the Acropolis, the Odeon below it, others at Eleusis; the people guided by Pericles, the artists by Pheidias. Great sums were spent: more than 6,000 talents altogether, which compare with 150-200 talents, the annual cost of the upkeep of the navy in peace time; and all voted by the people in the ecclesia. Every trade in the city was in the service of Athena:

That which gave most pleasure and ornament to the city, and the greatest admiration and even astonishment to all strangers, and that which now is Greece's only evidence that the power she boasts of and her ancient wealth is no romance nor idle story, was the construction of the public and sacred buildings. . . . The materials were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress-wood; and the arts or trades which wrought and fashioned them were smiths and carpenters, moulders, founders, stone-masons, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory-workers, painters, decorators, turners; those again that conveyed them to the town for use, merchants, mariners and shipmasters by sea, and by land, cartwrights, animal-breeders, waggoners, rope-makers, flax-workers, leather-dressers, road-makers, miners. And every trade, in the same way as a captain in an army has his particular company of soldiers under him, had its own hired company of journeymen and labourers belonging to it in disciplined ranks, to

be as it were the instrument and body for the performance of the service. . . . As then the works grew up, no less stately in size than exquisite in form, the workers striving to outvie one another with the beauty of their workmanship, yet the most wonderful thing of all was the rapidity of their execution. Undertakings, any one of which singly might well have required, men thought, for its completion, several successions and generations of men, were everyone of them accomplished in the height and prime of one man's political service. . . . So Pericles' works are especially admired as having been made quickly to last long. For every particular piece of the work was immediately even at that time, for its beauty and elegance, antique, and yet in its vigour and perfection looks to this day as if it were just executed. There is a sort of bloom and freshness on these works which preserve them from the touch of time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in the composition of them.¹

Year by year, the Greek world in general and the allies and subjects of Athens in particular watched the growing beauty of the city.

Two other names must be mentioned: Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (another subject city), the greatest physicist of his age, settled in Athens about the middle of the century, and became the close friend of Pericles; he was the first of Athenian philosophers. The other is Socrates, the man of ungainly figure and ugly satyr-face, the great talker whose words fascinated as no other man's beauty could; who questioned and doubted every-

¹ Plutarch (*Life of Pericles*, 12-13) writing about A.D. 100 (from the translation known as Dryden's, ed. Clough, 1859, with some alterations). It is noteworthy that though the Delian League was in the main Ionian, and that Athens often proclaimed herself the champion of Ionian against Dorian, yet in art there was in the fifth century a reassertion of Dorian and mainland influence at Athens: a greater austerity and simplicity as against the freedom and variety of the Ionic school which had prevailed before Marathon. This is visible both in sculpture and in architecture; Myron and Pheidias were pupils of an Argive sculptor, and show a marked reaction from the pre-Persian artists (though the comprehensive genius of Pheidias embraced the characteristics of both schools); the Theseum, the Parthenon, and the Propylaea are all in the Doric style, are indeed its perfect examples. At the same time men gave up the old elegance of Ionian dress, and adopted the severer fashion of Doric. And when Herodotus says that Cleisthenes abolished the old Ionic phylae (see above, p. 610) to show his contempt for the Ionian race, that is indeed a wofully inadequate account of that reform; but he had probably often enough heard in Athens men speaking contemptuously of their Ionian allies.

body and everything, religion, morality, science, knowledge itself, and the very basis of society and the state, yet was not sceptical, but a firm believer; who criticized democracy unsparingly both in theory and as practised at Athens; who was by nature an anarchist, in the sense in which so many artists and intellectuals have been, in that he was not concerned with the immediate problems of good government, was indifferent to the fate of politicians and even of the constitution, was happy under any form of government so long as he could continue his own work; yet was at home only in Athens, the bravest of men and most loyal of citizens, who recognized to the full the claim of the state to his service as soldier or senator, and refused to escape death by disobeying its laws (it was not for him, he said, who owed his nurture to Athens and who had lived all his life in the city without doing anything to alter her laws, to render them of no account); who dared to disobey the illegal threats of both demos and tyrant, and after the bravest service in the early years of the war (till he was well-nigh fifty) remained in Athens imperturbably through all the last years of it and the terror of the Thirty: the father of all later philosophy and the noblest man in Greece.¹ His influence was immense. Before the

¹ The trial and execution of Socrates (on the charge of 'introducing new gods and corrupting the youth') is, of all crimes in history, the one most easy to understand and excuse. It took place in the aftermath of a disastrous war and a revolution; when the leading statesmen were striving desperately to preserve order and heal the recent wounds, and to this end had summarily put to death a would-be demagogue who was for reviving old bitternesses; and here was Socrates still unsettling men's minds, as he had always done. Many young men, not gifted with strong character, had been corrupted after associating with him; amongst them the son of one of the prosecutors (one of the leading politicians of the restored democracy). Socrates' closest friend had been Alcibiades, who more than any other man had done injury to Athens; another friend was Critias (Plato's cousin), the leader of the Tyrants and the fiercest of them. He had stayed in Athens during the tyranny, apparently content, and had done nothing to help the democrats in their hazardous venture for its overthrow; it is surprising that he was not arrested in 403. He never did anything to conciliate powerful people; by his gentleness, aloofness, indifference to the verdict, he irritated the jury at his trial; he could easily, had he wished, have avoided the death sentence, and as easily have escaped from prison after it, as his friends urged him. Everything in the conduct of the Athenians is understandable; yet because Socrates was what he was and Plato has drawn his portrait, also because Athens was what she was, it remains unforgivable. But his life is as much an honour to Athens as his death is her greatest disgrace.

Peloponnesian War broke out, when he was thirty-seven, Parmenides and Zeno, the great metaphysicians of the west, had already visited Athens and talked with him; and through his pupils, above all through the master Plato, all subsequent philosophy descended from him. Gorgias the rhetorician also came from the west on a visit; and the sophists, practical teachers, and popularizers of science and philosophy, came from many parts of Greece. Henceforth Athens was the home of philosophy, of literature, and of art, and there was no one to question her position. Already in the fifth century she was become an international centre, to which all men interested in science and art turned. Pericles made one attempt to make her politically an international centre too; a decree was passed in the ecclesia inviting all the states of Greece (including the subject allies, here treated as independent cities) to send delegates to Athens to a Pan-hellenic Congress for the settling of mutual differences. But the project came to nothing, wrecked, it is said, by the jealousy of the Peloponnesian states, who had no desire to increase the already great prestige of Athens.

It was all done in a few years. Athens had succeeded in uniting for the first time (at least since the Bronze Age) about half of the eastern Greek world, and thereby attracting to herself the admiration of some, the fear and envy of others, the attention of all. She tried to secure this unity by bonds of military power, of trade, of sentiment and intellect. It was a conscious effort. 'None of our subject allies can complain', said Pericles, 'that they are ruled by an unworthy city.' Some part, not much, of the cost of the new temples came from the allies' tribute, from the reserve that had accumulated in Athens: an unjust thing, said Pericles' opponents; he was adorning Athens, as a man adorns a vain woman, with expensive jewels, and with the money of others. Pericles made a double answer, part cynical—so long as Athens carries out her part of the contract, the protection of the allies from Persia, she has no need to account to them for the spending of the money. But he said also, that they shared in the glory. The Parthenon justified the expenditure.

Why did so fine an effort fail? In part certainly because of the mistakes of Athenian politicians and soldiers, some of them indeed (to be noted in the next chapter) suggesting an inefficiency quite incompatible with imperial pretensions. But that
 .c. this is an insufficient explanation the Peace of Nicias shows, which left Athens in possession of her empire after ten years of effort by the rest of Greece to overthrow her. And the grossest instances of incompetence can be paralleled in the history of other empires, notably of Rome. Certainly there were two other, more important causes of failure. The first was insufficient man-power: there were not enough Athenians, even as soldiers and sailors, let alone as administrators (a much rarer type and especially rare in Greece), to maintain the empire and at the same time to live the full life of Athens. If the Syracusan expedition had succeeded, as it well might have done, yet Sicily could not have been held. And it is significant that the two Athenian colonies sent out to be new states as centres of Athenian influence, Amphipolis and Thurii, both failed to answer her hopes. Settlers came from all parts of Greece to join colonies under the aegis of Athens; but she could not hold their loyalty, and at almost the first opportunity they broke their ties and fought against her.

Secondly, the effort came too late. In the fifth century the type of Greek political society was settled (and to that type Athens herself conformed). Miletus, Chios, Samos had each hundreds of years of independent history behind them, as much as Athens; they had as proud traditions, and were not ready to merge their identity in an Athenian empire. Society had been far too long organized on opposite lines. The Roman Empire began with the conquest of undeveloped peoples, when it was easier both to submit and to coalesce, before society was crystallized. Athens had to overcome the whole strength of Greek political tradition, while remaining true to it within her own borders. She has often been blamed for an illiberal policy in not granting her citizenship to any of her subjects; but they would not have welcomed such liberality—they did not want to lose their own individuality in order to be Athenians; nor with

the Greek type of state would such an extension of citizenship have been of any effect—how many Byzantines would have come to Athens to vote? Athens shared the feeling—she wished to dominate but by no means to absorb Byzantium. And there was no time for any different feeling to grow; everything had been done in a few years; opportunity was not given for a gradual acclimatization. Hence the opposition was strong from the beginning, both among the subject-states—especially the larger ones—and outside the league. It was supported by the strongest moral feeling; the general feeling of Greece was against the Tyrant City. This was felt in Athens herself, expressed by the few anti-imperialists and boldly faced by the leaders of the majority; who bade the people realize that their rule was a tyranny, hated by the subject and supported by force. Naturally they also asserted, as all imperial peoples have done, that they were the protectors of the weak, that they were too gentle, that their fault was to be too generous, too ready always to support the weak against the strong. Neighbours, however, said they were a restless people, never quiet themselves, never leaving others in quiet, far too powerful for others' safety, and cruelly oppressive to their subjects. In general we adopt the contemporary attitude: we do not blame Philip of Macedon for conquering the Illyrians nor Rome for conquering the Samnites: the moral question in such cases seems hardly relevant; but we blame Athens for conquering Samos. Inevitably: for Athens and Samos were civilized states; the same criticism was made at the time, and the world has always paid Athens the compliment of judging her by the highest standard.

Thucydides makes Pericles say that Athens needed no Homer to sing her praises—her deeds (for good or for evil) will stand to proclaim her glory. There spoke the great imperialist who hoped that the empire would hold together long enough to influence directly the history of future generations of men. It was a singular delusion; Athens lives in her records, of whom Thucydides is not the least—Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Pheidias, Ictinus are others of this age. If the Athens of 338 or 322 or 262 is not the Athens of 480 it is rather

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the absence of Aeschylus than of Themistocles or Aristeides that marks the decline—of Aeschylus the poet of the *Persae*, not Aeschylus the hoplite.¹ Pericles was anticipating the glory of Alexander and of Rome.

¹ 'If we could forget Athens and fix our eyes on Rhodes or Cyzicus, we might well think that the great age of the city-state was just beginning', in the third century (Field, *Plato*, p. 115). But we cannot forget Athens. The words of the city-states live longer than their deeds.

CHAPTER VI

ART, LETTERS, AND PHILOSOPHY

OF the economic history of this period, of economic development and change, we have but little knowledge. We do not know, for example, how the increased prosperity of Athens affected the different classes of the population, though we may guess with some confidence that all shared in it, at least all the free; the *political* contentedness suggests that. Still less do we know of the conditions in the rest of Greece, of the change within the centuries. But of the history of art and of thought we know more.

The Greeks had already achieved much in literature and art, in political experiments, and in the beginnings of science, by the end of the sixth century. The fifth, the hundred years or so that passed from the youth of Simonides, Aeschylus, and Pindar to the death of Socrates and Thucydides, was to prove the most fruitful perhaps of any in human history, so rapid and various was the development, so lasting the effects. (It was a period of great development, too, among the Jews; but there was no contact between them and the Greeks. In western Asia and Egypt, with which the Greeks were in constant touch, it was a time of comparative stagnation.) For a proper description of this development the reader must go to the specialist histories of art, literature, and science; one might almost say that, just because their art and thought are permanent and still live, they are not matter for the historian, who is concerned rather with the conditions political, economic, and so forth which affected, fostered, or hindered the artists and thinkers.¹ Yet something must be said about it, in this chapter, in order to arrive at a proper perspective: both to put the Greeks in a proper relation to their predecessors and contemporaries, and to get their political and economic history into better relation to the rest of their intellectual achievements.

¹ For a more detailed account of Greek philosophy, and especially for the way in which certain of their theories and methods directly influenced the medieval world, see the section in vol. iii of this history, 'Ancient and Medieval Philosophy', by Professor A. E. Taylor.

I. ART AND LITERATURE

Homer and the lyric poets had already produced, in Ionia and the islands, from the ninth to the seventh centuries, something new in the world: literature pursued for its own sake, not to teach a doctrine, to exhort to good conduct, or to praise the gods, not to persuade, but for the love of telling a story, of expressing a personal feeling (in the love-poems of Sappho and Alcaeus, the elegies of Mimnermus, the satire of Archilochus), of giving a picture of Nature's moods, as Alcman did—all to be found in the universal Homer; the perfection of language and of metre; poetry as something that of itself demanded the highest faculties of man; and a public to listen or to read, to enjoy. Then for a hundred years or more, while Homer was establishing himself as the poet, *par excellence*, of all Greece, no great names appear (Solon was no poet but a politician, using verse as his medium of persuasion; whose transparent sincerity and serious purpose make him companionable). But towards the end of the sixth century a new form was evolved, the choral lyric; that is to say, a form that had for long been used in religious rites, for hymns of praise, or prayer to the gods, was taken over by literature. The choral lyric was a hymn sung and danced by a group of men or boys or girls, with a musical accompaniment on the flute (of a simple kind, intended only to give the performers the melody, the key, and the time). Simonides of Ceos c. 550-460
B.C. (the island next Attica) was the first to give this form an elaborate development; Pindar of Thebes perfected it. c. 520-450 Its chief feature was an elaborate metrical structure; of the music and dance we know little or nothing. It was still sung and danced at a religious festival, and Pindar himself was a religious man, but it was a literary performance. It might still be in form a hymn, a *paean*, to a god; but as often it was an ode in honour of a victorious athlete at one of the great games, an ode commanded by the family of the victor, performed at his house on his return. All victors at these games would be celebrated in some way; the intelligent commanded the services of a Pindar who used the brief occasion for the display of an immortal art. And, like the

sculptors who made statues for these same athletes, these poets were international; Pindar and Simonides worked for men all over the Greek world, for citizens of republics at enmity with each other, for the aristocrats of Thessaly, and for the splendid tyrants of Sicily.

One form of the choral lyric had another and still more important development, the drama. At the festivals of Dionysus,¹ at least in Attica, the story of some hero's conflict with his enemies had of old been in part, in a primitive fashion, enacted, not only narrated, between the chorus and its leader, or between two halves of the chorus. Aeschylus and other contemporary poets saw the possibility of a new method of representing conflict, by the introduction of an *actor* playing the part of the hero, with the chorus still a necessary element in the action; then of other actors, till the whole conflict was waged between them, and the chorus became spectators, of less and less importance to the drama. Iambic verse (the nearest form of verse to ordinary speech), originally used by Archilochus for his satires, was developed for the actors; the lyric metres, still sung and accompanied by the dance, were kept for the chorus. By his single genius Aeschylus created Tragedy, and brought it to perfection (as Homer perhaps created Epic, only we know nothing of his predecessors and contemporaries). The two spring festivals of Dionysus, at which the plays were performed, came to be among the most important in Athens; a huge, open-air theatre was built for the spectators on the southern slopes of the Acropolis. Like most things Greek, the whole took the form of a contest, between poets, choruses, and actors. Three poets were selected (by the archon, for it was a state-festival), who produced three new tragedies each—sometimes, as in the case of Aeschylus' masterpiece, the *Oresteia*, connected as parts of one story, generally quite independent—and, by an odd survival, a satyr-play, a farcical rendering of some old myth in which the satyrs of Dionysus formed the chorus. This new form of literature

c. 525-455
B.C.

¹ There were similar performances at other festivals too, particularly at those of Demeter. But development of the *drama* (the thing *done*, as opposed to a story told) took place only at those of Dionysus (and only in Attica). The origin of this restriction is quite uncertain.

developed rapidly, but only in Athens; foreigners sometimes competed; many came as spectators. There was a prodigious output, but a few tragedies only, by the three greatest writers, survive: perhaps the cream of the whole. Sophocles, but a generation younger, succeeded Aeschylus, and was the favourite of the Attic stage: the writer who seemed to the Greeks, and has seemed to so many since, to be as near perfection as possible in the strength, mellowness, and harmony of his work—

οὐ γλῦξις, οὐδ' ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος.

480-406 Euripides, a younger contemporary, was at odds with the restrictions imposed by the traditions of the drama, with its awkward chorus of spectators in a purely human conflict, but could not free himself from them. The creative impulse in tragedy died with these two; though many a new play was produced in the fourth century, they seem all to have been on the old lines, imitative works, and we have probably lost little by their disappearance.

A little later than tragedy, of different but equally obscure origin, was comedy; also joined with the festivals of Dionysus and produced with tragedy, with a similar contest of poet, chorus, and actor, but (for some reason) each poet giving but one play at a time. In outward form there was some similarity with tragedy; the verse of the actors was iambic, there was a chorus which sang and danced to lyric metres. It, too, was confined to Athens. There, owing to the passion for politics, and the unexampled freedom of speech, comedy dealt in the fifth century almost exclusively with public affairs: burlesques, good-humoured or malicious, of public men, statesmen, soldiers, philosophers and poets, and institutions; fantastic plots, as of the single Athenian making truce with Sparta and enjoying all the blessings of peace in Athens, while his countrymen are at war, or of the two Athenians who, tired of the restless life, founded a new city in the clouds; in the hands of lesser men, little more than fierce pamphlets attacking an individual, accusing him of every crime and vice; in the hands of a genius such as Aristophanes, a fantasia, a political *revue*, by one whose mockery was

based on understanding—written for the moment, but a lasting picture of the Athens of his day. Unlike tragedy, comedy continued to flourish throughout the fourth and the first half of the third centuries; it ceased to be political, but developed first into social satire, then, by borrowing as much from Euripidean tragedy as from Aristophanes and his peers, into the romantic comedy of manners, whose master was Menander: the comedy which, through the adaptations and translations of the Romans, was the direct ancestor of that of the Renaissance. Hundreds of these plays were produced, good and bad, a parallel in the ancient world to the modern output of novels. Verse, highly accomplished, was preserved as its medium to the end; prose was never used for purely imaginative literature, even after Plato had perfected it as an instrument of polished dialogue.

345-292
B.C.

The first to discard verse in their writings had been the earliest philosophers, in Ionia in the sixth century. But literary prose was developed by the historians and travellers of the fifth, then by the orators (both active politicians and professors of literary style). Owing to the political divisions of the Greeks much of their history was local, some of it the mere records and chronicles of events, such as had for centuries been practised in Egypt and Asia, others historical narratives, which, 'owing to a certain charm and simplicity of style', were preserved for many centuries, though they have now been lost. Here, too, a new and rational principle guided the writers: history was told for its own sake, 'so that the deeds of men and cities should not be forgotten'. The first to gather up the threads of local story and weave them all into a universal history, epic in its scope and comprehension, was Herodotus, a man of Halicarnassus in south-west Asia Minor, who settled later in Athens and then in the Athenian colony of Thurii in Italy; a traveller and anthropologist as much as historian, whose history of the wars between the Greeks and the Barbarians gave him opportunity for a descriptive account of the Persian Empire and its many divisions, as well as for much detail in the history of the Greek states. He is our chief authority not only for Greek history up to the foundation of the Delian League, but for Lydian and Persian.

c. 490-420

c. 460-400
B.C.

He was gay, easy-going, easy in style; a great traveller, interested in all men and quite impartial; ignorant of public affairs, concerned only with the individual, uncritical of his sources; discursive, various, master of the short story, and at the same time with an unequalled gift for gathering all his material into an epic narrative adequate to his theme. Thucydides, his first considerable successor, was a man of very different temper: more scientific, more philosophical, and in everything as concentrated as Herodotus was discursive; his theme was the Peloponnesian War, and he confined himself strictly to it, to the fighting and to politics, to state action, ignoring all other aspects of the history of the time as he ignored individual biography, refusing to digress, taking endless pains to establish and record the facts (with such success that he imposed his account on all subsequent generations; no one attempted a fresh narrative, not even contemporary eye-witnesses of events); with a profound knowledge of and insight into politics; his close, intense style giving us the very picture of the man: austere, impassioned, self-controlled, and by his self-control impartial; his philosophical temper and artistic skill such that his detailed and confined picture of fighting and politics lives as does the wider, more humane canvas of Herodotus. He was struggling with his prose in an endeavour to express ideas more difficult than his predecessors, forging his own style. Contemporary with him, orators were using and developing a lucid and easy prose, for the expression of simpler thoughts; and rhetoricians were discovering definite canons of literary style, consciously applying themselves to the problems of language. The astonishing flexibility of Greek was demonstrated further by the masters of prose in the fourth century, Plato in dialogue, narrative, and philosophical analysis, Demosthenes in impassioned oratory.

In art the story is different, though not less remarkable. Here there had been predecessors on Greek soil in the Bronze Age, and though little or nothing of what had been done remained above ground for men to see, yet there had been continuity in the tradition, thin as the stream had become.¹ Secondly, contact

¹ See above, ch. I, section iii.

with Egypt was renewed, and there was much to learn from her architecture and her sculpture; the Greeks were not, as in literature, doing things for the first time. Yet, strong as was the influence of Egypt, the Greeks had to learn the technical processes over again for themselves (just as western Europe and Byzantium had to, after the end of the classical period). In sculpture, these were not mastered till the 'seventies and 'sixties of the fifth century (during the youth of Myron, Pheidias, and Polycleitus); in painting, the art of outline drawing with flat colours, two-dimensional painting, was mastered by the end of the sixth century, representation in three dimensions not till the end of the fifth. In this sense (and perhaps only in this) can we speak of progress in the arts; before this mastery was achieved, men were not accomplishing what they set out to do; afterwards, no one could draw or carve better, only differently; new achievement consisted in the accomplishment of different aims.

In Egypt sculpture had been predominantly in the ungratefully hard stone of the country; the Greeks had abundance of the more easily worked limestone, and, in Attica and some of the islands, of the finest marble. But their chief technical discovery was the casting of bronze for large-scale sculpture; except for the decoration of buildings, this was their favourite medium, and all the greatest sculptors except Praxiteles worked primarily in bronze. From the first they were interested in the human figure, both draped and nude, and its possibilities. Temples required cult-statues of the gods; representations of myths were needed for their decoration in pediments and friezes. All kinds of pottery, cups and plates, jugs and large bowls and jars, gave endless opportunity for similar representation in drawing. The life of the cities, at home and in the universal palaestrae and gymnasia, gave the opportunity to observe. Like most great art, Greek was illustrative, mimetic as they called it. The stories, of gods and heroes, and scenes of daily life, were given them; the artist was free to tackle his own problems, of drawing the figure, at rest or in the multiple variety of movement, and of arrangement within the frame he was using; just as the tragedians were given their stories from the myths, and used them each in his

own way: Aeschylus to show mankind in relation to the order of the universe, the rule of the gods, Sophocles to depict human life as he saw it, man's reactions to his circumstances, Euripides to show what kind of men and women they must have been if these old stories were true; all, sculptor, painter, and writer, concerned to produce a work of art, that is something beautiful (satisfying the senses), comprehensible ('easily taken in as a whole by the eye or the memory'), well composed (with a beginning, a middle, and an end).

Architecture as an art was used by the Greeks only for public buildings, and practically only for temples and such other buildings (principally propylaea) that might be within a sacred precinct. If a city is described as beautiful, it meant not that it was, as a whole, well planned for its site, not that it had fine streets, still less fine private houses, but that there were in it good public buildings, spacious meeting-places (*agorai*) with colonnades, a theatre, a stadium and gymnasia, and above all beautiful temples, well situated, which gave the city its character. It was in architecture that the Greeks owed most to the Egyptians, for they learnt from them to use columns as the principal structural adornment of their buildings. They made of it, as was natural, something entirely their own. All the earliest temples, and very small ones at all times, had columns to form porticoes in front, or both front and back; from the end of the seventh century it became practically universal to build a colonnade on all four sides of important temples (on some luxurious temples in Ionia a double one). Throughout the Greek world, with all its variety, from Marseilles and Sicily to Ionia, Cyprus, and the Black Sea, and from the seventh century to the Roman era, the plan and structure of the temple were essentially the same: an oblong building with its short sides facing east and west, divided into a long eastern part, with the *cella* containing the cult-statue facing the eastern entrance, and a small western room; in the larger, the eastern half divided also by columns into nave and aisles; the whole surrounded by the colonnade, and raised on a stylobate of two or three steps. There were two types of column, determining the character of a

building, the Ionic, slender and elegant (and found principally in Ionia), the other the Doric, more massive and more serious, preferred by the Dorians; both are found in perfection in Athens. (The Corinthian column, everywhere popular in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world, was but the Ionic with a more elaborate and better devised capital; first developed in the fourth century in Greece.) There were a few round temples. There was but little variety either in the other public buildings; most in the propylaea, especially in the noble propylaea to the Acropolis of Athens. Here is a Greek characteristic, to be found in everything they did, most clearly noticeable in their architecture, their striving after perfection in one particular style; with all their restlessness and their adventures of the mind, their scorn for variety and novelty as such (though they were always for 'doing nought but saying and hearing some new thing'). Especially in the Doric style, in itself the very expression of stability, even the details remained the same: the column rising straight from the stylobate without base, the shape of the fluting, the capital, the architrave, the triglyph and metope frieze, the pediments, the general proportions. Perfection was sought in ever-increasing refinements; in the proportions of the whole building, height, length, and breadth, and of particular parts, the column, the architrave, the pediment, in themselves and to one another; in the curve and angle of the capitals; in the extraordinarily delicate curves of column and stylobate, and the tilting of the columns, which prevent stiffness, and give life, almost a springiness, to the whole; in the astonishing excellence of workmanship. Perfection was actually attained in the Parthenon (built in 448-432 B.C.), in its symmetry, its rhythm, in its combination of simplicity and strength with delicacy of workmanship, in the choice of site (itself a stroke of genius); it is one of the smallest of the world's famous buildings, but by its site and its proportions as imposing as any. But afterwards there was nothing more to be achieved; the Doric style is extraordinarily satisfying, but it did not lend itself to development. As has been excellently said, 'its road was a blind alley, but it led to the Parthenon'.¹

¹ D. S. Robertson in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv, p. 810.

The Ionic style had more variety; so had sculpture and, still more, painting. In these there was no sterility after the great achievements of the fifth century, but continued success in the fourth and third in variations on old problems and the tackling of new ones. But here too the same spirit was at work, particularly in sculpture; in, for instance, the constant work on the simple standing figure, whether of god or victorious athlete. There were numerous commissions for such work, and the sculptors were occupied with the problems of proportion and balance; one goal was the perfect representation of a standing figure. Polyclitus in the fifth century felt that he had got as near the goal as possible, and wrote a treatise on his system of proportions. Others, however, in the fourth century, particularly Praxiteles and Lysippus, could work at the same problem on a different system; while there were many other tasks for the sculptor, and still more for the painter, all of which the Greeks attempted: the body in movement as well as at rest, groups as well as single figures, the mind as well as the bodily forms, both gods and men, the representation of figures in space. The work was varied and free.

c. 490-420
B.C.

c. 400-330
c. 370-300

For the Greeks had an intellectual attitude towards art, and their intellect was active. Egyptian sculpture is as good as sculpture can be; but in the main it had been employed, for centuries, in the expression of one idea; it was subservient to their religion; and their wall-painting and minor sculpture, free and delightful as it is, showing a lively appreciation of man and nature and power to represent them, played but a small part in their lives. The Egyptian mind was inactive. Greek art and literature, though so often in the service of the gods, at least nominally (even the statues of athletes were dedications to a god), were not subservient to religion, nor primarily concerned with religious ideas.¹ Unlike the Egyptians, the Greeks had their eyes always open; their curiosity was not restricted by awe or fear of the unknown; hence, though they were always striving after perfection, they were never acquiescent in it; their art was not static, 'but to the end experimented and enlarged its

¹ Cf. what was said above about the Greek attitude to religion: ch. II, pp. 586 ff.

range of subject until it passed into mediaeval European art'.¹ Hence, too, their speculations on the nature of art and of man's reactions to it.

In the minor arts, gem-engraving, ivory-work, the designing of coins, embroidery, and weaving, the Greeks showed the same spirit and achieved a similar success. (Pottery and its decoration is hardly a minor art in Greece, so fully did they use their opportunities for fine shapes and for drawing—not for colour—and so important is it to us for the early history of Greek painting.) Music was the only major art which they did not develop. They were exceptionally sensitive to its effects, and conscious of its influence; it played an important part in education and in their lives, in religious cult, in drama, and in choral odes. But it did not have a development independent of literature, though it was recognized that its effect was different; Pindar, Sophocles, Aristophanes, were poets of words not of music, though they arranged, presumably, their own musical accompaniments. Not till the end of the fifth century was an attempt made to compose an ode for which the music was more than an accompaniment to the words, and more important than the words; and this attempt, as far as we know, was not a success and led to no further development. The Greeks did not discover harmony (in the musical sense), nor orchestral music for different instruments.

Greek art was international. The great men worked for many cities and for the great centres like Delphi and Olympia, which were full of monuments of architecture and sculpture, just as Simonides and Pindar did; later for foreign princes. The chief schools of art were at Sicyon and Argos throughout the classical period, in Aegina till its destruction, in Ionia and the islands in the sixth century, in Rhegium, above all in Athens; there were schools of painting in early Corinth and in Thebes. But there were also artists to be found in almost every city in the Greek world, however remote; everywhere a local school, particularly of sculpture, everywhere apparently the desire and the means to employ it.

¹ Cf. A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 33.

II. SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

Science and philosophy, at first not separated, began in Ionia in the sixth century; then moved to Athens in the fifth, while another and important development was taking place in the Greek cities of south Italy. Philosophy practically concentrated on Athens in the last part of the century, led there by the personality of Socrates; from him all subsequent philosophy radiated; Athens remained its home. Positive science, now independent, had, geographically, a more varied story.

The Egyptians and Babylonians had already achieved much in certain directions, and the Greeks learnt from them (and might have benefited from their lessons more than they actually did).¹ But the Greek mind worked in a different and much more fruitful manner; neither science nor philosophy was native to the eastern peoples; they were born and grew up in Greece.² Take two examples: by steady observation, lasting over centuries, the Babylonians accumulated considerable knowledge of the apparent movements of the stars. That this originated in a belief in the influence of the heavens on human lives and continued always in the service of astrology, therefore with a purely practical aim, matters little, for men have often been able to combine superstitious beliefs and practical aims with disinterested love of knowledge. Some such love of knowledge the Babylonians had; but they never combined with their patient observation any speculation about the heavens as part of the universe as a whole and so did not develop a science of astronomy, still less connect astronomy with the rest of natural science. Similarly, the Egyptians amassed great knowledge of human anatomy and from it of practical medicine. This originated in

¹ For example, they early learnt from the Egyptians the true length of the solar year, from the Babylonians the simple idea of dividing the day into a number of hours of fixed length; but they preserved to the end their own antiquated lunar calendars, and never adopted the system of hours. Even Athens, though the astronomer Meton had elaborated a scientific calendar which seems to have been officially adopted, had no simple system, and intercalary months were common.

² Seeing that the Romans too had no natural taste for them, it would be interesting to speculate what the development of modern thought would have been without the Greeks.

the practice of embalming the body after death, in itself due to a superstitious belief about existence after death, that a physical life continued similar to that lived in this world. This again would not of itself have prevented the development of science;¹ but the Egyptians had not that kind of outlook; they did not aim at a systematic theory of human anatomy and physiology, or of healing; their work remained empirical and practical (and hence did not advance as far in practice as it would otherwise have done); they had no science of the human body, and did not in any way connect what they knew of it with the rest of their knowledge. Neither the Egyptians nor the Babylonians had any general theory of nature based on observation and thought.

It was just in that that the Greeks excelled, in their power of systematic thought; and were thus able to add far more to the sum of knowledge and to its practical application than their predecessors had done, as well as to lay the foundations of all later science. They did not simply accumulate facts; they asked why and how; they treated all knowledge as part of a single whole; and they asked themselves, not the gods. The earliest of the Ionian philosophers, Thales, at once asked the questions, What is the origin of the world? What is it made of? What is the process of change? Staggering questions asked long before they had anything but the smallest fraction of the knowledge necessary for their answers, but put in the right way and in the right spirit. It was the same matter as Hesiod had written about, in his cosmogony; but the Ionians dropped the mythology. Four *elements* in the universe were postulated—fire, air, earth, and water—and certain agents of change, ever active, which were never distinctly thought out and analysed; as the hot and the cold, the wet and the dry. It was argued that one of the elements must be the primordial stuff from which all the manifold variety of the world had been formed; for example water, because it can change, by the action of cold into ice, of

¹ The Greeks also, in fact, must have learnt much anatomy and some ornithology, from the practices of augury. But how differently they developed. We may reflect too that in Greece magical practices in healing continued to exist side by side with medical science.

heat into steam, and can take any shape; or air, because it appears to permeate everything. What is important in this early speculation is its freedom, its assumption (which had indeed been implicit in the cosmogony of Homer and Hesiod) that there is an order in nature, that its laws are not upset by occasional and unpredictable action by supernatural beings, that in fact there is nothing supernatural, and its belief that there is a key which, if only we could find it, would unlock the mystery which underlies the *whole* of natural phenomena—all change, organic and inorganic, vegetable and animal, and human and divine; meanwhile we must put forward hypotheses, test them by such knowledge as we possess, and if they fail, try another. That is the basic belief and method of science.

The most sweeping generalizations were thus based on the first observations; but a good deal more was done in Ionia in the sixth century than this, in acquiring knowledge as well as working it into a system, particularly in astronomy and geography (the first map of the world was attempted). Then at the turn of the century there was a break, and two developments took place of the first importance. Heraclitus of Ephesus pronounced that 'everything is flowing' (like a river), nothing is static, nothing remains the same for two consecutive moments: 'you cannot step twice into the same river'. How then can anything be knowable, when the thing is not the same from moment to moment? and when the mind that would know is itself also changing? He thus raised two wholly new problems, the nature of being, and the possibility and nature of knowledge; and began a new line of inquiry, metaphysics. Contemporary with him (and hated by him: the first of learned quarrels was between these two) was Pythagoras, a remarkable man, who emigrated from Samos to Croton in south Italy and there set up a religious brotherhood with all kinds of tenets and practices based, as far as we can see, on a quite unreasoning mysticism; what we are concerned with here, however, is that he laid the foundations of mathematics as a science. Here too the Egyptians had discovered much (and Pythagoras is said to have travelled there), but only on empirical lines, amassing useful knowledge (as that

$2 \times 2 = 4$) and useful methods (as how to add fractions possessing different denominators); that is, they advanced the art of calculation and measurement, a practical affair. The Greeks had little (too little) use for accumulations of facts; they must find the principles underlying them. They had a flair for the abstract; they saw that numbers and their properties were of interest in themselves apart from their value for practical calculation; and then they discovered what had hitherto lain hidden, the possibility of proof by deduction. The Egyptians had known, as a fact, that a triangle with sides of three, four, and five units was right-angled; Pythagoras was interested in the principle, and proved the proposition about the hypotenuse of *any* right-angled triangle. He saw that this could be deduced from other hypotheses already granted, and that other propositions could be proved from it. It would be quite impossible to exaggerate the importance of this discovery of the principles of deduction. It was a method especially dear to the Greek mind; for mathematical propositions, if true, are universally true, and independent of the changes of natural phenomena insisted on by the heterodox Heracleitus; they had found a perfect science (as they were seeking for perfection in art), static, not in a state of flux.¹ The principles were soon after applied to the method of thought as a whole, by Parmenides and Zeno of Elea in south Italy; and the new science of logic, also of universal and permanent application, was born. We are in a completely new world, where men are not only thinking about new things, in a new way, but discussing the method of thought itself. The Eleatics themselves applied it chiefly to the metaphysical problem of being and becoming; to get rid of the Heracleitean paradox, they denied reality to the world of appearance, with

¹ Pythagoras also discovered the mathematical ratios which correspond to the musical concords. This immensely impressed the Greeks; it looked as though you could measure aesthetic harmonies, obtain perfect proportions, in other arts besides music, which would be permanent.

Also because these musical ratios are simple, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, the theoreticians were led to believe that these were somehow 'better' aesthetically than an apparently more complex one, as $\frac{8}{9}\frac{1}{16}$; and that simple figures, as circles and squares, were 'better' than others; and were beguiled into all sorts of nonsense. The artists were not misled in their practice.

its multiplicity and continual change, and asserted the existence of the One, above all phenomena, invisible, alone real, alone knowable, perfect, and unchanging. But their primitive monism is not so important as the logic which they developed in order to prove it; *assuming* certain physical properties, they proved by a *reductio ad absurdum* the impossibility of motion and change; hence these are not real.¹ Their logic was correct; their assumptions had to be tested afresh. Henceforward logic and mathematics (with astronomy, which was so dependent on mathematics) were among the principal activities of the Greeks, continually used and improved by the men of science, studied with more or less of application by the amateurs of culture, taught to the student. Very great advances were made. Logic passed from the Eleatics to Socrates and to Plato, with their insistence on clear thinking, definition, and their search, based on definition, for universal (and unchanging) concepts, and reached its culmination in Aristotle. Thereafter little was done; Aristotelian logic dominated Europe till the Renaissance. Mathematics and astronomy had a longer creative life. With logic, they were the chief formative elements in Plato's philosophy (*ἀγεωμέτρητος μὴ εἰσίτω* was written over the entrance to the Academy),² and amongst his pupils were the best mathematicians of the age. Aristotle was not a mathematician, and did not appreciate the philosophical importance of mathematics. His influence was decisive for philosophy; the two studies were divorced; and the progress in mathematics after Plato, which continued for nearly 200 years, was on technical lines.³ But a great deal was done;

¹ Zeno proved his points too in a fanciful and witty way, which the Greeks liked.

² It was not then, as it might be for a modern university, necessary to add, *μηδ' ἀμυνσας*.

³ 'Mathematics, as a formative element in the development of philosophy, never, during this long period (from Plato to the seventeenth century) recovered from its deposition at the hands of Aristotle.'

'In a sense, Plato and Protagoras stand nearer to modern physical science than does Aristotle. The two former were mathematicians, whereas Aristotle was the son of a doctor, though of course he was not thereby ignorant of mathematics. The practical counsel to be derived from Pythagoras, is to measure, and thus to express quality in terms of numerically determined quantity. But the biological sciences, then and till our own time, have been overwhelmingly classificatory. Accordingly, Aristotle by his logic throws the emphasis on classification. The

and its names include the great Archimedes and, towards the end, the astronomer Hipparchus. 'The period of the discovery of the elements (of mathematics) stretches from Pythagoras to Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz, and the developed science has been created during the last two hundred and fifty years. This is not to boast of the superior genius of the modern world; for it is harder to discover the elements than to develop the science.'¹

Meanwhile speculation in physics continued. An atomic theory of matter was put forward and developed by Leucippus and Democritus (of Abdera, on the Thracian coast). It is important to notice at once the fundamental difference between this and modern atomism. The latter is based on a number of experiments and observations in laboratories, on induction. The ancient is based, of course, to some extent in observation (not experiment) and increased knowledge, and Democritus is specially known for his encyclopaedic activity, which included astronomy, geography, medicine, agriculture, and ethics; but his atomic theory was based mainly on logic, on deduction. Democritus rejected the Eleatic denial of motion as being manifestly contradicted by the facts around us (and as inadequate; even if motion is only apparent, not real, still their theory did not explain these curious appearances). The Eleatics had said: 'not-being cannot be'; therefore there is no vacuum in nature, and without vacuum motion is impossible. The atomists accepted the last hypothesis; and therefore, since motion and change clearly do exist, postulated a vacuum, a nothing ('not-being is'), within which movement takes place. Then, basing themselves on certain simple observations of growth and decay in nature, and the consideration of such substances as water and air, which would appear to be divisible into ever smaller and smaller parts, they postulated the atoms, that is homogeneous, indivisible bodies, that move (and have always moved) through the vacuum, and in moving come into contact with

popularity of Aristotelian logic retarded the advance of physical science throughout the Middle Ages. If only the schoolmen had measured instead of classifying, how much they might have learnt!' (Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, 1926, pp. 42-4).

¹ Id., p. 49.

each other; they are of different shapes, and this diversity is infinite, and the order and position in which two or more atoms of the same shape are arranged together also vary; hence the infinite variety of nature. The coming together of atoms is due to a mechanical necessity. This is a materialistic and quantitative view of the universe; all the objects of nature differ from each other not in quality, but in the number and shape of their atoms, and the way they are arranged; Democritus had learnt much from the Pythagoreans. The adoption of the atomic theory, after the lapse of a century, by Epicurus (to support an ethical, not a scientific philosophy), and therefore its explanation in the noble verse of Lucretius, has made it famous. But it was little known in Democritus' own day (he complained of the egoistic self-absorption of Athens), and was neglected in the fourth century. This was because it was, in the main, a philosophical and not a scientific theory, and fourth-century philosophy was engaged on a different set of problems.

c. 500-427.
B.C.

A truer successor of the Ionians of the sixth century was Anaxagoras, of Clazomenae in Ionia, who was also important as the first philosopher to make Athens his home. He settled and worked there, and was a close friend of Pericles and others. He was also donnish, neglecting external things, food and clothing, in his interest in philosophy; a character; a well-known figure in the city. Towards the end of his life he was prosecuted for impiety, and was driven from Athens, the first scientist to suffer for his opinions at the hands of authority; the motive of the persecution was wholly political, part of an attack on Pericles and his friends; prejudice was raised against him because of his unorthodox opinions.¹ Like Democritus, his range of learning was very wide; much of his work was in positive science; and he too tried to reconcile the appearance of movement and change with the Eleatic principle of Being. He accepted, as did

¹ He settled in Lampsacus, on the Hellespont, where, we are told, he was enthusiastically welcomed, and continued in his work. It is to be noted, in relation to what was said of the Athenian Empire in the last chapter, that Lampsacus was within the empire, and easily controlled from Athens; the opponents of Pericles and the superstitious were content, the former to have succeeded in their envious attack, the latter to have the wicked man out of their city.

all Greek thinkers (except the pure sceptics), the theory of the constancy of matter: 'the totality of things is eternally equal to itself'; 'nothing can come out of nothing, nor degenerate into nothing'. But, like the Ionians, his theory was a qualitative one, expressly so, opposed to the atomists (he was working before the fully-developed atomism of Democritus): 'flesh cannot come out of non-flesh, bone from non-bone'; so the qualities of things are inherent in the original seeds. But, because of Socrates' reaction to it, he is most famous for his doctrine of *Nous*, Intelligent Mind, which first set the universal ball rolling (though we do not know how much importance he himself attached to it); there must be a motive force to start motion, and this must have a purpose, be intelligent, it cannot be mechanical (the 'necessity' of the atomists explained nothing). Anaxagoras' Mind is the metaphysical counterpart to the Supreme God of his earlier contemporaries Aeschylus and Pindar; but he did not work out his theory to its proper conclusion. Hence Socrates' contempt for it. Socrates was early interested in contemporary physical theories, and all branches of science; but he was dissatisfied with them, partly no doubt (perhaps subconsciously) because they were metaphysical theories only, with no basis of adequate knowledge, chiefly because they did not answer what to him was the principal question: the *purpose* of the universe. Anaxagoras' Mind seemed to offer an answer; but in fact, like the rest, he only described the process of change, of coming into being; he postulated a purpose, but said nothing of what that purpose was. Modern scientists, at least the more logical of them, could have answered Socrates that his objection was irrelevant; it was true that they only explained the process of change—but that was all that they aimed at doing, and it was a study as well worth while as any other. But the objection was valid against Anaxagoras and the rest: they were philosophers and were seeking a complete explanation of the universe.

However that may be, Socrates introduced a fresh activity for philosophic minds: what is the purpose of things, that is, what is the Good that is aimed at? and as a corollary, what is good in man, and what the basis of good conduct? Ethics was

his principal interest, and, as with most of his contemporaries, Euripides, for example, the good, not of the state or community, but of the individual; humanism, as opposed to the naturalism of previous philosophers. He wrote nothing (for, as he said, he knew nothing); but he talked with every one, self-satisfied politicians and professors, the young and ambitious, gentlemen and carpenters, with any one he could find to argue with him, in the agora or palaestra, in the street or at dinner. Nothing of the preacher himself, for he was inquiring after truth, not teaching it, he was yet the ancestor of a long line of men who in the later ages of Greece went into the highways and byways preaching a mode of life. Though the least dogmatic of men, he was yet convinced of the possibility of knowledge, and of right conduct through knowledge. His life and character, his method of dialectic, have been portrayed by Plato, who himself preferred talk to writing (for a book could not answer questions), and would say that there were no dialogues of Plato, only of Socrates turned young and beautiful—an idealized biography; idealized, not because it was not true, but because it was enshrined in beautiful works of art. Plato, however, was the artist, and Plato, besides being a biographer, was the very prince of philosophers; there is therefore, inevitably, more of his philosophy in his works than of Socrates'.

428-347
B.C.

The method of both was the inductive, the study by dialectic of all particulars, and thence the definition, the general concept, Plato's *Idea*. It was used by them primarily for the study of ethics and psychology, the nature of the virtues and vices, and of the soul; hence of the problems of individual happiness and of the constitution of society, and by Plato in particular in his search for the nature of reality, the one Being which lies behind the plurality of appearances, and hence also for the nature of knowledge, of which reality is the only object. But the inductive method was of the first importance as well in the service of natural science; to which Plato did not devote himself, but encouraged in his pupils and friends in the Academy. He developed inductive logic and his metaphysical theories of reality and knowledge into a comprehensive system, which Socrates

had not done. One application of the system to moral philosophy was destined to influence later ages to an extraordinary degree. Corresponding to reality, the object of knowledge, and appearances, the object of sense perception and opinion, were the soul and the body in man; the soul alone could reason and know, the body could only receive impressions of phenomena. What the soul knew was true; what the body perceived was fallible. But the body interfered with the activity of the soul: the false impressions of the senses conflicted with and hindered true knowledge, and the passions of the body, following false desires, hindered both thought and virtuous action. Socrates and Plato revived the old Orphic view, that the body was to be checked as far as possible, as a hindrance to man's highest faculties; that death was not a thing to be feared or deplored, but was a release of the soul, which itself was immortal; ascetic doctrine, held by two men very much at home in their own pagan world with its sense of joy in this life, its belief in the end of things at death (though Plato, for all his greatness, had something of the puritan in him, as witness his concern with petty faults shown in the work of his old age), a doctrine eagerly seized on in later times, particularly in the East where it had always existed. Even so there is a fundamental distinction between the earlier and the later doctrine; the earlier is established by a process of reasoning, by pure logical thought, and righteousness, action in accordance with the doctrine, depends only on wisdom and knowledge. We are still in the age of Reason.¹

One other branch of Plato's thought must be briefly mentioned, political science. Plato was a better citizen than Socrates, very much concerned with good government (perhaps through his aristocratic descent, with its traditions of public service). Quixotically he several times interrupted his philosophic work in Athens to go to Syracuse, where friends had persuaded him that the tyrant ruler might be trained, by philosophy and mathematics, into the wise and virtuous prince. He criticized the

¹ Similarly with man's approach to God or the Absolute: the neoplatonic and Christian view is that this is possible by experience as well as by thought; the Greek view only considered the latter, though Plato contains hints of the other.

theory and practice of democracy, but always with insight and sympathy; and to the end regarded the problems of government from the point of view of the governed, not of the rulers (as Aristotle did). But the mass of men are incapable of governing, guided as they are by their passions and instinctive opinions, by their bodies that is; even the best of them, engaged in their own affairs, cannot be anything but amateurs in politics. Socrates and Plato were the first to perceive that whereas men will require the services of experts in everything else, they are content with amateurs in public affairs, and the disastrous consequences of this. Moreover, a mere study of practical politics is not enough; the true statesman must study the foundations of conduct, and the purpose of the state;¹ and these again demand a metaphysical system. So philosophers should govern men, philosophers trained to knowledge and righteousness by a long course of dialectic and geometry, and, by a system of communism, the abolition of the family and of private property, removed from the temptations of ambition and greed; and they must see that their successors are philosophers, by a proper education of the young. They must govern not for their own sake, but for that of the governed, for the whole community; they must interrupt their philosophy, and give up fifteen years of their lives to the service of the state. Aristotle, more concerned for the wise man than for the commonalty (he was no Athenian, as Plato was), pointed out many difficulties in the way of the practical working of the Ideal Republic.

Two other branches of science were developing almost independent of philosophy; not divorced from it by any means—Greek thought less than most should be subdivided—but more independent than others. These were medicine and history. In the former, the practical needs of men had for long been met by an active intelligence, and in the sixth century there were medical schools of importance in many states, those of Cos in the Dodecanese, Croton in south Italy, Cyrene in Africa being

¹ The most famous statesmen of Athens, Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, had only according to Plato filled the city with harbours and docks and walls and tribute and suchlike trivialities, instead of with sense and justice; and hence her fall.

specially noted. Hippocrates of Cos was universally regarded as the man who, in the fifth century, both advanced knowledge and practice most and first systematized them into a science by the enunciation of general principles. The lines of further progress were laid down; and much was done not only in anatomy and physiology, in the art of healing and surgery, in the pharmacopoeia, but also in the study of diet and hygiene, and the influence of climate on health. There was continuous progress into the third and second centuries B.C.; and if there was not much new discovery after that, at least (owing to its practical importance) the old knowledge and method did not die out in Roman times, as they did in most of the other sciences.

In history, in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries many men were engaged in the patient collection, recording, sifting, and comparison of data; others, basing themselves on these facts, traced the causes and progress of events, and explained them. History is a subject which, more than most, lends itself to unscientific treatment (in all ages); and there were many rhetoricians in the fourth century and scribblers in the third, who masqueraded as historians, and were popular in later ages; others who allowed a genuine learning and critical instinct to be corrupted by a strong political bias. But there were others who worked in a scientific spirit. Medicine and history are of special importance as inductive sciences of which we have considerable Greek record.

Aristotle combined work of the very highest order in both science and philosophy and was the last great man to keep the two in proper touch with each other; and, as if this were not enough for one man, attempted the grouping of all knowledge into a single system. Most subjects had been studied in the Academy; he was the first to attempt their systematization. He came to Athens as a young man from his home, Stagirus, on the Macedonian coast of the Aegean, and joined the Academy; where, however, as his bent was not mathematical, he could never have been completely at home. It is not really surprising that, pre-eminent as he was, he did not succeed Plato as its head on the latter's death. Instead he worked in Mytilene and

on the Asia Minor coast for some years, before returning to
335 B.C. Athens and setting up a new school of his own. His greatest original work was in logic and biology;¹ in the latter his scientific method was hardly followed up after his own lifetime (except in part by his immediate successor, Theophrastus), and practically no progress was made till modern times; his logical system and his classification of all the sciences remained binding for many future generations. Logic, the method of thought, was the foundation of his system; then came metaphysics, the nature of being; then physics (where, through his lack of appreciation of the mathematical sciences and of the advances in astronomy made by members of the Academy, he was least successful). There followed the description of the animal world, where his own researches in biology and zoology were of most account. Of man he dealt with psychology (that is, the nature of the soul), with moral philosophy, the conduct of man as an individual and in society, and with the state—the best form of state—one of the practical sciences; in connexion with which he organized a study of the constitutional history of over 150 Greek states, from all over the Mediterranean, and a few foreign ones. Lastly he was concerned with aesthetic, the principles of composition, of tragedy and comedy in verse, of rhetoric in prose; again as practical problems, though essentially in a scientific manner, to discover the theory and the principle of art. All this, the research, the writing and lecturing, the organization of his school, in a short life of sixty-two years. For sheer genius, Plato surpassed him; and commanded and still commands, a veneration not accorded to his pupil; but perhaps no one man has exercised so decisive an influence on human life as Aristotle.

There was one science in which the Greeks did little, jurisprudence, though Plato touched on it; this was left to the Romans, and was, by a strange compensation of Nature, the only science they were interested in. The Greeks had a theory of law, as part of political science; and experimented in codes in practice, and thought much about them on paper. But their

¹ 'Linnaeus and Cuvier have been my gods', said Darwin, late in life: 'but they are nothing to old Aristotle.'

system of procedure, their too little respect for the letter of the law, did not favour the growth of a class of learned lawyers; and jurisprudence was not developed.

After Aristotle, certain sciences still progressed, mathematics, dynamics, astronomy, medicine, geography, chiefly at the new centre of Alexandria. Archimedes of Syracuse, the greatest of Greek scientists, belongs to the third century, and much of the best work was done then; but, as has been said, on technical lines, the sciences independent of philosophy and of each other. Philosophy remained at Athens; but now, divorced from the new knowledge and research, was barren. It served either as a dogmatic basis for the teaching of the Stoics and Epicureans (who were not concerned with scientific inquiry), or in the Academy or Lyceum for increasingly idle, but often bitter enough disputes about words. The mills went on grinding, for many a year; but there was no new grist. The Romans, however, were impressed.

With the exception of Aristotle [says Dr. Whitehead], and it is a large exception, the Greek school of thought had not attained to the complete scientific mentality. In some ways it was better. The Greek genius was philosophical, lucid, and logical. The men of this group were primarily asking philosophical questions. What is the substratum of nature? Is it fire, or earth, or water, or some combination of any two, or of all three? Or is it a mere flux, not reducible to some static material? Mathematics interested them mightily. They invented its generality, analysed its premises, and made notable discoveries of theorems by a rigid adherence to deductive reasoning. Their minds were infected with an eager generality. They demanded clear, bold ideas, and strict reasoning from them. All this was excellent; it was genius; it was ideal preparatory work. But it was not science as we understand it. The patience of minute observation was not nearly so prominent. Their genius was not so apt for the state of imaginative muddled suspense which precedes successful inductive generalization. They were lucid thinkers and bold reasoners.

Of course there were exceptions and at the very top; for example, Aristotle and Archimedes. Also for patient observation, there were the astronomers. There was a mathematical lucidity about the stars,

and a fascination about the small numerable band of run-away planets.¹

That this description of Greek thought is in the main correct, none would dispute. Yet it is worth while making some qualifications. First for the inductive method, the patient observation of facts, add medicine and history; also the minute and loving study of the human body by the painters and sculptors, parallel to a similar study in the men of learning.² Secondly, we must regard the inadequacy of our knowledge of Greek science; most of it is from a summary, concerned with opinions, conclusions, not with method (except in the case of logic), and that too (what is not from Aristotle) a summary by men of much later ages, who if they were learned, were interested only in philosophy, not in science, and if they were not (the case with the majority) were only giving at second or third hand the baldest recapitulation; as though we knew nothing of Harvey but that he believed the blood circulated through the body, of Newton that he discovered the law of gravity, of course by watching the apple—just the kind of triviality preserved by writers to whom we owe what little we know of so many of the Greek thinkers; or of modern physics that one thinker says the universe is cylindrical in shape, another that it is like a horn. It is not accidental that those studies in which it is admitted that the Greeks used the true scientific method, biology, astronomy, medicine, and history, are those of which we have the best record. It may well be that men like Democritus and Anaxagoras thought more highly of their scientific researches than of their philosophical investigations. It is only by chance that we learn a little of their methods, that they used induction and observed facts, that Anaxagoras laid down the principle (especially praised by Democritus) *ὅψις τῶν ἀδῆλων τὰ φαινόμενα*, and that his view that the nature of the heavenly bodies was similar to that of the earth was based on observation of fallen

¹ Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, pp. 10–11. One cannot refer to this excellent book too often, written by one of the first of philosophers, and with an historical insight which is the envy of historians.

² Whitehead, p. 54, instances Leonardo's more conscious studies as presaging modern science.

meteors, that a revival by a younger contemporary of Anaxagoras of the old Ionian view that air was the principle of all things was due to a close study of anatomy in animals and fishes, and of the important part played by breathing in bodily activities; or that, in the Academy at least, the younger students engaged in 'defining and dividing up the works of nature, and were distinguishing the habits of animals and the nature of trees and the species of vegetables'. Plato's own description of Attica quoted in the first chapter¹ is a fine example of scientific observation. That their generalizations were based on inadequate knowledge is true; but, since the Greeks at any rate, in every age men have generalized about the universe; it is part of our nature; and since knowledge is not complete, not even now, all such generalizations are of necessity more or less inadequately based; and it is highly characteristic that in those sciences that are of most recent development, as anthropology, psychology, the study of population, knowledge is least adequate and generalizations most confident.²

Still it remains true the Greeks were primarily philosophers. It is partly a question of emphasis. Plato encouraged observation; when he insisted that we must 'preserve the phenomena', and gave to his students the problem to find the simplest possible mathematical formula for the movements of the heavenly bodies consistent with the observed facts, he was speaking as a scientist. But when he wrote to a friend that, for the discovery of truth 'words and statements and visual images and sense perceptions, all these things must be as it were rubbed against each other; they must be tried and tested in friendly disputation, by the ungrudging use of question and answer; only then, if even then, when the mind has been strained as far as is humanly possible, does the understanding of each thing shine out'; then Plato was writing as a philosopher, and best expressing himself and his Greek spirit.

¹ See above, p. 508.

² Remember too (though in explanation rather than in qualification) how much modern science owes to mechanical invention, how poor was the apparatus of Greek science; to take an obvious example, they had neither microscope nor telescope, and were to an extent we can hardly realize hindered in observation and almost prevented from experiment.

III. EDUCATION. CONCLUSION

The fifth century was truly remarkable; the whole habit of thought of at least the progressive part of Greece (more than half the whole) was changed. It was marked both by daring experiment and by great achievement in almost every branch of art and letters, in science and philosophy, in politics and law, and in commerce and industry; a display of genius by one people never approached before, scarcely equalled since.¹ But more than this: before the end of the century, throughout its last quarter, men were criticizing their own achievement, by theories of aesthetic in art, music, and letters, by questioning the basis of philosophy (some by denying the possibility of knowledge, and taking a purely pragmatist attitude), by questioning not only democracy, and other forms of government, but the theory of the state and the individual's relation to it. It was a critical as well as a creative age.

It was modern in this too, that culture was not confined to a class, learning and art not cut off from the rest of man's activity. Great men of course were few; well-educated men, as in all ages, not numerous; the mass of simple men understood nothing of philosophy; there were many others with only a pretence to understanding. Yet, comparatively with other peoples, ancient and modern, culture was widespread. We have no statistics, but the indications are that all received an elementary education, and were well grounded in Homer (boys in schools, girls at home somehow); and that most of the slaves, at least the domestic servants and those engaged in manufacture, were not illiterate. (This of Athens, Corinth, Syracuse, and the like, most states; not of backward Aetolia and other rural districts.) Owing to the public nature of Greek art and so much of Greek literature, the majority of men and women, in many cities at least, were aware of continual activity in sculpture, painting, archi-

¹ Whitehead (p. 50) says that the seventeenth 'is the one century which consistently and throughout the whole range of human activities, provided intellectual genius adequate for the greatness of its occasions'. But this is equally true of the fifth century B.C.; almost as true of the fourth, where, however, politics failed (for Alexander was too disturbing a genius to fit in with the rest).

ture, and the drama, in a way that they are not now. Owing to the nature of Greek constitutions, more men took part in public affairs than now; and this mingled with the other, for as voters they decided on the building of temples and the making of many statues.

Philosophy was less public, learning less widely spread, as was natural. But it was not confined to a class, not cut off from other activities. As has been said, it tended to concentrate in Athens, in the lifetime of Socrates; but there were philosophic circles, in touch particularly with the Academy, in many cities of Greece, in Asia Minor, and in the west. What to us would seem to be the almost insuperable obstacles of manuscript books and slowness of travel did not in fact prevent men in one part of the Greek world knowing what was going on in another, and paying visits, and having learned controversy. Men from every city came as students to the Academy. The Academy was the first institution for learning and research, and for teaching after the school age. Philosophers were in touch with the outside world, with politicians and soldiers, merchants, men of letters, artists, gentlemen of leisure. Education was widespread.

That this was so, and that at the same time its value must not be exaggerated, is shown most clearly by the sophistic movement of the latter part of the fifth century and its successor, the rhetorical schools of the fourth. The sophists were men who travelled from city to city teaching (as they thought) the new learning, professionally. Their pupils came mostly from the young and rich; both pupils and masters excited by the new logic and the new powers of expression in ordered prose; they helped to form the latter. They taught indeed rhetoric as a practical art; but they were prepared to teach anything.¹ With the exception of Protagoras, who was a man of wit and learning, and could argue the pragmatist theory that 'man is the measure of all things', that a thing is true or good only for a particular person at a particular time, and who said, 'as to the gods, I

¹ Hippias in particular boasted of the variety of his knowledge and objected to Socrates that he never said anything new: 'You are always saying the same thing.' 'Not only that', said Socrates, 'but I am always talking about the same thing.'

know not whether they exist or not; there are two obstacles to knowledge, the obscurity of the subject and the shortness of human life'; with that exception, all were shallow, some were charlatans. Socrates in particular, and Plato, disliked them with their pretensions to knowledge, and their long lectures which you could not interrupt—their refusal to argue; they were talkers, not men of learning, or trying to learn. Isocrates in the fourth century was an honest man, fixed in the belief that he was a philosopher and profound political thinker. He too set up a school; but rhetorical history was its best known product. Unimportant, however, as they were individually, they helped both in the testing of received opinions in politics and ethics which was characteristic of the end of the fifth century, and in the spread of knowledge; and their popularity is an indication of the interest taken by so many men in the new learning, the excitement caused by it, the readiness of all to take part in the argument. Alcibiades, as the most brilliant and most unsteady of the youth of Athens, was naturally their pupil, though he had too good a brain not to prefer the dialectic of Socrates. As a boy not yet twenty, he once argued with the grave Pericles, his guardian, the democratic leader: 'What is law, Pericles?' 'Law is what the people in a constitutional assembly decide.' 'And in an oligarchy, or an autocracy?' 'Yes, what the ruling body decides is law.' 'And force is the opposite of law?' 'Yes.' 'What then of what oligarchs or an autocrat decide and carry out by force, without persuading the citizens?' 'Anything done by compulsion and not by persuasion, would be force not law.' 'And suppose the masses forced the passage of a measure against the rich, without persuading them?' 'You know, Alcibiades, when I was your age, I and my friends were just as clever, and we too argued like that.' 'What a pity, Pericles,' said Alcibiades, 'that I did not know you at your best.'

To appreciate best what the Greek thought was like, it is well to contrast a later age, the centuries after about 150 B.C. First creative ability appeared no more; with it went the appreciation of the scientific method and the scientist's (and the artist's)

enjoyment of the search as well as of the discovery.¹ Then, when men ceased to use their reason, they ceased to understand even what had been already achieved; discoveries in astronomy and biology and mathematics were actually forgotten. Take as an example Aristotle's great work in zoology; first, there was little advance in knowledge (none in method) after him, before modern times; then men could no longer be at the trouble of reading him, he was difficult, and an epitome and handbook of his work was written; by later writers this was used, not his own work; and finally, all his system, his classification was forgotten, and his facts were mixed up with marvels, and myths, and children's tales. Or contrast classical physics (inadequate as that was) with the later alchemy, which flourished from the third century A.D. onwards; which was practical in aim, a branch of metallurgy, not done from a desire, however vain, for knowledge; and what little in it was not practical, was not scientific, but mysticism, based on no reason, a superstition and folly.

It is the power of reason which has, since Greece, most transformed all human activities. The transformation began with the Greeks. An enlightened man of the second or third century A.D. could be excused if he thought that it had ended with them.

¹ The Academy lasted for over 900 years, and to the end was in a measure a bulwark of reason and culture; yet it produced scarcely any creative work after the death of its founder.

CHAPTER VII

THE QUARRELS OF THE GREEK STATES

I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

479 B.C. **A**s soon as the national struggle with Persia was over, differences arose among the allies. During the course of the struggle, war to the death had been decided against the Greek states who had sided with Persia, notably Thessaly and Thebes. A half-hearted effort was made to carry this out; but it did not suit Athens, who discovered the virtue of moderation on land because her strength lay on the sea; and her policy was carried out by Themistocles, then the most powerful man in Greece (he had a great reception from the masses assembled for the Olympic Festival of 476), who was as crafty in method as he was intelligent in aim. Moderation prevailed; but there was some tension between Athens and the Peloponnesians. However, there was no clash; the energy of Athens was fully employed in extending and consolidating her maritime league, the Peloponnesians were in no mood for further war, and there was a strong party in Athens in favour of friendship with Sparta, peace among the Greeks and war only against the barbarian. But the Athenian activities in continental Greece between 461 and 457 (cf. p. 651 above), especially the alliance with Argos, the acquisition of Naupactus and settlement there of Messenians (there had been a great revolt of the Messenian helots against Sparta, c. 464-459, with difficulty overcome and then only by granting permission to the besieged Messenians to leave the country), the conquest of Dorian Aegina, and an attempt to establish her influence at Delphi, all this led to action by Sparta at the head of the Peloponnesian forces. The Athenians and her allies were defeated at the battle of Tanagra; but the Peloponnesians returned home, and except for the Athenian incursion in Boeotia and the disturbances of 447-446 accompanied by fitful interventions by Sparta, Greece was quiet; and a grand peace for thirty years was then signed between Sparta and Athens which in practice recognized the position of Athens as the head of her maritime empire.

Yet the position was unstable. The general feeling was strong against Athens; in particular her near neighbour Corinth, already hard hit in trade rivalry, was cramped by the Athenian hold on the Gulf—her Gulf—and the extension of her activities in the west. Some of the larger subject states intrigued against Athens in the Peloponnese. Sparta was at length aroused; and occasion was easily found for an ultimatum. Athens could have purchased peace for a few years at least by surrender on minor points (she offered mediation on all); but Pericles was persuaded that it could only be for a short time, that the struggle to decide whether a single city was to dominate one-half of Greece and threaten (or so they felt) the other half, that is whether there was to be any unity in Greece, was bound to come soon, and, if at all, had better come at once, when Athens was ready and her enemies were not, and he was still there to guide his country's policy. So Athens rejected the ultimatum, and war was declared and begun in the spring of 431 B.C. 'This day will be the beginning of great evils for Greece', said the last of the Spartan envoys.

Pericles calculated that the enemy would be unable to inflict any fatal damage. The Peloponnesian and Boeotian forces on land easily outnumbered the Athenian (by three to one), and there was no question of facing them on the open field. Nor was it feasible (at least according to the military principles then prevalent) to guard the many passes of the land-frontier against invasion. The enemy therefore entered Attica unopposed. But Athens was connected with Peiraeus and Phaleron, five miles distant, by walls, within which the whole population could retire. The walls were far too strong to be stormed by the primitive methods then in use; and so long as Athens commanded the sea, she could not be besieged. So the invaders destroyed the crops as they passed, waited for the Athenians to come out from behind their walls, there were a few skirmishes if they ventured too near, and after a stay of thirty days one year, forty another, returned home. (There was no thought of keeping the majority of able-bodied citizens permanently in the field; the Peloponnese would have starved for want of men to sow and harvest the

crops; it was never done; and what good would have come of it if they had?) Athens seemed invulnerable. The fighting actually began with a gross violation of custom and morality; before war had been declared, Thebes, aided by some sympathizers within, attempted to seize Plataea, still Athens' ally (that Boeotian city which, by its gallant part in the wars against Persia, in 490 and in 480 when nearly all other states of Boeotia submitted, and by its loyalty to the alliance with Athens, has won the sympathy of the world, but which by its obstinate refusal to join with the rest of Boeotia was the cause of much evil to Greece). The attempt failed and was followed by the slaughter of the invaders. In 429 Plataea was besieged (it commanded important roads from Megara and Attica into Boeotia), and after over two years capitulated; a barren victory, for the population had been withdrawn to Athens except a small garrison of Plataeans and Athenians (more than half of whom had escaped) and a hundred poor women to bake bread, and the siege had occupied considerable enemy forces; but the survivors of the garrison were executed and the women sold.

That was the sole success of the Peloponnesians after five campaigns. Pericles was justified; but his calculations had been upset by a disaster that could not have been foreseen. In the summer of 430 a plague of a most contagious and devastating kind was introduced into the Piraeus, apparently from Egypt, and spread rapidly among the overcrowded population. Death followed death so rapidly that there was no time first for decent funeral, then for any; conditions grew worse; whole families perished; and the best doctors and the most devoted friends were soonest attacked. Every kind of demoralization set in; in their panic men blamed the war and Pericles as the cause of the war, sent in vain an embassy to Sparta against his advice, then deposed, tried, and fined him; soon afterwards restored him to office. Naval expeditions were sent to relieve the stress, but they only spread the plague. It raged for two years, and returned again in 426; over a quarter of the population died, and among them Pericles, in 429, not much over sixty years old. An irreparable loss for Athens, for he was that indispensable leader of

a democracy, a man who possessed, as few men have, both character and ability as an orator, as well as constancy of purpose; henceforth no one statesman guided her policy; men of a lesser stamp became prominent, and none of them, not even Cleon, was able enough to hold his position for long; and an inconsistent, varying policy resulted.

In the late summer of this year the Athenian squadron in ^{429 B.C.} the Gulf of Corinth gained two successive victories over a Peloponnesian fleet greatly superior in numbers: important because they were due to the great ability of the commander Phormion, and the daring and swiftness in manœuvre of the Athenian crews; their superiority was decisively established and the enemy was in despair. Next year Mytilene, still powerful and governed by an oligarchy, revolted from Athens, and sent ambassadors to the Peloponnesians to plead their cause and ask for help; they made speeches at the Olympic festival denouncing the aggressive tyranny of Athens—one of the few occasions on which the neutrality of the festival was broken. The Peloponnesians promised their aid; great preparations were made, and next summer a fleet was sent to the Ionian coast to relieve Mytilene, then besieged by land and sea. Alcidas, the Spartan in command, did not attempt to engage the Athenians at Mytilene, but cruised along the coast, attacked the cities, trying to make them revolt, executing such of the crews of the enemy as he captured, till it was pointed out to him that that was not the way to persuade the fellow-citizens of those crews to join him. The Athenians sent a second fleet after him; rather than meet it Alcidas sailed back across the Aegean as fast as he could; and Mytilene surrendered largely through a revolt of the commons against the ⁴²⁷ ruling oligarchs. Here was a chance for Athens: her enemy had made himself at once unpopular by his savage treatment of prisoners and pitiable by his inglorious retreat; she seemed invincible, her strength was unimpaired; the masses in the subject states were her allies, the masses on whom she relied for so many of her sailors. A generous settlement in conjunction with the democrats of Mytilene seems almost inevitable. But Cleon was there to advocate the doctrine of force; and the ecclesia carried

a resolution that the Mytileneans were rebels and must be treated as such—that is, the men executed, the women and children sold as slaves. The night brought a revulsion of feeling; the more moderate Athenians, in conjunction with the Mytilenean envoys, worked hard and got a special meeting of the ecclesia called next day to reconsider the matter. Cleon, the finest orator in Athens ('the most persuasive of the citizens'), in, as reported by Thucydides, as powerful a speech as any known in history, denounced this weak-kneed vacillation; 'you come to the ecclesia', he said, 'not in a mood to deliberate and decide on state affairs, but as spectators in the theatre to listen to fine oratory. In your passion for paradox you are taken in by every novelty of argument, and ignore the policy which has been proved sound by experience. Every one would be an orator; if he cannot be that, he must prove himself as quick at following the line of thought as the speaker himself, ready to applaud a clever saying even before it is spoken; quick at everything, except in foreseeing the consequences of your decisions. For stupid men often make better citizens. You live here in the ecclesia in an unreal world. Do not be led astray by pity, fine words, and generosity, the three enemies of empire. You hold this empire as a tyranny; our subjects understand force only; and if you now show a sentimental weakness, every state will know that it can revolt without fear of any disastrous consequence. They must be given a lesson'. The answer was made that in this case moderation was not a matter of generosity, but of policy: if they punished the masses equally with the leaders of the revolution they could no longer rely on any support in the subject cities, and any city which revolted in the future would hold out to the end, knowing that there was nothing to be gained by an early surrender. This moderate policy prevailed; Cleon was beaten by a small majority, and a ship was dispatched to countermand the orders already sent out on the previous day. By rowing day and night and taking their meals at their oars (and because the first boat made no haste on so monstrous an errand), they just arrived in time. The oligarchs only were executed; Mytilene was reduced to a completely dependent state, and the lands of

the citizens handed over to settlers from Athens. Thus did Athens display her power; and when disaster came there were few who came to her assistance. Aristophanes produced his play, *The Babylonians* (see above, p. 657), in the following spring.

In the same summer the Athenians had another opportunity ^{427 B.C.} of showing that they alone were worthy of empire, an opportunity partially taken. A narrative fuller than can be given to other events in so short a history is justified by the light it throws on the whole conduct of affairs at the time. Corcyra, an old colony of Corinth, important for its position on the routes to the west and up the Adriatic, rich both in agriculture and commerce, holding itself aloof from the politics alike of the east and the west (like the blameless Phaeacians of the *Odyssey*, reputed the earlier inhabitants of the island), had quarrelled with Corinth a year or two before the opening of the Peloponnesian War, and sought and obtained an alliance with Athens; though reluctantly—she would have preferred to have remained aloof. In the fighting which followed (one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian War) the Corinthians had taken among others 250 of the richer Corcyraeans prisoner, and kept them. The oligarchic party in Corcyra had never been eager for the Athenian alliance, and Corinth now persuaded these 250 to work for its denunciation and a renewal of friendship with her, and set them free without ransom to this end. A lively political agitation followed in the island; Athens sent a trireme to watch her interests, Corinth sent another. A grand debate took place in the Corcyraean assembly, which ended in a compromise: ‘that Corcyra be the ally of Athens as the treaty laid down, and friendly with the Peloponnese as before’.

But there was no compromise in men’s minds; the agitation had driven the democrats into advocating a more active alliance with Athens, the oligarchs a neutrality benevolent to the Peloponnese; the moderates lost their influence as tempers rose; and each side began to fear not so much the hostility of Athens or the Peloponnesians as the domination of the other. Resort was made to the law-courts; the leading democrat and pro-Athenian was prosecuted on the vague charge of enslaving his country to

Athens. He was acquitted and in his turn accused five of his richest opponents of cutting stakes for their vines from land sacred to Zeus and Alcinous (the Homeric Alcinous)—a frivolous charge of sacrilege under some old and forgotten law, such as was not unknown in many states when personal or political grudges were to be satisfied. They were condemned to an unpayable fine; and the oligarchs saw the pro-Athenian clique more powerful than ever. Only a *coup d'état* could save the city and themselves; they suddenly entered the Council-house when the Council was sitting, killed some sixty of the leading democrats, and assumed control. An assembly of the citizens was called and assured that all was for the best, and then compelled to denounce the alliance with Athens and adopt a complete neutrality. Some of the democrats got away and took refuge on the Athenian trireme.

But the oligarchs had not won the battle. The democrats armed themselves, and after three days' fierce fighting in the streets, in which women took part from the housetops, slaves were summoned under promise of freedom by both sides (but most joined the democrats), and the oligarchs set fire to part of the town to prevent the capture of the arsenal, and all the warehouses were destroyed and the whole town only saved by chance, the democrats were left victorious. Next day an Athenian squadron of twelve vessels arrived, and Nicostratus, the commander, intervened and forced the parties to an agreement on the sensible basis that only the ten most guilty oligarchs, who had already escaped from the island, be condemned and an offensive and defensive alliance be concluded with Athens. But the democrats were not content; they chose from among their opponents men to man five ships that were to join the Athenian fleet; the oligarchs refused and took refuge in a sanctuary; Nicostratus assured them of safety in vain, and the democrats seized the opportunity and would have renewed the massacre if Nicostratus had not prevented it. Four hundred of the oligarchs remained prisoners in sanctuary on an island in the bay of Corcyra. Peace might have been secured, but three or four days later a Peloponnesian fleet of fifty-three vessels originally sum-

moned by the oligarchs, arrived—the same fleet, under the same commander, as had sailed across the Aegean and back earlier in the summer to relieve Mytilene. Everything was at once in confusion in the city; the Corcyraeans launched and manned sixty vessels and sent them out one after another. Nicostratus urged them to wait till all were ready to engage, while he (who had only twelve ships) held the enemy. They refused; and two of their ships at once deserted; in others the crews fought amongst themselves; nowhere was there any discipline. Observing this, the Peloponnesians left twenty vessels to look after the Corcyraeans and with the remaining thirty-three attacked Nicostratus. He by clever and swift manœuvring got them in flank and rammed one vessel and sank it; they, losing confidence, formed themselves into a circle prows outward, while the Athenians rowed round, ever threatening an attack, brushing past them, driving them in on one another—just as Phormion had done two years before. The other wing of the Peloponnesians saw this and leaving the Corcyraeans attacked the Athenians; fifty against twelve. The latter slowly retired towards the harbour, backing water leisurely with their prows towards the enemy, covering the disorderly retreat of the Corcyraeans, their ships intact; and night fell. Nicostratus, by his firm and moderate handling of affairs in the town, and by his skill as naval commander, had raised the reputation of Athens higher than ever.

The Peloponnesians did not attack next day, and further efforts at reconciliation were made between the parties at Corcyra. They might have succeeded, but an Athenian fleet of sixty was signalled, and the Peloponnesians under cover of night beat a hasty retreat home. The democrats had now nothing to fear, and began a massacre of their opponents. Men were killed in the streets and in the ships; some of those in sanctuary were induced to leave and stand their trial and were forthwith condemned to death; the others committed suicide. Any excuse was good enough: the oligarchs were traitors, they had been the first to attack, there were past crimes to punish, old scores and present debts to wipe out. For seven days the slaughter

continued, and Eurymedon, the new Athenian commander, refused to intervene.

Even that did not end the strife; for a small body of oligarchs escaped to the mainland, and after the departure of the Athenian fleet, harried the islanders, bringing them to the verge of starvation. Another attempt to get Corinth and Sparta to intervene failed; so, in a desperate adventure, they crossed to the island, burnt their boats, seized and fortified a strong point to the north of the city, and continued doing what harm they could to their fellow-citizens; no longer even a faction, but brigands. Two years later another Athenian squadron, on its way to Sicily, put in at Corcyra; and with their help the oligarchs' fort was stormed. The men surrendered expressly to the Athenian generals, who promised to send them to Athens. By a singular act of treachery (whose motive according to Thucydides was nothing more than a desire to prevent another having the honour of escorting the prisoners to Athens), the Athenian commander handed them over to the Corcyraeans; who began to take them from prison and, with every refinement of cruelty, kill them, till the rest in desperation refused to leave and killed themselves or were shot down from the walls. Then at last there was peace, at least for the moment, for there was hardly anything left of one of the parties. Yet seventeen years later Corcyra was in the hands of the oligarchs once more.

It was the forerunner, says Thucydides, of similar faction fights in other cities, fostered by the war; for war is a teacher of violence, and the democrats could call in Athens to their aid, the oligarchs Sparta; so each side was confident of victory. Men coming after went one better than their predecessors in the ingenuity of their devices and the monstrous cruelty of their revenges. Words were twisted out of their ordinary meanings: reckless daring was called a brave loyalty to party, a wise hesitation specious cowardice, good sense a cloak for a faint heart, an intelligence that understood the whole inactivity in everything; violence and cunning were thought proper to a brave man, a careful deliberation only an excuse for avoiding the contest. An advocate of violence was always believed, his opponent

distrusted. A successful plotter was thought intelligent, one who suspected a plot even cleverer; while a man who by forethought and care made both plotting and suspicion unnecessary was called a traitor to his party and frightened of the other side. Applause was given to the man who was first with an evil deed or prompted to it one who had no thought of it. Oaths of agreement held only so long as the parties had no other resource; at the first opportunity a man who could get in his blow by catching his adversary unawares was better pleased at his cleverness than at a victory in open fight. The cause of it all was love of power, greed, and ambition, and the energy of men once they are engaged in factious strife. The leaders of both sides armed themselves with fine-sounding titles, Equality for All, or the Rule of the Best; but all alike made public interests serve their private ends, and in the struggle to get the better of their adversaries dared the most dreadful deeds and carried out yet more horrible revenges, without any regard either to justice or the public good. Neutral citizens were destroyed by both parties, either because they did not join in their quarrel or for envy that they should so escape. No reasoning nor oath was strong enough to bring about a reconciliation; mutual distrust prevented any hopes of peace.¹

The next two and a half years saw further activity and success for Athens. Victories were gained in Acarnania; Pylos in south-west Laconia, Cythera the important island to the south, Nisaea the port of Megara, and very nearly Megara itself, were captured. Of these the Pylos episode is the most famous and the most important: it illustrates the superior versatility of the Athenians in military affairs, it was a severe blow to Spartan prestige, it gave the Athenians a base for raids upon Spartan territory, and it put an end to the yearly Peloponnesian invasions of Attica. But it illustrates also the political folly of Athens. Before the issue was decided, Sparta (without her allies, it is true) offered terms of peace which gave Athens all that she had been fighting for; they were rejected through the influence of Cleon. But the siege was prolonged beyond the expectation of

426-424
B.C.

¹ Thucydides, iii. 82-3.

the Athenians, and they began to regret their obstinacy and to turn against the demagogue. The latter, holding no office, declaimed against those who did: the generals were half-hearted; let them attack at once, as he would have done had he been general, and success was certain. Voices in the ecclesia called out that he should go himself if he found it so easy, and Nicias, with an equal frivolity, said he would withdraw from his command and let Cleon be elected in his place. Excitement began; Nicias insisted, and Cleon tried to withdraw; but the more he declined, the more his enemies in derision and his admirers in encouragement urged him on; till he finally plucked up courage and said he would, and boasted farther that he would end the affair in twenty days. He went out with the reinforcements asked for by Demosthenes, the general on the spot, and was completely successful. But the flippancy of the ecclesia (both of the masses and of the leaders, of the extremists and of the conservatives) was an ominous sign; and the increase in the popularity of Cleon and in the appetite of the Athenians for further conquests proved later to be disastrous. Sparta suggested peace negotiations once more, and was again rebuffed.

424 B.C.

The turn came in fact the next year. Megara was saved by the energetic action of the Spartan Brasidas, who had before been sent to inspire energy into the Spartan naval commanders at Naupactus and Corcyra, and had distinguished himself by his personal courage at Pylos. He now marched with a small force northwards, through Thessaly into Macedonia and Thrace, and by the suddenness of his action and his own attractive personality induced many cities to revolt from Athens, including Amphipolis, her own colony and of strategic importance. At the same time the Athenians, with the help of discontented democrats in the cities, attempted to seize some coast-towns of Boeotia and then bring about a political revolution there in her favour; the Boeotian army, however, succeeded in forcing the Athenian to engage, and in the first big land-battle of the war of the orthodox Greek pattern, were completely victorious. Athenian ambitions had received a severe blow; they were not so strong as they had fondly come to believe (their army was now

less than two-thirds in numbers of the army before the plague); and men's thoughts turned again to peace. Sparta also, in trouble with some of her allies in the Peloponnese who were threatening to join with Argos, was also peacefully inclined. There was a temporary truce; the Athenians sent an expedition to Thrace and recovered some of the revolted towns, but an attempt by Cleon to win back Amphipolis ended in disaster, in ^{422 B.C.} a shameful defeat, in which Cleon was killed. Negotiations for peace were then actively begun, and peace was agreed to in the spring of 421 on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, and a fifty years' alliance between Sparta and Athens; but the decision of the Peloponnesian allies was come to by a majority vote only, Corinth and Boeotia being in the minority.

Men who disbelieve in the value of a 'negotiated peace' will get a cynical pleasure from observing the consequences of this one, which was a failure from the first. Both sides were to give back their conquests; so Athens demanded Amphipolis and the restoration of Plataea. But Amphipolis refused to be given back, and Sparta was not in a position to compel it; and Thebes would not restore Plataea, on the ground that it was part of Boeotia that had now agreed to return to the fold. Athens therefore held on to Nisaea and Pylos; Boeotia not only to Plataea, but also to Panactum, an Athenian frontier fort they had captured, and moreover held aloof from the peace, concluding a truce only, renewable every ten days. All this was a handle to the anti-peace parties on both sides, especially in Athens, where the evil genius of the able and restless Alcibiades now began to display itself. Yet the position was clear: ten years of warfare had shown the inability of her enemies seriously to shake the hold of Athens on her empire; that had been their aim and they had failed, because they could not face her at sea. But the success of Brasidas in Thrace showed equally where her weakness lay: she was open to attack by land, and her resources were not equal to the task both of holding her empire intact and of carrying on a war of exhaustion against the rest of Greece. It seemed obvious that she should have taken advantage of the peace to send an expedition to reduce Amphipolis, which,

isolated, could not have held out for ever. She would then be in the position she had been in at the outbreak of war; and it would have been long before the Peloponnesians attempted again to attack her.

Instead counsels were divided; men were glad that fighting had ceased, and were in no mood for another long campaign in Thrace; but were discontented, naturally, at the uncertainties of the peace and with its authors. So in 420 the war-party, with Alcibiades at their head, were elected to office; who, instead of recovering Amphipolis, began negotiations with Argos (who had grown rich while others fought and was aspiring once more to the leadership of the Peloponnese) and with Mantinea and Elis, two discontented members of the Peloponnesian League.

418 B.C. An alliance was formed, and an attack made on Sparta. In a great battle at Mantinea, in which Athenian troops took part though the alliance with Sparta of only three years back had not been denounced, the Spartans won the day, and so recovered their old prestige and their position in the Peloponnese; Argos retired into obscurity once more. But Alcibiades, who both by the brilliance of his gifts and his personal extravagances and vices (which were known to every one in the open-air life of Athens) was the darling of the crowd and an object of dislike to sober and timid men, and to all men in a sober or timid mood, a rich aristocrat who inspired in the masses either unthinking admiration or indignation and envy according to their temper, was not a man to confess defeat by such a check. In 416 Athens, with open cynicism, demanded the surrender of Melos, the one island of the Cyclades which had remained outside the empire, and on refusal besieged and captured it, and put the men to the sword and sold as slaves the women and children. But grander schemes were in view than that. She had long had alliances with one or two of the Greek states in Italy and Sicily, and fitfully supported them against Syracuse, the most powerful of the western states ('supporting the weak against the strong'); and her commercial interests there were important. Wars between neighbour states were commoner there than in Greece; and excuses for interference were only too easy to find. The help

of Athens against the tyranny of Syracuse was once more asked for; led by Alcibiades, who saw himself the commander of the largest and most splendid expedition that had ever left Greek shores, she formed a scheme for the conquest of Sicily and its incorporation in her empire. The very difficulties, the size and expense of the armament, only excited men the more; the timid warnings of Nicias were lost in the general enthusiasm. Love of glory and power, hope of gain, desire for adventure, to see and do something new, inspired all. They dreamed of the conquest of Carthage and Etruria (men had not yet heard of Rome), of Athenian world-dominion over the Mediterranean. A fantastic scheme, out of all proportion to her resources; Athens was trying to build an empire in a day. She came near indeed to conquering Syracuse, and she might well have accomplished it; but a state that could not bring itself to recover a revolted city in Thrace, that still had envious and hostile neighbours at home, was not in any case destined to hold Italy and Sicily for long.

The expedition, fitted out with unexampled care and splendour, set sail in the summer of 415; on a cloudless day the crews of the triremes raced the course from the Piraeus to Aegina; Nicias, in whom the Athenians had always a pathetic trust as though a timid caution and personal courage and honesty were a sufficient makeweight against the general instability and rashness, and Alcibiades were two of the three commanders. But Alcibiades was already under a cloud; just before the fleet was to sail, the statues of the god Hermes which stood before the doors of people's houses in Athens were all mutilated in the course of a night. It was an outrage that could only have been committed by an organized body of men, and for political reasons, to sow distrust; but it recalled too well certain pranks of Alcibiades in his youth, and his many personal enemies, respectable men or rival politicians whose little light had been obscured by his brilliance, took every opportunity of the natural alarm of the multitude to assert that he must have been the instigator of the deed. Charges of earlier acts of sacrilege were brought up against him. The excitement was great; many men were in

prison on information given, true and false; there was no certainty; the masses feared a *coup d'état* by the extreme oligarchs. Alcibiades asked to be tried before he set sail, but was refused; he went off with the expedition to Sicily, which made its stately way by Corcyra and the cities of the south of Italy, coldly received; but soon after he was recalled to stand his trial in Athens, where his enemies had been active in his absence. He was not loyal nor brave enough to return; indignant that he, Alcibiades, should be at the mercy of a jury of his fellow-countrymen, he gave his escort the slip, and promptly made his way to Sparta, where he revealed all the plans of Athens and urged them to send help to Sicily and declare war again against his country. He was condemned to death in his absence.

It is impossible to tell here the long and tragic story of the expedition. After considerable delay Nicias proceeded to the investment of Syracuse; he had nearly completed the task when help arrived for the Syracusans from Greece, and he failed at the critical moment. His remaining colleague Lamachus, an able soldier, had been killed, and he himself was now suffering
 414 B.C. from a painful and wasting illness. In the next summer the Athenians lost the high ground and were confined to the marshy and unhealthy shores of the harbour of Syracuse. He sent despairing messages home, begging for his own recall. He was
 Spring 413 not recalled, but a second fleet was prepared, and sent out under Demosthenes; who arrived to find that Nicias had allowed the Athenian fleet to be blocked up in the harbour where its power of manœuvre was useless, that they were besieged rather than besiegers, short of food, and attacked by disease. He ordered an immediate and desperate night-attack on the heights from which Nicias had been driven. It all but succeeded; but in the confusion some Boeotian troops stood firm, Athenians who had advanced too far were cut off, men still advancing, climbing up the cliffs, were met by others retreating, and the confusion turned to the disadvantage of the attack, which ended in disaster. Demosthenes was for an immediate retreat, Nicias was afraid of that too; after a delay it was decided; but there was an eclipse of the moon, and Nicias, confident in nothing else, was sure of this

at least, that its plain meaning was that there could be no movement till another moon. First one, then another attempt was made by the fleet to force their way out, but after desperate fighting they failed. When the retreat by land began (in the hope of reaching a friendly city) the roads were blocked; the whole weary force, forty thousand strong, but only a few thousand regular infantry, the rest unarmed sailors and a crowd of camp followers, marched slowly inland, tortured by hunger and thirst, attacked on all sides by the enemy on the surrounding hills. The two divisions got separated from one another, and first Demosthenes with his troops, then Nicias with his surrendered at discretion. The two generals were executed; the rest were confined in the stone-quarries of Syracuse to suffer every kind of torment or were sold as slaves. Very few escaped to get back, sooner or later, to Athens.

It was the turning-point in the history of the Athenian Empire; Athens had overreached herself; the flower of her infantry, and nearly her entire fleet was lost; she no longer ruled the sea and not only were her communications with her subject states threatened, but her very existence; for she depended on a regular import of food. Yet, when the almost incredible news of the disaster arrived, and her old enemies in Greece were stirred to activity once more and sent a fleet into the Aegean, and many of her most powerful subjects revolted, there was no thought of yielding. Steps were taken to conserve her financial resources; a new fleet was got ready. But the position seemed desperate. Persia joined her enemies, helping the Asiatic cities to revolt and providing the Peloponnesians with that financial backing of which they had always been in such need; Athens began to find it difficult to attract crews for her ships. Sparta occupied a fortress in Attica, so that she was able to ravage the ^{413 B.C.} land continuously and to be always threatening the city; large numbers of slave-workers, especially from the mines, escaped. Not only the cities of the mainland, but Chios revolted, then Byzantium and other cities of the Hellespont, and Rhodes; corn supplies, coming normally from the Black Sea, Egypt, and Sicily, were threatened or cut off. Worse followed; there were

many in Athens who wanted a modification of the constitution, at least while the war lasted; mass meetings could not conduct the war.¹ Ordinary men, cooped up once more within the city walls, were losing confidence in their beloved democracy, though there were plenty of politicians ready to oppose any change
 411 B.C. however reasonable. Extremists on the other side took advantage of the situation to work for a revolution. They began by murdering some of the democratic leaders, and in the midst of the doubts and fears of the multitude, got the Assembly to agree to a modification of the democracy, a limitation of the franchise to the hoplite classes—that old idea never lost, even in Athens. The extremists got the upper hand, and for a few months ruled Athens by terror; but during these months Euboea revolted, a terrible disaster, and a squadron hastily sent to recover it was destroyed. This ended their rule (most of them fled) and for a short time the modified democracy was in being, with moderate men as leaders.

But all was not yet over. The main Athenian fleet had been at Samos, keeping the Peloponnesians in check, during the disturbances at home, and had declared for democracy, refusing to recognize the new rulers at Athens. Alcibiades had left Sparta (after a love-affair with the wife of King Agis) and joined the court of Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap at Sardis, where indeed he had done most to secure Persian gold for Peloponnesian ships. But he now wanted to return to Athens. He intrigued first with the oligarchs, then on their refusal with the democrats at Samos, promising Persian support, assuring them of his loyalty. He showed all his old power of attracting men to him and was elected commander by the fleet, and now for the first time showed his genius for war. The Athenians had
 410 a series of successes in the Hellespont, the last a brilliant victory at Abydos by Alcibiades, in which the Peloponnesian fleet, though receiving the active support of a Persian force from the land, was entirely destroyed. Sparta opened negotiations for

¹ 'L'anarchie politique d'une nation qui s'obstinait à faire d'un organe de contrôle comme le suffrage populaire un organe du gouvernement' (Cavaignac, *Histoire de l'antiquité*, ii, pp. 157-8).

peace; but the full democracy had just been restored at Athens, Cleophon and others, politicians of the type of Cleon but not so able, were to the fore, hopes were high again, and all overtures were rejected. Hostility continued, though with both sides exhausted, both trying for the support of Persia, little that was decisive was accomplished. The Athenian fleet could not be everywhere, and their finances had to be helped by enforced contributions from the subject states, which added nothing to their popularity. But step by step they recovered their position in the Hellespont, finally recapturing Byzantium; and corn ships came freely once more to the Piraeus. Alcibiades was soon elected stratêgos in Athens, all the decrees against him were rescinded, and he returned home, after an absence of seven years, ^{408 B.C.} in a blaze of glory. But, because his influence was due entirely to personal contact, it was insecure and he could not overcome men's distrust. In a campaign in Ionia, while absent himself ⁴⁰⁷ he left the main fleet in charge of the captain of his own flagship, a rash and unskilful man, but a personal friend, with orders not to engage the enemy. The captain, full of confidence, disobeyed orders and was defeated—the new Peloponnesian fleet had at last an able commander, Lysander, and the full support of Persia. At once there was a revulsion of feeling at Athens, Alcibiades was attacked by his rivals, and he was deprived of his command; he left Athens altogether, retiring to a castle of his own on the Hellespont.

Still there was no decision. The Athenian fleet was the better, but it could only support itself by plundering expeditions, and failed to engage the enemy. Next year it was cut off and shut up in the harbour of Mytilene. Desperate efforts were made in Athens to build and man another fleet; sacred vessels of gold and silver were melted down, every available citizen and metic was enrolled, and slaves for the first time called upon under promise of freedom and partial citizenship. The fleet sailed, and in a great battle the Athenians won a last victory; but at ⁴⁰⁶ a terrible cost—a storm blew up and most of the ships that had been damaged in the fight were lost with all their men. Every one at Athens was in mourning, and an outcry arose to

condemn those responsible for the loss. The eight generals were accused of treason (a vague charge always at Athens) which meant trial by all fellow-citizens in the ecclesia, not in the dicastery; one or two of the trierarchs attacked the generals, the generals said they had given orders to the trierarchs to rescue the crews, though the storm was mainly to blame. The ecclesia adjourned with orders to the Boulê to prepare the charge. At the next meeting excitement was greater; one Callixenus proposed that a single vote should be taken acquitting or condemning all the generals—an unconstitutional proposal, for Attic law forbade a verdict to be given against more than one person at a time. It was attacked on this ground; but men shouted 'Cannot the People do what it pleases?' and a threat made to include the objectors in the charge; the demos on this occasion claiming that it was supreme and so above the law. Still the presiding committee hesitated to put the illegal motion to the vote, till they too were threatened, and gave way—all but Socrates, one of the committee, who stood his ground, calm in the general confusion and clamour. The vote was taken and all the generals condemned to death; two were absent, the other six executed. This was the last of such treason-trials in Athens; procedure was later made regular; and of this one the people soon repented and, as their way was, blamed 'those who had deceived them'; particularly Callixenus, who was put on trial but acquitted in the last confused days of the war, returned after the tyranny under the general amnesty and died, hated by all, of starvation.

405 B.C. This political disgrace was soon followed by a military one. In the next year the fleet was concentrated in the Hellespont; the Peloponnesians, in equal numbers and again under Lysander, and well paid by Persia, lay not far off. The Athenian commanders were so incompetent (some, of course, said so treacherous) as to allow themselves to be taken by surprise when half the crews were ashore collecting provisions. The fleet was annihilated (all but twelve ships, which got away and took refuge in Persia), the crews captured, and then put to death. It was the final effort; at last the Peloponnesians, driving all the Athenian garrisons and colonists before them, arrived before the

Peiraeus, and the siege of Athens by land and sea began. It was resolved to hold out to the last, a political amnesty was agreed to, and plans of resistance made. But there was no hope; and after six months' blockade, when there was no food left, Athens surrendered: twenty-seven years after the conflict had begun in 431. She was to be an obedient ally of Sparta; her fleet was to be not more than twelve vessels strong; she was to give up all her foreign possessions; recall her exiles; and her walls be destroyed. A government of thirty extreme oligarchs was installed; a Spartan garrison placed in Peiraeus to support them; her walls that had so long defied the enemy were pulled down, to the accompaniment of the flute and a general rejoicing that the days of the tyrant city were over. Spring 404
B.C.

So ended the great attempt to establish unity in Greece. Athens had over-estimated and overtaxed her resources; insufficient man-power, the hostility of the Greek world to her ambitions, her own great errors of judgement, led to her defeat. It had been, as Thucydides says it was, the greatest war that Greece had known—the longest, and involving most people; therefore inflicting the most moral and material damage. The damage of a war can never be assessed; we cannot tell how much Greece suffered from, for example, so direct a cause as the loss of human life in the war; it is probable that the later decline in creative activity was in part ultimately due to it. But at the moment our minds are drawn to contemplate not its results, but the men who took part in it, who made it. It is a period of Athenian history singularly well documented; for though we have only fragments of the evidence, those fragments are especially valuable. We have as monuments of Athenian genius the remains of buildings and sculpture, the few surviving plays of her dramatists; we have the full narrative of the war, what men did and how and why they did it, in Thucydides, the passionate and impartial observer of political mankind; we have some official records and some invaluable biographical detail to supplement the historian; and we have Aristophanes (as impartial as Thucydides, but as full of laughter as the other was serious), whose comedies so illuminate the period that it is

better known to us than any other of ancient times. After reading Thucydides, and admiring the energy and deploring or ridiculing the incompetence of this city which claimed to rule half and lead all Greece, after the Parthenon and Sophocles, Pericles, Phormion, and Cleon, as symbolic of her claims, turn to Aristophanes (as Plato advised) for a further understanding of this imperial people, cultivated, critical, and ungenerous, yet easily led, active but unstable, frivolous, versatile, above all lively; with that gift for laughing at themselves which is the mark of a civilized people, but is seldom combined with the gift for ruling an empire. They remain always supremely interesting; so that when we read the story of the Syracusan expedition (the turning-point of the war), which was an act of aggressive imperialism if ever there was one, an unjustifiable attack, which was accompanied by so many mistakes, and failed as, with any kind of morality, it deserved to fail, and which Thucydides narrates without any attempt to disguise either its immorality or its folly, yet is our sympathy always given to Athens; we hope against hope that she will extricate herself from the tangle into which her own folly and greed have plunged her.

II. THE FOURTH CENTURY

The political events of the next fifty years, from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the rise of Philip, can be more shortly told. It is a period of confusion and weakness for almost every Greek state. The late war had decided that Athens was not to dominate Greece; but it had no positive results. For nothing took the place of Athens, neither any other state nor a general agreement among all to establish and secure peace and order. Sparta indeed, more powerful apparently in 404 than Athens had ever been, for she was dominant on land as well as at sea, made an attempt; but through political incapacity miserably failed. She knew no way of leading, or governing men, other than force; so she set up in the cities the rule of a few oligarchs already attached to her because the violence of their factious opinions had driven them from their homes, and who were now supported, as at Athens, by garrisons of narrow-headed men with

some of the qualities of soldiers but none of the ruler's, and, many of them, not even honest, easily corrupted by the opportunities for luxury and display which had been denied them in their strict upbringing at Sparta. Moreover, the support of Persia during the war had only been gained at the expense of admitting Persian claims to her old rule over the Greeks of Asia Minor. It is true that for a few years King Agesilaus of Sparta, an able soldier, carried on a series of campaigns against Persian satraps on the mainland, and posed as the leader of the Greeks against the hereditary foe. But in spite of many successful battles, he was never near reaching a decision, and had presently to be recalled to Greece owing to a renewal of war there; and Persia reoccupied all the coast-land. Spartan prestige was lowered.

The war in Greece was due to the discontent of her old allies, especially Corinth and Thebes, the revival and therefore the restlessness of Athens, and the intrigues of Argos. The oligarchs at Athens, the Thirty Tyrants, after a reign of terror which lasted eight months and drove all moderate men into the ranks of their opponents, were overthrown by a democratic revolution ^{403 B.C.} begun by a gallant band of exiles who had received, thus early after the close of the Peloponnesian War, the benevolent hospitality of Thebes. The intervention of Sparta, on this occasion led by the other king, Pausanias, a man of markedly moderate views, led to a reconciliation of parties, the withdrawal of the garrison, and a re-establishment of the full democracy. For a few years Athens devoted herself to peaceful recovery and the reorganization of society; the terms of the reconciliation were honourably observed, and she knew no more civil war till another garrison, the Macedonian, occupied the Peiraeus; a period of peace, however, stained for ever by the trial and execution of ³⁹⁹ Socrates.¹ But she could not remain content with the shackles

¹ It would be a curious speculation to ask, by how much would the history of Athens and the world have been changed, if the Thirty had put Socrates to death on his refusal to arrest Leon, as they would probably have done had they not been immediately involved in the struggle with Thrasybulus? The democracy would have saved its good repute; Plato might have begun by taking part in public affairs. But he would have missed, as a young man, four years of Socrates' life, and the example of his death.

of the treaty still on her, nor with slow recovery. Conon, the stratêgos who had escaped with a few ships from the fatal battle of Aegospotami, had taken refuge in Persia, and, like so many Greeks before and after him, gained much influence at the Persian court. When the war against Agesilaus was at its height, he persuaded the great king to equip a fleet—mainly with Greek
394 B.C. crews; with this he sailed westwards, defeated the Peloponnesian fleet off Cnidus, and proceeded to the Peiræus—the first time since 479 that a Persian fleet had appeared in the Aegean. The islands at once threw off their allegiance to Sparta; and Athens, with the help of the crews, began to rebuild her walls and her fleet. Next year war broke out between Sparta and Corinth, Argos and Thebes; and Athens joined the allies. Eight years of desultory and inconclusive fighting followed, in which the Spartans showed all their old qualities of courage and discipline, Athens produced a general of originality in Iphicrates, and Argos and Corinth tried a new political experiment which meant the practical absorption of the latter by the former. A general
386 peace was made at a congress under the presidency of Persia—the King's Peace as it was often called: the autonomy of every state was guaranteed. It was thought, that is, to re-establish the old Greece of happier days. Yet nothing was secure. Sparta was shorn of her power (such as it was) to lead Greece, but not of her power for mischief, and she ignored the autonomy of states when it suited her; Persia continued in possession of all the Greek cities of Asia. Much ink has been used in ancient and modern days in denouncing the disgrace of this peace 'dictated to the Greeks by the Great King', and of the intrigues of the Greek states with Persia against each other which made it possible (which are no stranger than, at a later time, the intrigues and alliances of Christian states with Turkey). But in truth Persia dictated nothing; after the campaign of 395-394 (initiated and planned by Conon), her forces hardly appear again in Greek waters; the Greeks went on with their struggles without interference. Persian policy lacked all vitality, and she would never have been strong enough to prevent the full recovery of Greece, had the Greeks themselves been capable of it.

But not long after the signing of the peace, a Spartan officer marching north with an armed force to settle some difficulties in Thessaly saw fit to seize the citadel of Thebes, an act as foolish as it was treacherous. There was an outcry all over ^{382 B.C.} Greece, and the officer was put on trial in Sparta; but Agesilaus insisted that the only question was, 'Had he done his best for his country?' and he was acquitted, and the garrison at Thebes maintained. But for so magnificently imperial a gesture Sparta was not strong enough. Not long afterwards another officer made a similar attack on Athens and failed. Theban exiles were ³⁷⁸ already in Athens—a return of the hospitality shown to the Athenian democrats in 404–403—and now there were combined plans to free Thebes. They succeeded; and Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the leaders of the national party, reorganized the Boeotian army, always as good soldiers as any in Greece, and developed a new tactic. They were completely successful; the Spartans were defeated in a great pitched battle for the first ³⁷¹ time, and the Peloponnese invaded, year after year. The Pelo- ^{370, 369,} ³⁶⁶ ponesian League was broken up, the cities of Arcadia united into a federation, and finally, Messenia, for three centuries but the western half of Laconia, whose inhabitants had been driven out or absorbed into the Laconian polity as helots, was cut off from Sparta and declared independent—Spartan soil was halved at a blow. The Spartan army and people, in spite of severe losses, showed all their old indomitable courage; they refused to admit defeat, and the city itself, unwalled, was not taken, and Epaminondas was shy of approaching too near. But a last effort to recover what she had lost ended in another severe defeat at ³⁶² Mantinea. Spartan power was gone; and the state which had been the steadfast bulwark of the country in times of external danger and would have been so again, was now, thanks mainly to its own inefficiency and blindness to the national danger, lost to Greece for ever. Thebes was incapable of taking her place, and indeed hardly made the attempt; and the confusion in the Peloponnese and in Greece generally was greater than ever.

Meanwhile, Athens was showing a remarkable vitality. She was recovering all her old material prosperity, her manufactures

and commerce, and in 377 entered into a new alliance with the majority of the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the Hellespont and Bosphorus (securing as before the corn routes). It was to be like the old League of the fifth century with the objectionable features left out; there was to be no tribute, but a contribution by the allies; Athens undertook never to plant colonies of her citizens on the territory of the allies; a synod of representatives of all the allies met in Athens, whose decisions were to have equal weight with those of the Athenian ecclesia, the consent of both bodies being necessary to any important action. With such a constitution, dyarchy at its worst and no provision against secession, the League was not likely to last 376 B.C. long. It gained, under Chabrias, a great victory over the Peloponnesian fleet, which never again appeared at sea; a battle that was important not only in safeguarding the League from external attack, but because it showed once more the old superiority of Athens at sea. Athens helped Thebes, though half-heartedly, in the beginning of the war with Sparta; then, anxious for the balance of power (soon to become a fetish in Greece as in nineteenth-century Europe), lest Thebes became too strong, she withdrew, and later allied herself with Sparta and shared in the defeat at Mantinea. At sea she was engaged for many years before and after this in a number of inconclusive and unsatisfactory campaigns, chiefly in the north Aegean and to the west of Greece, fighting which crippled her newly strengthened finances and lost her the goodwill of her allies. She discovered as good soldiers and sailors in the fourth as in the fifth century; she had many successes, but she found no statesman to guide a consistent policy. Efforts were made in every direction instead of being concentrated in one; and few campaigns were decisive. Indeed, she had lost her imperial ambition, the wider views of the age of Pericles; and the return to the narrow citizenship law in 403¹ was but a sign that she was content with the old small-state exclusiveness. Men were discontented with the war policy, yet a general peace seemed an impossible dream; there was always something vital which must first be secured;

¹ See above, pp. 548-50.

there was a peace party and a war party, and a leader in favour of peace one year would join the war party the next. Perhaps with good reason; but the effect was disastrous: an energetic politician proposed in the assembly the dispatch of a powerful force; the peace party opposed. The decision, as likely as not, would be to send a force, but a weak one; and then not finance it sufficiently. The commander had to raise money somehow to find food and pay for his men, and the easiest way was to harry the allies. The expedition would achieve no great result; the allies were resentful, the Athenians discontented—the politicians blamed the generals, the masses the politicians and each other. Sensible men more and more withdrew from politics. All the weaknesses of democracy generally and of the particular Athenian version of it became apparent; the delays inevitable to any government by discussion, the difficulty of getting things done by mass-meetings, the absurdity of the methods of taxation, the irresponsible politicians, the rivalries of generals and the alliances between generals and politicians, the widespread corruption inevitable when payment of salaries is haphazard and rare, the inefficiency of a navy with the trierarchic system and many of the crews, as in the fifth century, foreigners ready to desert if their pay were irregular or poor. Every one knew all this; some laughed, some deplored it, no individual or party was powerful enough to correct it; and the state was not strong enough to win success in its despite. So that war-weariness was everywhere, but not an energetic determination to secure peace. Considerable successes were won in 358, and the Chersonese and Euboea (by a very able campaign) retaken. But soon after ^{357 B.C.} many of the more important allies of Athens, Rhodes, Cos, Chios, Byzantium seceded. She made an attempt to retake Chios, which failed, and her best sailor, Chabrias, the victor of 376, was killed. Athens gave way, and peace was concluded. ³⁵⁵ She remained the strongest sea-power in the Aegean, but no longer active nor confident.

It is wrong to take the many instances of inefficiency as proving the decadence of Athens in the fourth century. Most countries, particularly imperial ones, Rome and England, can show,

not only long periods of weakness, but, at the time of most vigorous expansion, a range of inefficiency and corruption such as Athens never knew. Such things can be easily survived if there is a general strength. And Athens seemed indeed to be possessed of an inexhaustible vitality. In spite of the sufferings of the Peloponnesian War—sufferings of such a kind and so prolonged and intense as few other states have experienced—she was to a large extent recovered twenty-five or thirty years after. In spite of the savagery of the last years of that war, which had seemed to turn Greece into a world of violent men without principle, industry and commerce had now revived, and were developing in new directions; science and philosophy, art and literature were as active as ever, surveying and conquering new fields, and except in art most of the intellectual activities of Greece were concentrated in Athens. Life was more complex than it had been in the fifth century; its activities therefore more differentiated, more specialized, and carried to a greater perfection—as the military art was now separating itself from politics, so was science from philosophy, and the several sciences (chief among them medicine, biology, physics, astronomy, and mathematics) from each other. In the 'eighties Plato founded the Academy, in the 'sixties Aristotle joined it—how can we talk of decadence? The achievement in literature was perhaps even more astonishing than in philosophy and science. For after Plato had, with consummate ease, made Attic prose a perfect vehicle for philosophic analysis, for polite dialogue, and for poetic narrative, Demosthenes, a youth when Plato was at the height of his powers, made of it as perfect and flexible an instrument for the finest oratory the world has known. Not much oratory survives the occasion of its delivery; but Demosthenes, though a poor statesman, yet because of his command of the Greek language and because he fought for a great cause, will live with the greatest thinkers and poets among his countrymen. He was born not more than one hundred years after Herodotus; and within that century appeared such a variety of masters of prose as Herodotus, Thucydides, Andocides, Plato, and Demosthenes. No other country can show the like.

THE QUARRELS OF THE GREEK STATES

Yet the political weakness of Athens was to prove fatal to herself and to Greece, and eventually to Greek thought as to her political independence. There had been wars enough and mistakes and instability in the fifth century; but there had been greater steadiness of aim, and above all self-confidence. This self-confidence, so badly shaken by the Peloponnesian War, she looked in a fair way to regain by the end of the 'seventies of the fourth century; but it was for ever broken in the course of the next fifteen years, when men longed more and more for peace, but wars were more frequent and less efficiently waged. There was never a decision, but a continual disturbance; not only a wastage of life and activity and material goods, but a disturbance of men's minds. There was disillusion and despair in a civilized and sophisticated people; a weakening of the will; spurts of energy, but no steady purpose. We must not forget that amid all this strife there was much peaceful activity; not only in trade, art, and philosophy, but the international festivals, at Olympia, Delphi, and many other places, flourished as before. But Mr. Bertrand Russell's generalization is true of the fourth century in a way that it is not of the fifth (when politics aimed higher and achieved more): that 'the Greeks devoted their activities to art, science, and mutual extermination, in all of which they were unprecedentedly successful'. It was in such a world that Philip of Macedon appeared.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST AND THE SPREAD OF HELLENISM

I. THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

A. *Philip*, 359-336 B.C.

THE country of Macedonia, for centuries now under the rule of a line of kings that claimed descent from the old royal house of Argos, extended north of Thessaly and eastwards round the head of the Gulf of Salonica. To the west it is a mountainous, wild country, that has seldom been tamed; to the east, important lines of communication, from the north and from Thrace and Asia, run through it, and long stretches of it, in the valleys of the Haliacmon and the Axios, were as fertile as any part of Greece (but of a different character; with a climate much colder in winter and, in the plains, hotter in summer; not freshened by the sea; unsuited to the olive and not well suited to the vine, but rich in corn-land and timber). Here lived a rude and martial people, akin to the Greeks and speaking a language most like to the Thessalian dialect of Greek, in a society not very different to that of the Homeric Achaeans: a king, always of the royal house, but not king till acclaimed by the army, the army being all the able-bodied men of the nation, and possessed of certain traditional rights besides the acclamation of a new king—of being consulted in important matters, as war and peace, of giving the decision in a capital charge against one of their own number. The king, besides his counsellors, had around him a body of men from the chief families known as his *Hetairoi* or Companions; and the children of these, while still boys, might be attached to his person as pages—the nucleus of a royal court. Surrounding Macedonia were, to the west and north (in what is now Albania and Serbia), yet ruder peoples, Illyrians and Paeonians, uneasy neighbours constantly raiding the lowlands, but too ill-organized for conquest and as constantly defeated, and to the east the numerous but unstable Thracians.

From at least as early as the sixth century the Macedonian kings had cultivated relations not only with the Greek cities of the north-west Aegean (one or two within their borders), but with Thessaly and other states to the south; they had a coinage, of a Greek type, with the legend in Greek. Their country, like Thrace, was occupied by the Persians in their expansion westwards at the beginning of the fifth century, and Alexander the king had been a friendly messenger between Persia and Athens in 480 B.C. During the first half of the Peloponnesian War Perdiccas was a shifty ally of Athens; during the second the able Archelaus began the better organization of his kingdom by the building of roads and ports, embellishing his capital, Pella, instituting a festival of Olympian Zeus, and inviting distinguished Greeks to his court; there went Agathon the elegant Athenian poet, to escape the discomforts of the war, Euripides at the end of his days, and Zeuxis, to paint frescoes in the palace. Later in the fourth century, Callistratus, an exiled politician of Athens, was called in to help restore the country's finances. But in the forty years or so following the death of Archelaus, there was a 399 B.C. set-back due to quarrels between members of the royal house; at the death of every king several claimants appeared, and success came only after fighting and the murder of rivals, often the murder of a boy-king by a relative acting as regent. In this short period there were as many as fifteen claimants to the throne, and eight of them acclaimed king; and of these twelve at least died a violent death (only one king died in his bed). The neighbouring tribes took advantage of the confusion to increase it by raiding and plundering. But the people were strong and energetic, and had been welded into unity; so that when Philip II, after the king, his brother, had been murdered and two cousins and three half-brothers had fought for the crown, succeeded, first as regent for his infant nephew, then as 359 king, aged about twenty-three, he had enemies on every side, but a nation behind him: a rough and barbarous people indeed in Greek eyes (though the royal family had been recognized as Hellenic, and that earlier Alexander had competed in the Olympic games), for their political institutions were primitive,

and they took no delight in things of the mind; but, under an able and more civilized ruler, none the less powerful for that.

Philip was to prove himself one of the greatest men of antiquity, at once as soldier, statesman, and diplomat, and able to inspire in his countrymen an uncritical devotion to himself and his family such as no Greek could ever know. He began by consolidating his own position in the country and his country's against their wild neighbours (though more than once in later times he would suddenly disappear from the civilized world to punish some unruly tribe in the Illyrian mountains). Then he began to expand: first to the east, at the expense partly of the Thracians, mostly of the Greek states, generously helping one when in difficulties with its neighbour, or one party in a state against its rival, receiving all individuals, whether ambassadors or exiles, or again some Athenian troops who had supported one of the other claimants to the Macedonian throne, and had been taken prisoner, with a hospitality and a kindness that won them over to thinking him a very decent fellow and not such a barbarian after all. He had spent several years of his youth in Thebes, as a hostage, and knew the personal and political weaknesses of the Greeks as well, almost, as they did themselves. Amphipolis, that thorn in her side since its foundation, Athens
 357 B.C. had tried and failed to take a few years before; Philip now offered his aid, but Athens, perhaps already involved in the war with her allies,¹ did not respond. Philip thereupon captured it himself (with the help of the anti-Athenian party in the town), and thereby secured a place indispensable for any further advance eastwards, promising to hand it over to Athens, but always, on one good pretext or another, failing to do so. Then
 357-356 he won other Greek towns on the Macedonian coast from the Athenian League, and began to build a fleet.

Meanwhile another war, of a familiar kind, had broken out in Greece. Delphi, with its sanctuary open to all, Greek and foreigner, and enriched by countless gifts and dedications by princes and peoples, had long been treated as an independent and neutral state, and its position as such defended by Sparta

¹ 357-355 B.C. See above, p. 721.

and Thebes. But the Phocians said always it was part of Phocis, and in the past had made attempts, some of them supported by Athens, to incorporate it by force. They seized it again in 356, and defied their enemies, chief of whom were, and always had been, their neighbours to the north and east, Thessaly and Thebes. Athens, still at enmity with Thebes, supported them, but lukewarmly. The struggle was important because Phocis lay astride the route from the north to the Peloponnese; they soon captured the pass of Thermopylae. They began to borrow from the Delphic treasures by melting down the numerous dedications of gold (amongst them the splendid gifts of Croesus of Lydia, made more than two centuries before), in order to support their armies. All Greece was, or pretended to be, indignant at the sacrilege. The Phocians were at first singularly successful in the field, defeated the attacks made on them, and invaded Thessaly. But Thessaly called Philip to her aid, and the Phocians were, after some initial successes, defeated and driven out. Then Athens acted promptly, sent an army and a fleet to hold Thermopylae, and Philip retired, baffled. But he was now dominant in Thessaly, and had a new port at Pagasae and made additions to his fleet, with which he threatened Euboea and raided the Aegean, once even making a landing at Marathon. On land he marched east into Thrace, threatening the Chersonese; Athens prepared an expedition, when a report came that he was dead, or ill, and her preparations ended; the peace party was always active. 353 B.C.

The rapid growth of Philip's power alarmed his nearest Greek neighbours, in the Chalcidic peninsula. Some of the many states there (which had earlier tried an experiment, remarkable in Greece, of federation, with Olynthus as capital; an experiment crushed by the narrow-heads of Sparta) had recently effected a fusion with Olynthus. Naturally there was a discontented minority; Philip encouraged them. Olynthus appealed to Athens, who hesitated. It came to open fighting, and Philip declared war in aid of the malcontents. Athens was kept busy in Euboea, where Philip was intriguing from his base in Thessaly with the help of individuals anxious at once to drive out 352
382-379

Spring 349 B.C. the Athenians and set up tyrannies for themselves. An Athenian army there was caught in a trap by the treachery of one of these, and only with difficulty extricated itself by its own good discipline and hard fighting and the skill of Phocion in command. Demosthenes continued to urge that help be sent to Olynthus, now besieged by Philip, who was become altogether too dangerous for the peace of the Greeks. But the peace party, headed by an able statesman, Eubulus, opposed; Athens was so financially embarrassed that she had even partially to close the dicasteries. In the end aid was sent, but insufficient, and insufficiently supported from home; and it accomplished nothing. Next year Olynthus fell; the town was razed to the ground, the men in it killed, the women and children sold as slaves. A great Greek city, and an important bulwark against Macedonian encroachment, had been blotted out. Groups of women and children from it were to be seen everywhere, dragged from their homes to be taken, enslaved, to strange masters; Demosthenes later accused one of his opponents of having brought some to Athens.

Summer 349
348-347

Winter 347-346

The Phocians were by this time nearly exhausted. They had suffered heavy losses in men and were employing mercenary troops whose loyalty and cohesion would last just so long as did the Delphic treasures and no longer. They were quarrelling among themselves. They sent urgent requests for help to Athens and Sparta. The former sent an army and a fleet, but the Phocian commander at Thermopylae and his mercenaries (having ideas of their own) refused their aid and would not hand over the pass to them. Meanwhile Philip protested his desire for friendship. The moment was favourable; everybody in Athens wanted peace; informal negotiations to discover Philip's temper were authorized (characteristically of the period this was done through actors, men at home in every state), and in the spring the first of the two famous embassies set out to meet Philip in Macedon—ten leading politicians, chosen from all parties, Demosthenes among them but ill-tempered and unsociable. Many other Greek states were sending delegates at the same time. There was some delay while Philip was consolidating his gains (at Athens' expense); but the ambassadors

did themselves well, for they all enjoyed his hospitality and all made speeches at the conference. Philip listened courteously. Preliminary terms of peace were agreed to, on the basis of the *status quo*, between Philip and his allies and Athens and hers. Nothing was said of Phocis. Philip had won the hearts of most of the ambassadors (especially the vain, shallow, self-important Aeschines), who returned to Athens loud in praise both of his good manners ('he is really quite civilized') and his intelligence ('he was particularly impressed by my arguments'). An attempt was made in the ecclesia to get the Phocians expressly included in the peace; but the Macedonian delegate demurred, and Aeschines assured the people that Philip was most friendly to Phocis and hated Thebes—he had told him so himself. The ecclesia voted the peace, and the ambassadors set out again to find Philip. He took the oath in Thessaly, on his way south, and continued south to Thermopylae. Sparta, mindful of a greater day, had sent 1,000 men for its defence; but there were no Athenian forces there. The Phocian and his mercenaries made special terms with Philip for themselves and withdrew; the pass could now be easily turned, and the Spartans went back home. Philip won Thermopylae without striking a blow. With the Thessalians and Thebans he soon disposed of Phocis; their walled towns were destroyed, the population dispersed into villages and disarmed, and heavy reparations to Delphi imposed. With Thebes he was in full alliance. The Phocian seat on the old Amphictyonic Council¹ was given to him, and in the autumn of this year he presided at the Pythian Games. He had now a definite position in the Greek world, and was easily the most powerful force in it.

Summer
346 B.C.

The disillusionment in Athens was immediate and complete. But resistance was at the moment impracticable; and Philip, releasing all his Athenian prisoners, continued to assert his desire for friendship. The war-party got what satisfaction they could from prosecuting two of the ambassadors for bribery. Philocrates went into exile rather than stand his trial. The other, Aeschines, stood his ground, for the peace party was strong; and

¹ See above, p. 566.

the trial was indefinitely postponed. He said that he had been deceived, that he really believed Philip had come south to befriend Phocis and attack Thebes; Demosthenes said he had purposely misled the ecclesia, and that he himself had thrown doubts on Philip's promises from the beginning, and had tried to speak in the ecclesia; but the people would not listen, 'and Philocrates got up and said, "No wonder Demosthenes and I do not agree: he is a water-drinker; I drink wine." And you laughed.'¹ There was no one in Athens to protest that, whether on the ground of honour or of the narrowest self-interest, Philip should not have been admitted to Thermopylae even to punish Thebes.

But there was as yet no decision. Athens was now divided into three parties; the war-party, headed by Demosthenes, biding its time; the peace-party, content with or hiding their eyes to the hegemony of Macedon; and the mass of people, war-weary, longing for an assured peace, disliking the high taxation, nervous of Macedonian power, but with little confidence either in themselves or in any of their leaders. The conflict was clear—between a strong but primitive military power and civilization as the Greeks knew it; the two sides led, not inadequately, by the man of action and the talker, and, notwithstanding the decisive issue, not badly matched. For the whole of this period we possess unfortunately no contemporary history and no good later one; our main evidence consists in the speeches of Demosthenes himself and a few others, precious documents to illustrate the actions and feelings of men, but giving us necessarily a broken and fragmentary vision. But they show what sort of man was Philip's enemy, the only one who counted. It is easy to pick holes in Demosthenes' character; that he did not show ever a creative statesmanship, nor ever great foresight, that he was only a politician; that, even as politician, he was always ready with criticism, but timid with suggestion, right only on the whole, seldom in any constructive particular (as when he advocated the formation of a small regular force, only a quarter Athenian, and that quarter not permanent, to ravage Philip's dominions, who were

¹ 'The Greeks turn their faces from those who wear no garlands.'

to live mostly on the country—'only a small force', 'it will not cost you much'—a policy in others he so often and so eloquently denounced); that therefore he never succeeded in imposing himself on the ecclesia as Pericles had done; that his bitter and ungenerous hatred of his political opponents sometimes obscures his patriotism (he was not Olympian, like Pericles)—a lean, morose, envious man—all this is true enough. But it is insignificant beside his passionate devotion to his cause and the energy and fiery eloquence with which he advocated it. To say that he was only an orator is like saying that Pindar was only a poet. He knew, though by instinct rather than by a reasoning foresight, what the conflict was about—not simply between the unity of Greece under Macedon and the old small-state system and the political life the Greeks loved so well (as some men saw it then, and most do now; though that in itself was worth fighting for, because, destructive as it was, this system had yet fostered all the intellectual triumphs of his countrymen and none knew what would take its place), but between a crude and undeveloped people ruled by an autocrat whose dominance depended on force and the old, complex, organized Greek system, which meant not only national independence, but freedom and activity for the individual, law and order, and a civilized life; all that Greece stood for was in danger, and Athens, ever in the forefront in the development of civilization, must be in the forefront in defending it. That he was right is shown by all that happened after; for Greece knew neither unity nor peace under the dominance of Macedon, and the old life died out.

He did not at all underrate his enemy, nor overrate the qualities of his countrymen. He knew what advantages were Philip's in being his own general and his own prime minister, ready to act the moment he had decided, and with an army always in being to carry out his decision, in not confining himself to the old orthodox warfare with a hoplite force in the summer months, but was everywhere, in all seasons and weathers, with heavy-armed cavalry or bowmen; whereas Athens first heard of a movement by Philip, then had to debate and discuss (and that in a panic), then (if it was voted) call up the army or

the navy, and equip and find money for it. 'So that every position that he has attacked he holds in perfect tranquillity, and we arrive too late and all our expenditure has been for nothing; we have shown our hostility and our desire to check him, but because we are always late we only add shame to failure.' Add to this the desire for peace, the instability and incurable frivolity of Athenians in public matters, and the lack of constant allies, and Demosthenes might well have despaired. 'You go about', he said in the assembly, 'asking, "Is there any news?"' As if there could be stranger news than that a Macedonian is defeating the Athenians and administering Greece. 'Is Philip dead?' "No, but he's sick." And what difference is it to you? If anything did happen to him, you would soon create another Philip by your present conduct of affairs.' Like Pericles, Cleon, and the Greek demagogues generally, Demosthenes was not afraid to speak the truth to the people.

Yet his persistence, his sincerity, and a superb style nearly ³⁴⁶⁻³⁴⁷ gave him the victory.¹ For five years Athens and Philip were ^{B.C.} nominally at peace; but Philip was extending and consolidating his power in Thrace; Athens, nervous about the Chersonese and her trade with the Black Sea, was hindering and annoying him, though afraid to strike. Technically it was Athens who was provocative, Philip patient and protesting his desire for friendship and peace. And not insincerely: he was now planning the great adventure, the invasion and conquest of Persia; he had no desire to conquer Athens or Thebes or the Peloponnese, in the ordinary sense; he wanted to be strong enough to conquer the east; for this he had built up the best military force of the time, and for this, having got Thessaly and Thermopylae in his own hands, and with influence in every part of Greece, he now wanted the benevolent neutrality and the moral backing of the rest; and indeed their active help, for the invasion of Asia was to be in the main Greek, under his leadership. But Demosthenes

¹ It is perhaps fanciful, but Demosthenes might have the sooner persuaded the Athenians to action had his oratory been less good. They delighted in it as in a work of art, going to the ecclesia (as Cleon had said) as though it were the theatre; and the satisfaction that comes from listening to perfect art is not conducive to action.

was tireless, in Athens and elsewhere, trying for a union of all the states against him, aiming especially at breaking down the old hostility and prejudice between Athens and Thebes. It helped him that it was necessary for Philip, if he was to invade Asia, to have control (friendly, if possible, but still control) of Byzantium and other Greek cities on the Bosporus. The ecclesia was stirred at last, reinforcements were sent to the Chersonese, and Demosthenes himself went to Byzantium, others of his party to Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, lately enemies,¹ and won them over to joint action. Another attempt, only partially successful, was made by him to arouse the Peloponnese; only Corinth, Megara, and Achaea promised help; but in the west he won over Acarnania and other states. Philip laid siege first to Perinthus, then to Byzantium, and at last war with Athens was openly declared. By the brave defence of the inhabitants (against quite novel engines of war—Philip was an originator in siege-craft as well as in other branches of war) and the vigorous aid of the Athenians and their allies, he was defeated and withdrew; and soon after suffered another defeat by wild tribes in northern Thrace. He was proved not invincible, chiefly because his fleet did not command the sea.

At the autumn meeting of the Amphictyonic Assembly at Delphi in that year, Athens had been accused (by Amphissa in Locris, friendly with Thebes) of some trifling irregularity, because in a chapel recently erected, but before its dedication, she had put up shields won in the Persian wars 'from the Persians and the Thebans when they fought against Greece', an inscription now tactlessly regilded. The anti-Athenians at Thebes doubtless instigated the charge, which was helped out by attacks on Athens as the allies of the sacrilegious Phocians. Aeschines, the Athenian delegate, defended Athens and counter-charged Amphissa with cultivating ground belonging to Apollo and illegally collecting harbour dues; and so worked on the simple inhabitants of Delphi that they rushed down to the harbour and destroyed it. The armed forces of Amphissa marched out and drove back the Delphians; whereupon the Assembly at Delphi

¹ See above, p. 721.

Summer
339 B.C.

declared a holy war against her. Few states obeyed the call, and the war dragged on till Philip was summoned to settle it (doubtless through Thessalian influence at Delphi). He advanced south at once, and before any of the Greek states were ready or aware of his action, he was through Thessaly, past Thermopylae, and encamped at Elateia in Phocis. Such were the miserable preliminaries of the final campaign between Philip and Athens. Aeschines was excessively vain of his triumph, and thought now at last Thebes was to be punished.

The consternation at Athens was great; but Demosthenes did not despair. He persuaded the assembly to send him to Thebes to urge an alliance; where he found Philip's ambassadors asking for Theban help, or at least a free passage through Boeotia for his army. There were many reasons why Thebes might have complied with this request; she was Philip's ally, she had long been at enmity with Athens and many Athenian politicians had made no secret of their hostility, this was an opportunity for an easy invasion of Attica, Philip was already on her borders, and if they opposed him the fighting would take place in their country and Thebes be exposed to immediate danger. But Demosthenes persuaded them to denounce the alliance with Philip and join Athens in the defence of Greece against him. Some of the other allies of Athens, Corinth, Megara, Achaea sent help, and the Greek forces advanced to hold the passes into western Boeotia. For a year Philip could not or would not make a decisive move; he waited for the Greeks to disperse or leave their strong position, he continued intriguing in the cities, hoping to weaken their determination (incidentally restoring the Phocians whom he had destroyed eight years before); all the time on the move to outmanoeuvre his enemy. This at last he succeeded in doing; he turned the passes and the Greeks had to retire to Chaeroneia, where Philip was able to force an issue on ground favourable to himself. The result was a complete victory for the Macedonians; in tactics as in strategy he was easily master. The Boeotians fought bravely and well, as they always did, but the Macedonians forced them back; the Sacred Band of Thebans, a *corps d'élite*, three hundred strong,

August
338

true to their traditions, fell to a man. On the other wing the Athenians were led on by a feigned retreat; they advanced too confidently and rashly, and were suddenly attacked and dispersed. The centre was crushed.¹ Philip marched rapidly forward and took Thebes. The Athenians were feverishly strengthening their walls and preparing for defence under Demosthenes' lead; the country population streaming into the city. But Philip stayed his hand. Athens he knew would be difficult to storm, and impossible to besiege so long as she held the sea; he really desired her friendship, and little further was to be gained by military victory; for his position in Greece was now secure and clear to all. He offered peace and alliance; his prisoners he returned without ransom; Athens was to withdraw her troops and settlers from the Chersonese, but to keep her other possessions in the Aegean; and all those questions which had been a source of dispute between Athens and Thebes for thirty years (such as the restoration of Plataea and a rectification of the frontier) were to be settled in her favour. Philip was as good a diplomat as he was statesman and soldier; Demosthenes was defeated. Athens agreed to the terms, and peace was signed; more, she elected Philip and his son Alexander to the citizenship. But Demosthenes was chosen at the end of the year to deliver the funeral speech over the men who had fallen at Chaeroneia.

It is interesting to compare the general situation in Greece in 340-338 with that in 480-479. There was not more disunion, delay, and incompetence now than there had been during the Persian invasion; but they were opposed no longer to Xerxes and his heterogeneous forces, but to a man who for twenty years had been consolidating his position and training a devoted and united army, was a commander with a genius for rapid

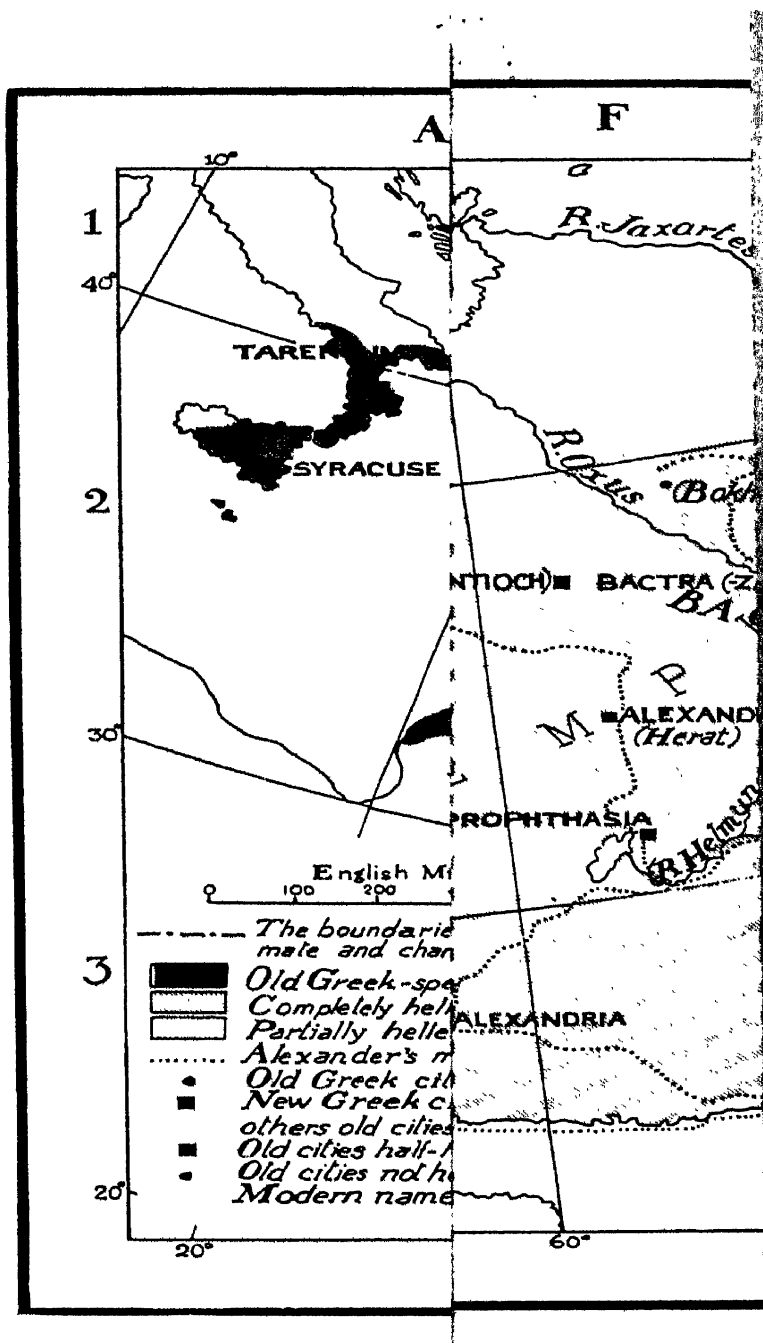
¹ In this last battle Philip commanded perhaps 30,000 foot and 2,000 or more cavalry. On the national side were: Athenians, *c.* 9,000 heavy infantry, Boeotians 10,000-11,000, Achaeans 2,000, Acarnanians 2,000, Corinth 2,000-3,000, Megara 1,000, Euboea 2,000-3,000, and Locrians 1,000—rather more than 30,000 all told, with some 2,000 cavalry (chiefly Athenian and Boeotian), and perhaps some light-armed. It is said that 1,000 Athenians fell in the fight, and 2,000 were taken prisoners. The losses of the other contingents are unknown.

movement, and whose base was near at hand. There was one other important difference—the absence of the Spartans from the Greek ranks. Thebans took their place, soldiers as good as they, but never possessed of the prestige that gave leadership over others, as Sparta led the Peloponnesian League, the backbone of Greek resistance against Persia; Thebes, that tragic state, on the wrong side when the national cause was victorious, then (after being allied with Philip so long and joining the forces against him too late) the bravest fighter and the worst sufferer when the national cause was defeated, she who, through her noblest citizen, had destroyed the one power in Greece which might have prevented the defeat; the birthplace, however, of Pindar, who more than any other was in his own lifetime the poet of the whole Greek world. Another point: the dispersal of the Greeks had already begun; in a campaign about 342 B.C. in which Persia invaded and once more conquered Egypt, there were 10,000 Greek troops on the one side, 20,000 on the other and the commanding officers were Greeks. History would have been different if these had been present in Greece, fighting against Macedonia.¹

After marching into the Peloponnese, Philip called a congress of all the Greek states at Corinth (Sparta, with pathetic courage, alone abstaining). A solemn covenant was agreed to: peace throughout Greece and autonomy, as usual, for every state. But in addition there was founded the Hellenic League, representative of all the states, which, as a League, entered into alliance with Philip and elected him commander-in-chief of its forces for the invasion of Asia.² Philip posted garrisons in Corinth,

¹ There was also no longer any question of help coming from the western Greeks of Italy and Sicily, as there had been in 480. They were drifting apart (in spite of Timoleon), beginning to belong to western Europe.

² It must be remembered that the innumerable *small* states of Greece had not for a long time exercised any real independence, or rather had not displayed any activity, in foreign affairs; and were content if they were left to look after their internal affairs themselves (this was what in practice they meant by autonomy)—as much under Macedon as in the days of the hegemony of Sparta or of Athens. The Greeks in general, and Plato and Aristotle among the philosophers, thought of the State, 'not in terms of power, but in terms of spiritual values, as an educational instrument' (Field, *Plato and his Contemporaries*, p. 115); in 338 there seemed no reason why the victory of Macedon should destroy these values.



Chalcis, and Thebes, but he did not contemplate the uniting of Greece and Macedonia into one country; he wanted the Greeks as allies, as soldiers, administrators, and citizens of the new territories to be won; his own Macedonians were not numerous enough, and though they made an incomparable army, they were too rude to form alone a civilized state. But he himself was not destined to lead his army in the great invasion; in the midst of his preparations, eighteen months after the Congress of Corinth, he was assassinated by a man alleging a private quarrel but almost certainly the tool of Olympias, first of Philip's wives and mother of Alexander; for he had recently married again (his fifth or sixth wife), and the marriage threatened to put on one side Olympias and her son. Alexander, barely twenty years old (who, at seventeen had been regent of Macedonia in Philip's absence and fought a successful war against the Illyrians, at eighteen had led the left wing at Chaeroneia against the Thebans, and at nineteen was an exile), was at once proclaimed king by his soldiers, and put to death the leading conspirators, including Philip's latest father-in-law; his latest wife and her infant son were killed (it was said) at the orders of Olympias. July 336 B.C.

B. *Alexander*, 336-323 B.C.

The boy of twenty was safely king. There were murmurings in Greece, especially, at last, in Thessaly, where the nobles were feeling the weight of their neighbour's heel; but Alexander came south, summoned the delegates of the Hellenic League to Corinth and was elected general in Philip's place. Next year he had to fight the tribes of the interior, and made an alliance with the Celts or Gauls, who were by now come from central Europe and were pressing the Balkan tribes in the rear. A rumour spread south that he was killed. The Greeks began to move again; Thebes attacked the Macedonian garrison, the ecclesia at Athens decided to support her on Demosthenes' motion, other states were sympathetic. Alexander heard the news as soon as he was back from his arduous campaign in the north. He at once marched into Greece, and within fourteen days was before Thebes, long before any allied troops were

ready to support her. Thebes refused to submit, expecting a long siege and help from outside. But Alexander's men stormed the walls, and the place was taken. It was razed to the ground, every building being destroyed except the temples and Pindar's house. The majority of the citizens were sold as slaves, Theban territory divided amongst the other Boeotian cities. The campaign had been so quick and so decisive that all further movement in Greece was checked. But Alexander, like Philip, needed Greek support, and he did not follow up his victory, content with assurances of goodwill. From Athens indeed he demanded the surrender of Demosthenes and other politicians of the war-party, but gave way on the appeal of Demosthenes' political opponents. He returned to Macedon and his preparations for that invasion and conquest of Asia which will always remain one of the most astonishing manifestations of human energy.

334 B.C. He crossed at the Dardanelles in the spring with some 5,000 horse, and 30,000 foot; of the former 2,000 were Greek, of the latter 12,000 were Macedonians, the rest Greeks (the forces of the Hellenic League and mercenaries). He had left behind him in Macedonia Antipater with another 12,000 Macedonian infantry, and 1,500 cavalry. His first act was picturesque and symbolic: as heir to Achilles, he went to Troy and sacrificed there in the temple of Athena; he was head of the Greeks in their age-long conflict with the East. (Xerxes had also sacrificed there before invading Greece.) The Persian satraps of western Asia Minor were ready for him, but there was no concentration of the whole or even a large part of the Persian forces; for the empire was in process of disintegration, satraps and large landowners commanding troops almost independently of Darius the king; and their best soldiers now, apart from the cavalry, were Greek mercenaries, 20,000 of whom, all told, were in Persian service. Alexander's first victory was at the river Granicus in Phrygia, not far from the Dardanelles, a brilliant example of tactics. He took prisoner 2,000 Greeks, and to show himself commander of the Hellenic League, sent them in chains to Macedonia as traitors to Greece; as a special compliment to Athens he sent some of the Persian spoils to be dedicated there, with the in-

scription 'by Alexander and the Greeks, except the Spartans'. He at once overran Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria, setting free all the Greek cities of the coast (some only after a siege) and establishing democracies in the place of the pro-Persian tyrants and oligarchs. Many of the princes of the interior, for long semi-independent of the central Persian government, he confirmed in their power. The Persian fleet—commanded by a Greek, Memnon of Rhodes, and with largely Greek crews—greatly outnumbered his own (which, moreover, he had not the money to keep up); he defeated it on land by winning all the coast-line, for no fleet at this time could operate far from a friendly land-base,¹ and by inducing large numbers of the crews to return to their now liberated cities. It acted for a time, uncomfortably for Alexander, among the islands; but Darius was by then nervous about Cilicia and Syria and recalled it eastward.

In the winter he marched with half his force to conquer the 334-3 B.C. coast-towns and mountain tribes of Lycia and Pisidia; then northwards into central Phrygia, where he joined the other half of his army in the spring, entered into agreements with inde- 333 pendent princes of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and marched rapidly south; he reached the Cilician Gates long before he was expected and got through that impregnable pass. Darius with a large force was on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, and, as Alexander marched farther eastwards, managed to out-manceuvre and get behind him. Alexander had to turn, and meet the enemy at the Issus. There he won his second great battle, largely through the pusillanimity of Darius himself, who fled at a time when his centre, consisting of Greek infantry, was well holding its own against the Macedonian phalanx. These Greeks were nearly surrounded, but they got away; not, however, for the most part, back to Darius, but independently to Egypt and to Greece.

From the Issus Alexander, ignoring Darius for the time, marched south through all Syria, and, after a severe struggle at Tyre, the siege of which lasted seven months and called for all his resources as tactician and leader of men, through Palestine June 332

¹ See above, pp. 561-2.

to Egypt. He was now master of all the Persian coast, and the enemy's fleet was dispersed or incorporated in his own. Egypt, but lately reconquered by Persia, welcomed him as a liberator and proclaimed him as her Pharaoh (and so the son of the God, Amun-Rê, and the Lord of all the Earth; he visited the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in the Siwa Oasis, famous all over the Greek world as in Egypt, and this gave rise to the later legend that he had been declared to be no mortal, but the son of Zeus). He was crowned in Egyptian fashion as though a legitimate king and no intruder, and appointed two Egyptians as governors of Upper and Lower Egypt; but he also made Cleomenes, a Greek, his finance minister and deputy, and fixed the site for a new Greek town—the first and most famous of his Alexandrias. He then marched north again, by Damascus and Aleppo, crossed the Euphrates and then the Tigris (above Mosul), and came upon Darius and the last of his armies. He won a complete victory, and Darius fled again. After a little he occupied Babylon and Susa, and declared the rule of Achæmenidae at an end, symbolizing this by declaring Babylon free of Persia once more and by burning the palace of the great king at Persepolis; he was their successor. Next year he was pursuing Darius northwards through Ispahan and Hamadan, and now received the surrender of the last Greek troops, some 2,000 of them, who had fought so long and so well on the Persian side. At the same time he sent home his own Greek contingents, those sent him by the Hellenic League, keeping, however, large numbers of volunteers. The great crusade of Greece against Persia was over.

But Alexander was an explorer as well as a conqueror, and, moreover, he had not yet established his own rule over all the provinces within the empire of Darius. So he went north to the Caspian, then east through Meshed to Herat, fighting his way, then south through Seistan, east and north again by Kandahar and Kabul, over the Hindu Kush, to Balkh the capital of the Bactrian satrapy. Here he met with stronger and better organized resistance than any he had so far encountered; the eastern provinces had planned to be independent of the new king at Babylon. But after a year's fighting, by the swiftness of

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331 B.C.

October
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his movements, by marching summer and winter, by a system of fortresses, and the intelligence of his tactical movements in battle, he defeated and finally wore down their Parthian resistance. He got as far north as Samarkand and Khodjend on the Syr Daria (the Jaxartes river), the farthest limit of the Persian empire. There he founded Alexandreschate—Alexandria at the World's End; he supposed he was near the northern limit of the earth. He crossed the river and dispersed the Turcoman raiders to the north, but did not go far; he turned south again, organized the new-won provinces, and prepared for the invasion of India.

North-western India, west of the Indus river, had been a Persian satrapy since its conquest by Darius, though for a century now in very loose connexion. Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush once more, and then the passes between Afghanistan and India—half his army by the Khyber, the other half farther north. Near the Indus, somewhere in the valley of the Swat river, he stormed the almost inaccessible fortress of Aornos; across the Indus he met and defeated the Indian King Porus, in a battle where elephants were used for the first time against European troops. He marched on, and crossed the Jhelum, the Ghenab, the Ravi, and reached the Beas, perhaps the Sutlej. He was now, as he and all men then thought, within reach of the eastern boundary of inhabited land, the shore of the ocean which encircled Europe, Asia, and Africa. But at last his faithful troops revolted; they would go no farther. He implored them, in vain; he retired to his tent like another Achilles, but they were as obstinate as he, and he gave way. Only, however, to plan another enterprise—the discovery of the sea-route from India to the Persian Gulf. A great fleet was built on the Indus, and Nearchus the Cretan put in command; the mouths of the river itself were explored; and then it set sail from near Karachi on its perilous voyage—perilous mainly because only a few days' food and less water could be taken with them, and they had to sail along the rocky and inhospitable coasts of Baluchistan and southern Persia. Alexander sent half the army back through Afghanistan and Seistan, and himself went with the other half

October
325 B.C.

across the deserts of Gedrosia, trying to keep in touch with the fleet to give it supplies and failing, sometimes lost and suffering the untold hardships that would befall men travelling for the first time in that wild and barren country. But he got through at last, and joined the rest of the army; Nearchus, after a journey of eighty days, made his way through the Straits of Hormuz, and anchored in the river Amanis (not far from Bunder Abbas);
324 and from there joined Alexander. The sea-route from Mesopotamia to the east had been found.

Next spring Alexander was back in Susa. He was king of Macedon, General of the Greeks, the Pharaoh of Egypt, and the Great King, King of Kings, successor to Cyrus and Darius the Great as ruler of the Eastern world. What was he to do with his conquests? He had all the time organized as he advanced. In the old Persian provinces he not only appointed new satraps, Macedonians and Greeks at first, then Persians, sometimes confirming a satrap in his office, in India leaving a king on the throne with a Macedonian adviser, but he founded cities that were to be the nucleus of a new and more civilized life, and built fortresses for defence; in the satrapies he appointed finance officers to supervise taxation and expenditure, independent of the satraps, and responsible directly to himself. A new system of coinage, on the Attic standard, was adopted for the whole empire. He dreamed of making one nation of Europe and Asia. He had enrolled native troops in the army with which he invaded India; he had 30,000 Asiatic youths trained to arms in the Macedonian fashion. Back in Susa, he held a great feast to celebrate his conquests and travels, at which he and eighty of his officers took wives from the Persian aristocracy; and at the same time 10,000 of his troops married native women. He had often, on state occasions, worn Persian dress and adopted Persian ceremonial; he tried to introduce the Persian custom of prostration in his presence, which to the Persians meant no more than our own court ceremonial does to us, but to the Macedonians and Greeks was an unbearable servility; they opposed it—some laughed at it; and he had to give way in this. The attempt may not have been only policy; he had a streak of the Oriental

monarch in him. For on one occasion, one of the Macedonian pages had outstripped him at a boar-hunt, and Alexander, for once like a petulant autocrat who must always be first, had him whipped; he and his friends, stung by the insult, conspired against Alexander's life, but they were discovered and killed. It was a symptom of the difficulties in his path; the majority of his Macedonians and Greeks were as much opposed to his treatment of Persians as their equals as to his playing the great king before them; and he was for converting every one of them to his new ideas as fast as he formed them himself. When he returned from his Eastern conquests, he found much of the empire in confusion; Persian satraps collecting mercenaries on their own account and in revolt, some Macedonian generals disobedient, Harpalus, his finance minister for the whole empire, gone to Greece with a large part of the funds. He quickly quelled this disturbance; but whether he had it in mind to attempt a thorough and systematic reorganization of his dominions we do not know.

Greek military history, which in all its previous stages is the story of conventional and orthodox warfare, in the proper season, of battles between heavy-armed infantry on a suitable site, both sides ready for the fray, begins its last act with the multitudinous variety of Alexander's whirlwind campaigns. He fought and marched summer and winter, knew the value of surprise and rapid movement and following up a victory, was opposed by every variety of tactics and could meet them all, and was himself ever in the forefront of the battle. But he was more than a soldier. He was a dreamer, a man with a vision; with some of the vanities of youth, and others that attend unexampled success. But there is a glamour over all that he did; he left a name and a legend behind him that has survived to this day; and the measure of his true greatness can be seen by a comparison with his generals—most of them his successors; 'here was an assembly of kings, with passions, ambitions, abilities, beyond those of most men; while he lived, all we see is that Perdikkas and Ptolemy were good brigade-leaders, Antigonos an obedient satrap, Lysimachus and Peithon little noticed members of his

staff; even on the masterful Cassander he so imposed himself during their brief acquaintance that Cassander, when king himself, could not pass a statue of Alexander without shuddering'.¹ In the last months of his life he was planning a new system of irrigation for Mesopotamia, and a scientific expedition to the Caspian; he had a number of schemes, but his heart was set on the circumnavigation of Arabia by Nearchus, and the discovery of the sea-route from the Mediterranean to India. He did not live to see this accomplished. Worn out by his exertions, by wounds, and by fever, he died in the summer of 323. He was not thirty-three years old, and had been king twelve years and eight months; equally with Aeschylus, Pheidias, or Plato, he had raised the scale of human achievement; and had changed the course of history.²

II. THE SUCCESSORS (323-262 B.C.)

The results of Alexander's lightning campaigns on the eastern half of the civilized world were almost as important as the slower and steadier conquests of Rome on the western half; while the effect of both that appeared later in the spread of Christianity was of overwhelming importance for the whole. But politically, at the moment of his death, nothing could have appeared less permanent. The succession was in itself unsettled; for his wife, Roxane (daughter of one of those nobles in Bactria who had so strongly resisted his arms), was with child when he died; and the only other claimant to the throne was a half-brother of Philip, who was also a half-wit and epileptic—Philip III. But that was not the major difficulty, which lay in the size and lack of unity of the empire. The child proved to be a boy, Alexander IV, and a regent was elected by the Macedonian army at Babylon to rule in his and the epileptic's name. But large sections of the army, in Macedonia, Egypt, and elsewhere, had

¹ W. W. Tarn, in *Camb. Anc. History*, vi, p. 424.

² Many historians of Greece have treated his death as marking the end of an epoch, which in Greek history it did not; but it is a sign of his greatness that we are almost compelled to think that it did. Actually he was too great for that: it was his life that began an epoch, not his death that ended one. To choose 322 B.C. as the end of city-state history is more excusable, for Demosthenes and Aristotle both died in that year; but it is still incorrect.

played no part in the election, though devotion to the family of Philip and Alexander told for much so long as the regent had control of the persons of the two new kings. The actual rule of the empire was divided out among the most powerful of Alexander's generals; of whom Antipater, regent of Macedonia during the conquest of the East, kept Macedonia and was given a province or two of Asia Minor, Lysimachus, later important, had Thrace, Antigonus most of Asia Minor, and Ptolemy Egypt; while Perdiccas the regent ruled the East from Babylon, with various satraps under him, of whom Seleucus was to be the most powerful. The appearance of unity was at first kept; for example each of the rulers issued coinage, but all with the head of Alexander; but the reality was gone almost at once. Egypt had never been an integral portion of the Persian Empire, having a too old and persistent tradition and culture of its own; and Ptolemy, though in many ways breaking with that tradition by the introduction of Greek methods, was from the first determined to be independent. Perdiccas tried to crush him by an invasion; but Egypt showed itself, not for the first nor the last time, able to resist attacks made by land across the eastern deserts; Perdiccas failed on the banks of the Nile, and was murdered in his tent. Macedonia equally, though willing ^{321 B.C.} enough to rule or plunder Asia, was far too stubborn to be content to be a province of an Asiatic empire with its centre at Babylon, and first Antipater and then his son Cassander concentrated their efforts towards making it a homogeneous and independent power.

Numerous wars followed between the various generals, some due to conflicting personal ambitions, others to the more respectable greed or necessities of peoples; as Egypt and Mesopotamia renewed their secular struggle for the control of Syria, the former needing it for its wealth in timber without which (for she herself has none) she could not build a fleet, the latter for her indispensable outlet to the Mediterranean. Alliances were made between one general and another to attack a third, to be ended as soon as the immediate purpose was achieved, or, treacherously, sooner; cemented often by marriages between

one general and another's daughter, which could be as easily broken or supplemented as the original alliance.¹ Dynastic wars and marriages, such as Greece had scarcely known, were common; so was murder, as a means of getting rid of a rival. At first the generals all claimed to be fighting in the name of the kings, Philip III and Alexander IV; but after their deaths (both had been brought over to Greece by Perdiccas' successor in the
 317 B.C. regency, and the former was murdered with his wife, a girl of twenty, by Olympias, the latter, with his mother Roxane, by
 310 Cassander, when he was thirteen and some of the soldiers were demanding that he should rule), each one called himself a king and issued coinage in his own name, though generally with the portrait of Alexander: Cassander in Macedonia, Lysimachus in Thrace, Seleucus in the East, Ptolemy in Egypt. Antigonos represented Alexander's ideal of the universal monarchy, and fought to obtain it, first in the king's name, then in his own and his son Demetrius's. They also followed Alexander in reconstituting the Hellenic League, to secure Greek public opinion on their side by aiding the states against the more immediate dangers of Cassander in Macedon. But they failed; the jealousy of the other generals and the forces of disunion were too strong,
 301 and finally, in the great battle at Ipsus against a coalition of the other four kings, Antigonos was killed and Demetrius had to

¹ For example, shortly after the battle of Ipsus, in 301 B.C., the victors 'were already quarrelling; Ptolemy, to safeguard himself against Seleucus, approached Cassander and Lysimachus; Cassander's son Alexander married Lysandra, daughter of Ptolemy and Eurydice, and Lysimachus married Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy and Berenice, and sent his Persian wife Amestris away. . . . Seleucus saw himself isolated and offered Demetrius his alliance; he married Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius and Phila, and reconciled him to Ptolemy, who betrothed to him his and Eurydice's daughter Ptolemais. Phila (sister of Cassander, Demetrius' first wife) was still alive, though Deidameia (his second) was dead. . . . Pyrrhus then abandoned Demetrius, joined Ptolemy, and married Berenice's daughter Antigone' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* vii, p. 77). In addition: Lysimachus' first wife was Nicaea, another sister of Cassander and widow of Perdiccas the regent; Cassander's other son married a daughter of Lysimachus; the Arsinoe who married Lysimachus also married Ptolemy Keraunos her half-brother, and Ptolemy II her full brother. Phila was the widow of Craterus, Alexander's general. Pyrrhus of Epirus married, besides Ptolemy's daughter, a daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, two daughters of more barbarian princes (of Illyria and Paconia), and fifthly the daughter of Ptolemy Keraunos.

flee; their provinces in Asia Minor were divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus. There were certain fairly definite results of the twenty years' almost continual warfare: Macedonia and Egypt had successfully asserted their separate identities, within their traditional territories and with accessions of strength beyond—Macedonia in continental Greece, Egypt in Syria, Cyprus, and the Aegean; Lysimachus was powerful but with an amorphous and not homogeneous kingdom, spreading over Thrace and Hellespontine Phrygia; and Seleucus had established himself firmly on the Eastern throne and ruled from the Eastern provinces to Asia Minor; the Indian provinces of Alexander had, however, already thrown off their allegiance (though they entered into alliance with Seleucus), Bactria and Sogdiana were practically independent under a new line of Greek kings, and west of them the Parthians were consolidating a strength that later enabled them to assert once more Asiatic control over Mesopotamia. In the north of Asia Minor, Bithynia, Pontus, and Armenia had never been conquered by Alexander, and under Greek or native dynasties established firmly their independence against the warring Macedonians. In addition several of the old Greek states preserved a real independence, Rhodes in the south, with an efficient fleet, controlling the trade between the East and the Aegean, in the north Heraclea (between Bithynia and Pontus), Cyzicus, Byzantium, and the towns on the west coast of the Black Sea. These were often in alliance, and kept free the Bosphorus for trade, though after the fall of Lysimachus those in Europe were hard pressed by the Thracian tribes.

But the battle of Ipsus was only negatively decisive—that there was to be no world-empire; there were still dynastic and personal rivalries to be settled: there was Lysimachus, a brave, uncultured, and ruthless soldier, in his uncertain kingdom, and Demetrius. For the latter was far too active a man to accept defeat quietly; and he still had his fleet. His was the most notable personality of the age: extremely handsome, brave, energetic, with some culture, generous, and even chivalrous when it flattered his vanity, but vain and unstable in everything; not

unlike Alcibiades in his gifts and character, and a comparison of the careers of the two men gives a measure of the change that had taken place in the Greek world in a hundred and twenty years.

But first a word about Athens in these last thirty years. After
 335 B.C. the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, a reorganization of her forces was attempted: the enrolment and training of the yearly recruits to the army was properly systematized, the ten *stratēgoi* were for the first time each given definite functions, a new arsenal and docks for the navy were built and an improved type of warship, the whole system of state finances was overhauled and an official appointed for four years to manage them (who was, too, re-eligible)—now for the first time some expert element was introduced into the administration of public affairs; and in addition the great theatre of Dionysus was rebuilt in stone, and new buildings erected in the sanctuary at Eleusis. The activities of the age of Pericles were recalled. But it was too late. When
 323 the news of the death of Alexander arrived, war was declared against Antipater in Macedon. An attempt was made to arouse all Greece; but only Argos (at long last), Thessaly, in revolt against Macedonian rule, and Aetolia responded. The fatal effects of the defeat of Sparta by Thebes and the break-up of the Peloponnesian League fifty years before were as apparent as in the struggle against Philip: Sparta could not be reconciled with Messenia and Arcadia, and neither side could afford to send its troops to help Athens;¹ while Macedonian garrisons still occupied Corinth, Chalcis, and Thebes.² The struggle was gal-

¹ There is an interesting passage in Polybius in defence of the men of Messenia and Arcadia who had called in the help of Philip against Sparta, men denounced (with many others) as traitors to Greece by Demosthenes. He says that in these indiscriminate accusations Demosthenes forgot that Athens was not Greece, that it was wrong to measure all men's interests by those of Athens, and expect all to have their eyes fixed on her. In fact these men had secured both peace and independence for their country against the intolerable claims of Sparta; and the event proved Athens wrong even in her own interest, for she got nothing but the final defeat of Chaeroneia. This is the view of an Arcadian, writing in the second century, and perceiving that autonomy was as possible for the Greek states after Philip's victory as before. Demosthenes had said that even had the issue been known beforehand, yet the battle must be fought.

² Some idea of the confusion in Greece may be got from the statement that in

lantly waged, and with considerable success at first; but the Aetolians gave it up, the Athenian fleet was defeated in the Hellespont, and 30,000 troops, mostly Macedonian veterans, returned from Asia to help Antipater. On land the Greek forces, greatly outnumbered, managed to hold their own at the battle of Crannon in Thessaly, but no more; and this was not ^{322 B.C.} enough, for shortly before Crannon the last Athenian fleet had been destroyed, and Peiraeus was blockaded. It was the end of her sea-power. She submitted, and this time the Macedonians showed no generosity. The democracy was overthrown, over two-thirds of the citizens being disfranchised (and many leaving Athens), and a Macedonian garrison was installed in the Peiraeus. Demosthenes was hunted down by Antipater's men and sought release by suicide. In the same year Aristotle, always a friend of Macedon and with no sympathy for the Athenian democracy, who had returned to Athens and founded the Peripatetic school in 335 and left it for Chalcis when war began in 323, also died; two men so different (they very likely never met, though exactly contemporary), yet to both, to the scientist and philosopher, oligarch and friend of Macedon, for his theory, as to the politician and great anti-Macedonian agitator, for his practice, the small state and not the territorial kingdom had been the indispensable political condition.

For fifteen years (with one break in 318 due to the quarrels of Macedonian generals, and marked only by party revenge on the oligarchic leaders, noble and ignoble) Athens was ruled in the Macedonian interest, and the garrison remained in Peiraeus. Then Antigonos and Demetrius made their second bid for universal rule (the first had ended with Demetrius' defeat by ³¹² Ptolemy at Gaza in another attempt to invade Egypt); Demetrius was sent with a large fleet to win Greece and attack Macedon from the south. He began naturally with Athens, which he ³⁰⁷ mastered; the Macedonian garrison was withdrawn, the ances-

^{324 B.C.} there were 20,000 exiles from the different states waiting to be restored by Alexander's order of that year; a number perhaps not exaggerated, as there had been some wholesale expulsions. Athens and Sparta, as always, were the most orderly, with no exiles, but the cause of exile in others.

tral constitution restored, and Athens was free once more. On her side she recognized Antigonos and Demetrius as kings (that is, successors to Alexander), and as gods (as Alexander had been
307-304 —of this more in the next section). Four years of warfare fol-
B.C. lowed in Greece, of which Athens bore the brunt, though the
306 issue was decided elsewhere. The kings defeated Ptolemy in Cyprus, and Athens beat off attacks from Cassander; but a great
305 invasion of Egypt once more failed, and the next year was spent by Demetrius in an unsuccessful but ostentatious siege of Rhodes. As a consequence Athens had to stand a siege by Cassander,
304 till Demetrius returned again; Cassander was defeated and peace made. The vulgarst of politicians now came to the fore and paid court to Demetrius with the most extravagant adulation; he spent the winter in Athens and set up house in the Parthenon (he was a god, and so Athena's brother); the debaucheries there of him and his friends were long remembered—the Parthenon, men said, became a brothel. Then he interfered with the course of justice in the interest of a personal friend, and some of the better politicians (including Demosthenes' nephew and political heir, Demochares) went into exile; and he had himself illegally initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. Then he
302-301 left for Asia, to be defeated at the Ipsus,¹ and Athens breathed freely once more. But for a short time only. A moderate party came into power, with a policy of complete neutrality, and, to show sincerity, disarmament. But neutrality was impossible in
297 such a world. On the death of Cassander, Demetrius (who had kept his fleet after Ipsus) aimed at the throne of Macedon, and
296-294 attacked Athens, and after a long siege in which the people suffered the extremities of hunger, it fell. It is true the democracy was restored again, and the city declared free; but Demetrius' garrison remained in both Athens and Peiraeus, and there could anyhow be little friendship with the King of Macedon. So when the restless Demetrius (accepted by the Macedonians for the want of another; for of Cassander's three sons one died after four months' rule, the second murdered his mother and was murdered by Demetrius, and the third took refuge with

¹ See above, p. 746.

Lysimachus and was later murdered by *him*)—when Demetrius tried once more to conquer Asia, Athens intrigued with the other kings, allied against him—Ptolemy (who in 296–294 had raised her hopes, but done nothing), Lysimachus, and now Pyrrhus of Epirus. War was declared again, and the Macedonians driven from the city, though not from the Peiraeus; the exiles returned and the kings all sent supplies in preparation for a siege. Pyrrhus actively supported her, and came to Athens, sacrificing ^{289 B.C.} on the Acropolis and giving the hollow advice not to admit a king again within her walls. Demetrius met his end, after ²⁸⁵ desperate campaigns, in Asia, surrendering to Seleucus; and in two years drank himself to death in captivity. Lysimachus and Pyrrhus had divided Macedonia between them. Lysimachus thought that now his turn had come; he broke with Pyrrhus and drove him out of Macedonia (Pyrrhus then turned his thoughts to the invasion of Italy), and prepared to dispute the mastery of the world with Seleucus. But his court was honeycombed with intrigue; he had received Ptolemy's eldest son, Ptolemy Keraunos, whom that king had disinherited in favour of another by his second wife, and who hoped for the throne of Macedonia; Agathocles, Lysimachus' son (and incidentally Keraunos' brother-in-law), resented his intrusion, and after much plotting Lysimachus had him and his friends tried and executed. His widow fled to Seleucus; Lysimachus' Asiatic province rose ²⁸¹ against him, and, at the battle of Korupedion, the old robber was defeated and killed by Seleucus. Seleucus himself was soon ²⁸⁰ afterwards assassinated by Keraunos when invading Macedonia, and, as Ptolemy I had died three years before, the last of Alexander's generals, of the Successors, was now dead. Antiochus I peacefully succeeded his father Seleucus, as Ptolemy II had succeeded Ptolemy I.

There was to be much more fighting; but the main divisions of territory were now fixed; Egypt was independent, with varying ambitions and successes in Syria and on the sea; Macedonia was independent; and Asia Minor and Mesopotamia (with the exception of the northern kingdoms on the Euxine, the few Greek city-states, and later, the Greek kingdom of Pergamon,

comprising the old Lydia and Mysia) was, more or less, under the rule of the Seleucids, loosely knit, but with the traditions of two hundred and fifty years of union behind them. So things were to remain for nearly a century, till the coming of Rome.

But the position of Greece and of Athens was still uncertain.

- 287 B.C. When Demetrius left Europe on his last Asiatic adventure he left in charge his son Antigonus II Gonatas, the best of all the Macedonian kings, the close friend of Zeno the Stoic, who had
285 been in Athens since the beginning of the century. Demetrius' defeat left him in a perilous position: he held only a few places in Greece; Lysimachus, and later Keraunos, held Macedonia.
280-279 Many Greek states rose against him, including now Sparta, who tried to revive the Peloponnesian League; in Athens the anti-Macedonians were in power (though the Peiraeus was still held), and, symbolically, Demochares now carried a proposal to put up a statue in honour of the great Demosthenes. Antigonus was involved in a naval war with Antiochus; hence the latter was the ally of Athens, though his help was faint and from afar. Then there was a sudden crash, the Gallic invasion. Large armies of Gauls, with their wives and children, wild and brave men, had been moving across central Europe for many years; a century before some had descended on Italy, sacked Rome, and finally settled north of the Po. Others now invaded Macedonia from the north, overthrew and killed Keraunos and dispersed his army, and marched south, plundering and fighting, into Greece. The Athenians, Boeotians, and Aetolians met them at Thermopylae and defeated them; they turned to the western passes and attacked Delphi; the Greeks, chiefly the Aetolians, 277 caught them again and defeated them. The remnants went back to Macedonia to join their countrymen; there they were afterwards defeated again by Antigonus. Thence they crossed into Asia Minor, but after many exciting and murderous raids were 275 finally checked by Antiochus but allowed to settle in the province afterwards known as Galatia. Antigonus meanwhile had won back Macedonia, and began to consolidate his position in Greece. For long there was peace with Athens; and Antigonus

was frequently there, visiting Zeno and members of his family; for one half-brother had joined the Academy, another was researching in Athenian history, and a son of his (whose mother was an Athenian) was being brought up there. But Ptolemy II, who held most of the Aegean and was superior at sea, was at loggerheads with him; then Athens and Sparta joined in a coalition with Egypt against him, preferring as ever the more distant to the nearer monarch. This was the last war between Athens and Macedon; it went on for four years.¹ Egypt gave ²⁶⁶⁻²⁶² little help; both the Spartans and the Athenians (never able to ^{B.C.} join forces, for Antigonos held Corinth) were defeated in the field, and after a long siege Athens capitulated. She was garrisoned once more; her constitution remodelled; for long she ceased even to issue coins, and the ecclesia did not meet. It was the end. Years afterwards she was given back her 'autonomy', but as a free city rather than as a state. The year 262 marks the end of her independent action. And just as Aristotle had died in 322, as it were to mark the close of Athens' power, so now Zeno, the last of the creative thinkers of Greece, died in 262 or 261 to mark the close of her independence. To him, the constant friend of the Macedonian, a public monument was set up by the Athenians; 'he had been a noble man; he had turned the youth towards virtue and sobriety of thought and action; and had exemplified in his own life the doctrines he had taught'.

The last sixty years had been a nightmare time. The successors of Alexander had failed utterly both to keep the peace themselves and to allow it to others. Everywhere was war and administrative anarchy. It is symbolic, and perhaps symptomatic, that we have no longer any continuous history of the period; for that of Alexander and for twenty years after his death there is a history, not indeed contemporary, but based on excellent contemporary record; but it fails in the third century, and we have to piece our narrative together from disjointed works of later writers. Even the orderly sequence of Attic archons now fails us, and many dates are doubtful, as they had not been for

¹ The dates are doubtful.

the previous two hundred years. It had by no means been obvious in 334 when Alexander crossed to Asia, nor yet in 323, that the day of the small state was over. Aeschines had said in 338 that all was over; Phocion, also counselling submission, said that Athens had known both supremacy and subjection in the past, and had served Greece well in both; she may recover again. The former in a sense proved right; but Phocion showed essentially more penetration as well as greater courage. The Greeks were used to a huge territorial empire as their neighbours in the East; it was indeed almost the necessary complement to their own political system; Alexander seemed only to have succeeded Xerxes, and might have been expected to be more friendly. What Demosthenes did not foresee, any more than Aristotle (and if he had foreseen, he would have resisted the Macedonian idea with even greater determination), were first, the great dispersal of the Greeks over the East, the new colonization, which though it was good, constructive work was none the less a weakening of old Greece; and second, the purely destructive results of the conquest, that the old states were not allowed to recover from this weakening; he did not foresee that Alexander's empire would be succeeded by four or more powerful states under the command of aggressive and energetic men, who for their own ambitions fought each other and involved all the Greek states in their wars. The Greeks were the small powers crushed between the large ones. Whether it was Egypt fighting Macedon or Lysimachus Demetrius or the coalition Antigonus, the Greeks were involved. That their own political leaders were guilty often enough both of criminal recklessness and of still baser surrender is true; but who can cast a stone at men placed in their position? For neutrality and isolation were tried and found impossible. Rhodes asserted her neutrality, and was besieged by Demetrius. Athens in particular was ever one of the main objectives of opposing sides, both because she was in herself an important military factor and for her prestige; so that she was constantly fighting for her independence, yet compelled to rely on the support of a more distant great power against the nearer, and generally defeated because the more

distant failed her.¹ Had the rulers in Macedon succeeded in establishing themselves thoroughly in Greece, and been content to hold Macedon and Greece against all attacks from the East and against the barbarians in the north, and at the same time preserved peace in all Greek lands and built roads (such as Greece never had) and encouraged manufacture and trade, instead of trying their fortunes in personal and dynastic wars, had they in fact been wise and politic princes, the two peoples might perhaps have been welded into a self-consistent state, under monarchical government, united by a national feeling when opposed to Egypt, Asia, or the west. But in this the Macedonians signally failed. They were not able even to prevent the invasion of the Gauls; and even after 262, when Antigonos had established his ascendancy, and none disputed his throne, Greece remained divided and at war, Sparta, the Achaean League, the Aetolians, and Macedon all playing their part, and all alike falling easy victims to Rome. The Macedonians by their victories, so far from uniting Greece, had added one more, and that the most disturbing, element to an already distracted country.²

But everything was not dark even in this disordered age. In spite of the growth in material prosperity of Alexandria and other cities of the East, and the efforts of the Ptolemies and the

¹ To give a particular example: when Demochares left Athens rather than join in the fulsome flattery of Demetrius, he could only retreat to the court of another monarch (Lysimachus).

And, as an example of the instability of the times (an extreme one), between 303 and 290 Corcyra was successively in the hands of Cleonymus of Sparta (then on an expedition to Italy), Demetrius Poliorcetes, Cassander, Agathocles of Syracuse, Pyrrhus, and again Demetrius.

² It should be emphasized that the idea of the unity of the Greek world was not new, as is sometimes asserted (cf. above, pp. 565 ff.). When Ephorus wrote his *Universal History of Greece* (c. 350), what was novel was his systematic attempt to include every Greek state and the whole of history from the earliest times to his own day; it was not novel to write as a Greek instead of as an Athenian or a Spartan. Apart from Herodotus, both Thucydides and Xenophon had written *Ἑλληνικά*, not *Ἀττικὰ* nor *Δακωνικά*, and as Greeks not Athenians; and this was true of most historians other than local antiquarians. Theopompus' *Philippica*, on the other hand, does mark a new epoch: he names his history from a man, not a people, and that a man who dominated not only his own country's but all Greek history of his time. (What Alexander did was to include non-Greeks as well as Greeks in his world-order; only Herodotus had anticipated him in this.)

Seleucids, Athens remained the centre of culture: sedulously cultivated and extravagantly flattered by all. That indeed was more on account of her past; but the present still held its own. 343-292 B.C. Menander, greatest of writers of polite comedy, would not live anywhere but in Athens in spite of Ptolemy's temptations; Epicurus returned and set up his school there, the Peripatetics stayed, and Zeno, the stranger from Cyprus, perhaps the best 300 man of his age, came to Athens to teach the new ethics and lived there in spite of his friendship with Antigonus; Philochorus, the 345-262 last of the classical historians, worked there all his life. Athens was as inevitably the home of such men as she had been of Plato and Aristotle. But by the middle of the century her creative activity is over; as a university town, indeed, as a quiet and cultured place, she was to survive for many centuries, but living on her past, praising herself and being praised by others for all that she had once been.

Other states (as Rome) have left an equal or a greater name; others (as France) make a similar appeal to the emotions—her boasts (*mère des arts, des lois, des armes*) do not offend. But no other has had such lovers as Athens, not only among her own citizens—blind lovers if you will, for her faults and follies should be plain to every eye; and at no time is this love more notable than in her last period of struggle, when her mistakes were so much greater and were followed by so much deeper degradation, when nevertheless Menander refused the invitation of Alexandria, and Zeno, the Cypriote and friend of Macedon, that of Pella. And it is her greatest tribute that the two men who, perhaps, loved her best, were those who saw her faults most clearly—Socrates and Plato.

III. THE HELLENISTIC MONARCHIES

The vitality of Greece was even more vigorously, if less finely, shown in the newly conquered provinces of the East. The old Persia had been destroyed (she had indeed shown few signs of vitality in the previous century and a half), as had the old Greece. A new Graeco-Persian state was to be formed. It had been from the beginning the policy of Alexander the Great to

found cities everywhere in his empire, not only on the Greek model, but as far as possible inhabited by Greeks and Macedonians; the policy was continued by his successors, especially by the Seleucids in Asia. There are said to have been seventy Alexandrias founded (we know the sites of twenty-seven); the successors, when they assumed the title of king, also founded cities after their own names, or their queens'; there were several Antiochs, that on the Orontes in north Syria being Antiochus I's new capital, when it was necessary to move his centre farther west and to the Mediterranean area, several called Ptolemais, in Egypt and new ports on the Red Sea when the overseas route to India was in use, others where the Ptolemies held sway in the Levant; several Apameas after Seleucus' first wife, Laodiceas after his second, Arsinoe and Berenice after the Ptolemies' queens, and so forth. After the same pattern, but founded with a different purpose because in an area already Greek, were Thessalonica and Cassandreia in Macedon, Lysimacheia in Thrace, and Nicaea on the Propontis, Demetrias in Thessaly on the Gulf of Pagasae founded by Demetrius I and destined to be the most important trading and naval centre of Macedonia and their strongest fortress in northern Greece. Some of the earliest of the cities were soon very populous, and have since retained their importance—Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch, Laodicea, Nicaea, Thessalonica.

There were scores of such cities; some 275 names are known; 80 of these in Asia Minor, 80 more in Syria and Palestine; a number along the middle and lower Euphrates, and round the Persian plateau; 19 in Bactria, 27 in India, 11 on the coast of Africa from Suez to Somaliland.¹ Some were entirely new foundations, as Alexandria and Antioch, others were old cities now refounded, as Ptolemais-Ake (Acre in Palestine), Scythopolis-Bethshan (south of Galilee), Antioch-Tarsus, Antioch-Edessa; in other cases eastern cities received a Greek element and were remodelled, though never more than half-hellenized, as Tyre, Damascus, Babylon. Where a new city, or large part of one, was built, it was laid out after the Greek pattern, with

¹ See Cary, *A History of the Greek World*, 323-146 B.C.

a central square as market-place and site of official buildings, with temples, theatres, above all gymnasia and palaestrae; for the Greek way of life, as well as Greek architecture and culture, was to be introduced to the East. The constitution too was Greek: assembly of citizens, elective Boulê, dicasteries, even phylae and demes;¹ these indeed often not very important, for the cities were part of a territorial monarchy, especially when the monarch himself, as at Alexandria, lived in the city and the court overshadowed the citizens. What was more important was the introduction of Greek law and social institutions. Characteristic was the fact that, at least at first, not all inhabitants were 'citizens', but only the Greek and Macedonian settlers and their descendants. In Alexandria, particularly, which grew very rapidly by immigration from surrounding lands, the large Jewish and Egyptian populations did not possess citizen status (i.e. burgher status; they were all alike subjects of Ptolemy, as were the Greeks). The old Greek cities in the arêas conquered by Alexander (these on the west coast of Asia Minor, the adjacent islands, and Cyprus) had been treated by him as independent states, allied to him, members of the Hellenic League. They retained at least a nominal independence under his successors: they were not subject to provincial governors; their territory was defined, their laws respected; they paid no taxes to the central government, but only, in case of need, 'contributions' to their ally the king. The new foundations were not independent states, but 'free towns' within the kingdom; the surrounding land was given to the settlers for their cultivation, but they were taxed by the satrap of the province in the name of the king.

It had been Alexander's intention to obtain a fusion of the Greeks and Macedonians with all the native peoples of his empire; and this was successfully carried out over a large area by the Seleucids. For this a common culture and a common language was necessary, and they must be Greek. Hence the welcome given to all immigrant Greeks, and the foundation of so many towns so carefully arranged after the Greek fashion;

¹ See above, pp. 547, 554-5, 611.

for it was by now the mark of Greek civilization (as it had never been of their social structure) that it was urban, in contrast to the more backward Greeks such as the Aetolians, to the Epirotes and Macedonians, and to the vast majority of the peoples in the Persian Empire. The Greek language was Attic Greek, with but little modification; the influence of Attic literature was such that all the older local dialects, which had been literary as well as spoken dialects (in the third century Archimedes, as well as Theocritus, wrote in Sicilian Doric), died out; men were to learn henceforth only one kind of Greek, the *koinê*, common to all.¹ A wholly new type of civilization was thus being introduced into Asia; and it is not surprising that native settlers in the new towns became rapidly hellenized. For there were large numbers of non-Greek inhabitants in every one of them; and the Greek immigrants must often have married native women; but from the use from the beginning of Greek as the official language for the whole empire, and as both the official and the common language in the towns, and of Greek law and social and political institutions in these towns (the former all-important, and the political institutions, though of little weight if in opposition to the monarchy, yet effective as the instruments of an active municipal life), it resulted that they retained their Greek character, and that all the inhabitants were hellenized. How thorough was the change can be seen from this particular fact: the Jews of Palestine obstinately resisted Hellenism, though Greek towns closely surrounded and in places had penetrated their land, and in the second-century struggles of the Maccabees against the Seleucids succeeded in asserting their independence. But large numbers of Jews had settled in Alexandria; they retained their religion, their social institutions, their strong racial characteristics unimpaired, but they gave up Aramaic for Greek as their spoken language; they translated their scriptures from the old Hebrew (now no longer understood anywhere except by the learned) into Greek, for themselves, not for the sake of Greeks and idolaters; and it was this Greek

¹ The local dialects of modern Greek are all, or practically all, descended from the *koinê*, not from the old dialects.

version of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, not the original Hebrew, that was in use in the time of Christ for everything except religious ceremonies, not only among the Jews of the dispersion, but in Palestine itself, though men spoke Aramaic; many of the later books of the Old Testament (the Apocrypha) were written in Greek, and when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Hebrews he wrote in Greek. Equally, however, it must be remembered that where conditions were not ripe for urban development, as in the eastern provinces of the empire, and where the people remained obstinately and perennially rural, as in Egypt, hellenization was only partial: in the East it was overwhelmed by the resurgence of the native element, in Egypt the two elements, Greek and native, failed to combine—there was constant and increasing conflict.

Among the first settlers in the new towns had been, naturally, Alexander's own veteran soldiers, Macedonians and Greeks, given land and houses when they were disbanded; also all those Greek mercenaries in the Persian service who were willing to remain after the overthrow of the Persian dynasty. There were, as has already been said, many thousands of them. It had long been a common thing for Greeks to seek adventure and a livelihood in Persia, a few as officials (Greek doctors in particular were in demand at Susa) and traders, the mass as soldiers; and whenever a satrap or native prince revolted it was inevitable that he should enrol Greeks in his forces, often as his principal troops. Especially was this true in the fourth century, when the frightful disturbances, political and economic, caused by the Peloponnesian War had unsettled so many men, and when the famous march of the Ten Thousand into the heart of Persia and out again had shown to every one, Greek and Asiatic, king and rebellious satrap, the value of Greek troops. It is indeed one of the marks of the fourth century in Greece, this love of military adventure abroad; and there was little in the political conditions of the country to stay it. The professional soldier, well disciplined in the field, but pugnacious and ill-disciplined at home when his campaigns were over, brave and boastful, willing to serve any prince or satrap but loyal to him so long as the condi-

tions of service were as loyally observed, became a common figure in the Greek world. And not only ordinary and obscure men, but some who had become famous as commanders in their own country took service abroad, as Agesilaus the old king of Sparta after the Theban victories, and the Athenians Iphicrates and Chabrias, in the intervals when Athens did not need them; much like the many men who served in foreign armies in the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was indeed part of the weakness of Greece in her struggle with Macedon, this dispersal of energy and interest.¹

So Alexander found many such men in Asia, and incorporated most of them in his new cities; while in the wake of his victories very large numbers of Greeks, used to the idea of foreign service, alive to all the possibilities of the new world, and in despair of the future in Greece itself, emigrated to Asia, as soldiers, traders, officials, men of letters, scientists. There was a great increase in the Greek population, and in the population of western Asia and Egypt as a whole; comparable on its scale with the emigration to North and South America from Europe in the nineteenth century.² It was a new era of colonization. Its intensive period was the reigns of Seleucus I and his son Antiochus, when, realizing that they were politically cut off for good from Macedon and Greece, and determined not to let the Macedonian and Greek element already in Asia be overwhelmed by the native

¹ The careers of Iphicrates and Chabrias are especially significant, for they were loyal to Athens, and returned when summoned back; but the small state was become too narrow a world, especially for its most active citizens, as poets, artists, actors, and scientists had long shown. An Athenian (or Spartan) *empire* could have retained an undivided loyalty. It is this that it is perhaps curious that Plato and Aristotle (whose own schools were cosmopolitan enough) did not see, that the small state could not satisfy all, that there were advantages as well as disadvantages in the larger empire. Those whom the small state did not satisfy tended to lose all loyalty to a state, and became citizens of the world, for good or evil: the world-empire of Alexander was the outward expression of such desires, and was in this the direct forerunner of Rome.

As might have been expected, in the new Greek cities, especially in Alexandria, it was the non-state religions, like the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries (see above, pp. 584 ff.), which flourished.

² The increase of the population was due, as usual, to the application of greater skill in production in naturally productive regions. It would have been of abundant interest if we had statistics, even the roughest, to illustrate the increase.

population (which would have meant that both the army and the administration would have very soon become orientalized even if the dynasty had survived), with remarkably consistent purpose they secured by their numerous foundations a Greek element which was sufficiently strong, both to be itself lasting and to hellenize the whole of the kingdom. For, given the proper conditions, physical and cultural, the Greeks were ideal colonizers, flexible and sociable, yet tenacious of their own customs and institutions; individually tolerant of and interested in strangers and with no social exclusiveness, as a people convinced of the superiority of their own way of life; aware that they were the promoters and guardians of civilization, and anxious guardians at that.¹ So to a new country they transplanted all their institutions, and, as far as possible, preserved them, yet mixed with the native inhabitants, who, if themselves adaptable and less advanced in culture, less settled, were readily absorbed; while at the same time they in their turn gave much to the Greeks, especially religious ideas and practices, so that the later stages of Greek philosophy as well as of Greek religion were very different from the earlier, and the way was prepared for the union in Christianity of an eastern religion and western metaphysics.

There were, then, Greek settlements wherever Alexander had been, as far north as the Syr Daria, as far east as Afghanistan and the Indus, as far south as the southern part of the Red Sea; Khodjend was an Alexandria, so were Kabul (or a site near it), Kandahar, and Herat; there were places with such Greek names as Chalcis, Larissa, and Arethusa on the Persian Gulf; in Mesopotamia Seleucia supplanted Babylon as the capital city, and Babylon only recovered her prosperity in the second century by

¹ We may note here a particular weakness of the Greeks—their complete indifference to foreign languages, and hence to such foreign literature as existed. Even in the time of the Roman Empire, very few learnt Latin, and Latin literature was ignored. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived in Rome in the age of Augustus and wrote a Roman history, says nothing of Cicero in his treatises on oratory; and Plutarch, for all his admiration for Rome and his learning, and though he lived there for years, confesses he learnt Latin late and with difficulty and no great success. Even the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, was all but unknown to pagan writers.

being half-hellenized, receiving a Greek constitution, with *stratēgoi* and *epistatai*, Greek laws, and a Greek gymnasium, with the regular *agōnes*; and Greek as a second language to Babylonian. In the East, indeed, Greek was not to survive; India was soon politically free, though Greek influence can be seen in early Buddhist art; in Bactria, Sogdiana, and Arachosia, the native element drowned the foreign—we can trace the gradual change in the coinage of Bactria, at first good Greek with the Alexander types, then debased Greek in imitation of the old, still with Greek inscriptions, then barbaric imitations by the first century B.C., with meaningless marks copied from the old inscriptions by men who no longer understood them. By the end of the second century, too, the Parthians had mastered the uplands of Persia and Media, and then descended into the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, where they met and defeated the arms of Rome. All this was permanently lost to the Greeks; neither Rome nor Byzantium extended the boundaries of western civilization beyond the Euphrates. But west of that the Greek settlements were more numerous and hellenization more thorough; Asia Minor (except Armenia and perhaps Pontus) and Syria were now Greek lands; hemming in the Jewish pocket of Palestine were Greek or semi-Greek settlements on the coast, and Greek cities (the Dodecapolis of St. Luke) round the Sea of Galilee and to the east of Jordan as far as the desert and the nomad Arabs; at Gadara, high above Galilee, not 25 miles from Nazareth, are the considerable remains of two Greek theatres (looking lost and out of place now in that long misgoverned land); it was the home of Philodemus the Epicurean, later of Meleager, most pagan of poets, of the first century B.C. (he called it the Syrian Athens): Bethshan was now Scythopolis, Rabbath Ammon was Philadelphia (after Ptolemy II); there were Dion and Pella in Gilead as in Macedonia. Then came Egypt, with its Greek and native populations, who seldom mingled and who kept their customs and institutions apart, neither absorbing the other.¹ Throughout all these lands there

¹ The differences in degree of hellenization of the several lands were due to differences (1) of intensity of Greek settlement, (2) of climate and scenery (Egypt

was by the end of the second century (except for Aramaic and the native Egyptian) one culture and one language, common to that of the old Greek lands. So it long remained. From this time a 'Greek' might come from anywhere, from Sicily to Syria; in the century between about A.D. 80 and 180 there lived some famous men—Plutarch from the small and ancient town of Chaeroneia in Boeotia, Galen the physician from Pergamum, Ptolemy the astronomer and geographer from Alexandria, Apollodorus the architect of Trajan's column in Rome from Damascus, Lucian from Samosata on the banks of the Euphrates—all of them Greeks. Hellas had long ceased to be a geographical name; but hitherto it had meant at least all Greek *communities*; now it came to mean the mass of men possessed of Greek culture, brought up as Greeks, not necessarily whole communities, and in Asia often not so. Egypt retained its Greek culture till the conquest by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D., when the Alexandrian library was burnt; Asia Minor was Greek till the tenth century, when the Seljuk Turks conquered the greater part. After that only Greece proper and the old homes of the Greeks in Asia Minor retained their character—on

and Mesopotamia and, in another way, the eastern provinces are very different from Greece, Asia Minor and Syria in many parts like it—especially to take one instance, Antioch and its surroundings), (3) of degree in the political and cultural development already existing; in Egypt the Greeks were up against a civilization much older than theirs and institutions as settled and as complex; their own were not inferior and they had more energy—they introduced for example improved methods of agriculture, new ideas in financial administration; but they could not overcome the Egyptian tenacity; they flourished in Egypt, but side by side with the Egyptians, not one with them. In Asia Minor the vast mass of the population was primitive and simple; the Greeks were their superiors in culture in virtually every way, and they were, sooner or later, hellenized. Contrast the position in Greece: there the differences between Greek and Macedonian, obliterated elsewhere, were emphasized by the military conflict, in which the former were vanquished, the latter victor. But the latter were, as a people, in a much earlier stage of culture, and as well less gifted; and a primitive people cannot rule a civilized one. They can conquer them, and if the conquest is effective and lasting, either destroy the civilization or be absorbed by it, strengthening it as likely as not by the infusion of new blood. The Macedonian conquest (partly through the obstinacy of Greek resistance, partly indeed through their own forbearance, their admiration for Greek culture, and their consequent desire to lead Greece, to be recognized as Greeks themselves, rather than conquer it) was ineffective; hence the continual weakness and disunion and the easy victory of Rome.

the southern shores of the Black Sea, on the Bosphorus and Propontis, the western coasts, the adjacent islands, and in Cyprus. There they kept their hold through all vicissitudes of fortune but the most recent; and even in the interior of Asia Minor, in little-known districts of Cappadocia, cut off from all men of their language and culture, there were villages which preserved the Greek tongue and religion till that last disaster. So thoroughly had the hellenization of Asia Minor been carried out.

In the unsettled, rapidly changing, violent, almost fantastic world of the Hellenistic monarchies of the third century B.C., the creative energy of the people in science, literature, and art did not die, and in science in particular received a powerful stimulus from the explorations of Alexander. It was active in Athens, as we have seen, in the first half of the century, in Rhodes and Cos, old Greek states continuing their activities in a new world, in Sicily, and above all in Alexandria. Egypt, through its geographical position, was freer from military disturbance than the rest of the Greek world, and, though often at war, was generally fighting in the land of others. Helped by this, and by the great ability of the early Ptolemies, it sooner reaped the benefit of a settled government and society. Ptolemy I, himself a man of culture, founded the Museum, 'the Shrine of the Muses', and welcomed with honours and material rewards all the scholars and scientists who would come. The first state library was instituted; copies of the works of all Greek authors were collected, and, for the first time, scientifically edited—most of the medieval manuscripts that we possess derive ultimately from these editions. In the reign of the second Ptolemy in particular a brilliant band of poets, scholars, and scientists was collected at his court—they were, so to speak, members of his court, directly encouraged by him. The large number of fragments of papyrus manuscripts found in Egypt, even in distant and not important settlements, shows how widespread was the reading of the classical authors. In science the principal work was done in mathematics, astronomy, geography, anatomy and medicine, and in mechanics; there was great advance in knowledge in all these. It is characteristic, however, that philosophy

never found a home in any of the royal courts, neither metaphysics such as had flourished in the fourth century nor the ethical propagandist philosophy of the Stoics and the Epicureans in the third; that remained true to Athens. So did comedy; Menander refused all invitations to Alexandria; and his numerous contemporaries and successors all lived in Athens, as though for the comedy of manners as much as for the old political comedy (and this in part survived into the third century) a fresher air than could be breathed in Egypt were a necessity. And great as was the work done in Egypt in scholarship and science and excellent as are the learned poets, yet it is probably significant that the two greatest men of the third century, the only ones who can claim to rank with the men of the previous age, Theocritus and Archimedes, both belonged to Sicily, where the old forms and institutions of the Greek state still flourished in independence.

The Greek settlers also showed great skill in the practical application of science, greater indeed than there is evidence for at other periods of Greek history. Here, for Egypt, we have the evidence in numerous documents. The old irrigation system of the Nile had been long neglected, ever since the decline of a strong central government in the ninth century; the Persians had done little (what would the Athenians have done if they had been victorious in 458?); the canals were choked, and agriculture had declined. Greek engineers, under the direct orders of the first Ptolemies and their ministers, reconstructed the whole system; then on the land won for cultivation introduced new methods of work, and practically a new industry—the vine and the olive, and new and improved strains of sheep and cattle, of wheat, fruit, and vegetables. It would have been of the greatest interest had we known the scientific work which lay behind this; and as well, if we could compare the work done in Egypt with that done in Asia at the same time, and in old Greece in the earlier centuries. But Egypt alone gives us the evidence.

There were two political changes caused by Alexander's conquests which were destined to be lasting and to have a deep

influence on the future history of Europe—the territorial state and the monarchy. By a territorial state is meant one of so wide an area that its government cannot be carried on by all the citizens (whether of an oligarchy or a democracy) personally, but must of necessity be delegated—to an autocrat or to elected representatives of the citizens. In practice, also, most of such states will comprise many different elements of population, more or less united by common rule and accustomed to union. For representative government two factors are essential—a sense of unity in the different parts such that the delegates feel not only that they represent each his own constituency, but that they form part of a single body, the council of the realm; and a determination by every part to take its share in the government. In the new states formed by the successors of Alexander, Macedonia, Egypt, and the Seleucid Empire, in the first, the first of these factors was missing (for the old Greek states still had no feeling of unity either with Macedon or with one another—even for those who believed in it, the Hellenic League was a league of states, not a single state), in the other two unity had long been there, but all feeling for self-government was lacking; the native inhabitants had it not at all, and the new Greek settlers had it in a form (now found only in the municipal ‘autonomy’ of the new towns) quite unsuitable to the administration of an empire. Autocracy was therefore inevitable; and the old Macedonian kingship, though itself of a national character and an office dependent on the support of a council of nobles and of the body of citizens represented by the army (like the old Homeric kingship), was easily adapted to the new conditions. Greece had indeed long been used to monarchy in the East, as a thing foreign and alien to their ideas; but now the East itself was largely Greek, and the government in Greek hands. Hence monarchy was adopted by Greek, that is, European opinion; and Rome, though there was a period after her conquest of the East during which the republican idea struggled in vain for survival, was forced to adopt it in her turn, and through her it descended to medieval and modern Europe. The monarchy was a true autocracy: that is, the autocrat governed with the

help of a civil service appointed by himself, not of a council of nobles who were members by right of birth. The state was preserved by a common system of administration for its various provinces, centralized in the capital, and by good communications, made possible by roads, built by the government, throughout the Empire; in both the Seleucids were the heirs of Darius, and the predecessors of Rome.

The current of thought amongst the Greeks themselves helped this development. There had always been quiet and sensible men (some of them thinkers, some not), who took but little part in the turbulent public life of their country; and now that, with the violent oscillations of power of the years 320-260 B.C., public life, in Athens and elsewhere, became less and less decent, and affairs were generally in the hands of politicians either unthinking and reckless or servilely flattering, men withdrew from it more and more; and not in order to take part with any fresh vigour in trade and industry (unless they migrated), for the centre of these activities had shifted eastwards, to Rhodes, Alexandria, and Antioch; but rather to that contemplative life already signalled both by Plato (who, however, was himself ready, quixotically, to help in affairs when he thought he could be of use) and by Aristotle as the best possible for intelligent men. Plato and Aristotle indeed (men of a different calibre and belonging to a more vigorous age) had meant by the contemplative life one informed by the most active philosophical and scientific research; the new philosophies of Zeno and Epicurus were, scientifically, inactive. They each adopted a theory, of physics and cosmogony, regarded as suitable to his system of ethics; but they adopted it as, practically, a dogma: a dogma indeed based (they thought) on reason and not on revelation, but none the less adopted as whole and self-sufficient, not as the basis for further research. It was ethics which interested them, and practical ethics; hence it too tended to become fixed, dogmatic. It was taught as a way of life, not discussed as a problem of philosophy. And both the Stoic and the Epicurean said to willing hearers, 'Look after your own soul; leave the world and its government to others', the Epicurean as to sensible men, for

the comfort of their souls, the Stoic for a stern discipline, in direct descent from the great Socrates. It was altogether an unworldly religion; it was the individual soul that mattered, not the state nor man's relation to the state; and all externals, wealth, power, position were unimportant, but the soul must be free. An Epicurean indeed had no objection to wealth; to the Stoic it was a matter of indifference; there was only one body of men, one sect, the Cynics (likewise descended from Socrates), who held that external goods were a positive harm to man, and who were true preachers, going out into the highways, living with the poor and miserable, in rags and dirt. Their logical attitude brought the Cynics a few followers; but most men fell in with the greater dignity of the other schools. All alike agreed to leave government to others, that is, to the monarch. Further: Plato, despairing of the foolish oligarchies and democracies which he knew, had dreamed of the philosopher king (he knew it was easier to put an end to a bad king than a bad multitude; he hoped it would be easier to train a good one than it ever would be to discipline the many); Aristotle had admitted, in theory, that, just as aristocracy was the best form of government because only the minority in any state had sufficient merit, so if one man's merit exceeded that of all the others, logically he should rule, as monarch; the character and the dazzling career of Alexander had seemed to many to put Aristotle's theory into practice. The Cynics were true anarchists; to the Epicurean one form of state was as good as another provided it afforded him protection to live his own life; to the Stoic, virtue meant virtuous action in whatever position in life a man might be. It was ultimately a matter of indifference to the individual what his position was, rich or poor, free or slave; a slave must do his duty, and a king his. But if you are a king, you have your duty—you have no virtue unless you do it. Hence it is easy to see how the Stoics, in the circumstances of the time and with Plato and Aristotle behind them, adopted the idea of the wise and virtuous prince; how Antigonus Gonatas, the best of the princes, was the trusted friend of Zeno. This part of their theory—the monarch and his duty—civic obligation—

was that which appealed most to the Roman; the proconsul or Emperor, ruling as duty called him, the conscientious servant of mankind; in practice a paradoxical reversal of the theory that a man's first duty was to his own soul.

With the monarchy went, though not everywhere nor at all times, the deification of the monarch. What exactly this meant to the various peoples subject to Alexander and his successors it is difficult for us to understand or to express. In Egypt the Pharaoh had always been a god in his lifetime, one with Osiris, as all Egyptians hoped to be after their death; there to his Egyptian subjects Alexander was a god from the moment of his recognition as Pharaoh. There, too, was the first oracle which proclaimed, or was later said to have proclaimed him to the Greek world, as a god, the son not of Philip but of Zeus. To the Persians and the Semitic peoples, with their monotheistic and more spiritual conceptions, the kings had never been gods, but the inspired representatives of their deity on earth. In Macedon the old idea, of the kings as nothing more than members of a particular family chosen by the army to rule, stubbornly prevailed. But in the Greek states deification was common, though by no means universal; and as it was the Greek idea that ultimately was adopted by Rome, it is the most important. What did it mean in theory and in practice? The official Greek religion, from the time of Homer, had always been genial, non-moral, and non-spiritual; the worship of the gods was hardly concerned with human right and wrong, and the barrier between gods and men, definite enough in some ways, was yet often crossed; it was common in sculpture and painting to represent gods and men together, in similar forms; and when modern scholars have disputed whether a statue was of a god or man, it has generally been an idle discussion; it might easily be either, and that is what is significant. Nor was the number of gods limited; Heracles had been as a man upon earth, only with extraordinary, 'god-like' physical and mental powers, rather than with moral or spiritual gifts; the legend was therefore that he was a 'hero' or demi-god, son of Zeus, not of his human father, and that after his death he had been regularly adopted

as one of the Olympians; that is to say, altars and temples could be erected to him, sacrifices made, ceremonies (festivals and athletic contests generally) held in his name. Later, men who were sent out as nominal founders of new states during the great colonial expansion were regularly worshipped as 'heroes' after their death, with altars and ceremonies. Naturally this did not imply any thought or feeling that these founders had been other than human; it was an honour paid to men by the state, in this case not even in recognition of any special merit, but *ex officio* as it were; a permanent recognition of the connexion between the new state and the old from which the citizens had come. So when Amphipolis, soon after its foundation, seceded from Athens under the influence of Brasidas,¹ she threw over Habron, the Athenian founder, and adopted Brasidas after his death, and instituted ceremonies in his honour; here you have the official, customary honour, but paid to a man in respect of his own pre-eminent virtues, and also a way of stating the permanent severance from Athens. There is clearly nothing inconsistent with this in proclaiming a man during his lifetime as a god; so was Lysander proclaimed² by some Samian oligarchs, in gratitude, flattery, or expectation of favours to come; we do not know of another case between Lysander and Alexander; but, though it raised a man above his fellows, it involved no new theological ideas (though it often implied a weakening of faith in the old gods; as in the hymn addressed by Athenians to Demetrius at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries in 290 B.C.:

The greatest of the gods and friendliest
Are here with us,
For with Demeter cometh, timely guest,
Demetrius.
The ancient mysteries of the Maiden she
Cometh to grace,
He boon and beauteous, as a god should be,
Light-laughing face.

¹ See above, p. 706.

² See above, p. 589.

The other gods are far away somewhere,
 Or cannot hear,
 Or are not, or for men have no concern:
 Thy form we see,
 A living god, not wood or stone, and turn
 Dear God, to thee.)¹

Because, however, it raised a man above his fellows, the honour would not be given by a state to one of its citizens. Aristotle had said that if there existed in a state one man of ability and power exceeding that of all the other citizens combined, he could no longer be regarded as part of the state; he would be above the rest, as a god among men; and it would be as useless to devise a constitution where such a man existed, as for a state consisting of one lion and many rabbits. 'There could be no laws for such men; they are themselves a law.' Whether Aristotle was thinking of Alexander in writing this, or (as is more probable) making only a theoretical assumption, we do not know; but this was the basis on which Alexander, once his pupil, acted when he sent his request in 324 to the Greek states—his independent allies—to recognize him as a god. His purpose, presumably, was to give himself a footing in those states, a proper status, in regard to them. And the recognition did not make him their autocratic ruler; he was still a foreigner, with exceptional power. After his death various of the successors (though never Antipater and Cassander in Macedonia) recognized his divinity; and when some of them, as the Ptolemies (for their Greek subjects) and Antigonus and Demetrius, claimed a like divinity for themselves, it was a claim partly for a recognized status with the Greek cities their 'allies', partly to be regarded as Alexander's true heir. Its political importance was recognized: staunch defenders of Athenian dignity against Demetrius said 'to transfer to men the honour due to the gods is to dissolve the democracy'. Demetrius' son Antigonus Gonatas never made the claim, nor his successors—true to the Macedonian tradition; so that after all, this deification of men died out in the old Greek lands after

¹ Edwyn Bevan's translation. It is observable that self-respect in defeat was not specially common in Greece; rather flattery and desire for revenge.

a generation. The Ptolemies kept up the fiction throughout; so did the Seleucids, both in Syria and Asia Minor and with their Greek allies. It was from them that the Romans borrowed the idea, which was later of such importance in the Empire—the worship throughout of the genius of Augustus and of Rome.¹

Alexander had dreamt of a world state in which all the different parts would be fused in a common loyalty. It broke up immediately upon his death: Aristotle was right—a state can be too large even to hold together. Yet the idea survived and proved to be the most fruitful of all his ideas. The Stoics in particular furthered it—the conception of the world as a whole, the *oecumene* or inhabited earth, of which every one, Greek or barbarian, free or slave, was a part, a citizen: in the old, separate state system the distinction between citizen and non-citizen was essential (and recognized by a state religion); but such religions and distinctions meant nothing to them, nor to the Epicureans. And now that everywhere the old loyalties to the small states of Greece and to Greece as a whole had broken down, and nothing had taken their place (for Greece and Macedon formed no state, and no Greek felt any spiritual loyalty to Syria or Egypt), a man of sense was citizen of the world or nothing. This idea also was realized by Rome, and more fully than any other; it was recognized and expressed as early as the second century B.C. by Polybius, the Greek historian of Rome's conquest of the Greek world; and it was later the dominating political conception of the Middle Ages.

Consider now the world into which Christianity was born. Palestine had remained mainly Jewish, even under such hellenizing princes as Herod. But the coast towns, Acre, Jaffa, and Gaza, were Greek or half-Greek; east of Jordan as far as the desert was Greek; so were Syria to the north and Egypt to the south—at least that part of Egypt that communicated with the outside world. Especially round the Sea of Galilee was a number

¹ The actual worship of kings as gods probably did not involve a greater ceremonial than that of modern courts. The priest of the king was often an important personage; but so may be a Court Chamberlain. But to the Greeks (who would have regarded a modern court as a mark of servility) such flattery and flunkeyism did involve servility.

of Greek cities, and traders passed constantly between them and the coast through the plain of Esdraelon, close to Nazareth. The language of commerce and of ideas was everywhere Greek. The Gospels were written in Greek, the only literary language known; and as soon as the first apostles, familiar already with Greek-speaking people, went outside the narrow limits of Palestine, they were in part of the Greek, that is, of the European world. St. Paul himself was born in Tarsus, a Greek city. When he went first to Antioch, then across Asia Minor to Ephesus, then to Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth, he was going not to foreign countries, but to different parts of one country, to the metropolis of the culture which had surrounded him from his birth. It was as natural for him to preach in Athens as in Syria; for the whole land was culturally one, and familiar with the idea of a world-religion, open to all. But it was also, since the Roman conquest, politically one; so, as naturally, he passed from Greece to Rome. That Christianity took on from the first the aspect of a world-religion, and that its direction was towards Europe and not towards the East, had only been made possible by the conquests of Alexander and the continuance of his work by his successors.

IV. THE END OF CLASSICAL GREECE

The marvellous vitality of the fourth century, centred mainly in Athens, gave an impulse to Greek thought which carried it through the third century and to many lands; and the wider outlook caused by the opening of a new world in the East might have been expected not only to add to it a new and important element, but to keep it alive. Yet in fact in the second century there was a rapid decline in creative work, in literature, art, and science; and from this decline there was no recovery; great men of later ages are isolated phenomena. The advance of science stopped; even in the practical sciences, medicine, agriculture, and engineering, in which so much had been done in the third century, there is little more to record (so true is it that practical advance depends on theoretic speculation). Pytheas, the explorer of the Atlantic coasts and the North Sea,

Nearchus, the discoverer of the sea route to India, had no successors (at least not till the Christian era). Even acquired knowledge was lost; Pytheas' discoveries were doubted in a later time; and the average of educated men knew less (of mathematics, for example) in the first century A.D. than in the second B.C., and what should have been fruitful discoveries or suggestions (as Aristarchus' anticipation of the Copernican astronomy) came to nothing. For the habit of scientific thought, and the impulse to further discovery in the realms of knowledge, died. And for this inestimable loss in the Greek world, the Romans produced no compensating gain in the West.

With the decline alike of creative thought and knowledge and of the older Greek religion (which, if not inspiring, was sane, and could be informed with inspired thinking, as by Aeschylus and Plato), there was a widespread growth of superstition, of belief in astrology (to foretell the future), in the grossest magic (to cure present ills, physical or mental), in mystery-religions (for personal salvation and immortality). Quacks and miracle-mongers were everywhere, and were readily believed; for the Greek impulse to inquire into causes was exhausted. The numbers of those who spoke Greek and were more or less touched by Greek thought had increased beyond all expectation; but this in itself helped to emphasize the gap between the masses of the uneducated and the few educated; a gap hardly observable in Greece itself and not observed in the East at the beginning when there was still a sharp division between immigrant Greek and the native population, who were naturally ignorant; but growing ever wider as these Greeks got out of touch with their origins, became more settled in their new surroundings, and the natives became hellenized, Greek-speaking, but not, the great majority of them, educated. For this was happening when original thought was almost at an end and educated men in consequence had ceased to lead; when they no longer led the world they no longer either influenced or cared about what the masses felt and believed. The Greek-speaking peoples were now divided into two groups, with hardly the communication of an idea between them. Even their common language became a source

of division; for, inevitably, by the first century it had been modified, and continued to change, but the uncreative lettered men went on writing in the language of the third century, ignoring the changes and the spoken idiom (and so continued more and more stiffly and labouring, throughout the Byzantine Age, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks); the only literature written in the common language of the time is the New Testament. This conservatism was in part due to the intense love felt by the Greeks for their language and their care for it; they must preserve it from barbarisms, the product of ignorance; but it was fatal, for in the result the gap between the two idioms widened, the spoken was impoverished because never enriched by individual genius, the literary dried up, and such learning and letters as later ages produced was yet more effectively hidden from the masses of men.

What was the cause of the sudden and rapid decline in the creative vitality of the Greeks? In part, the many wars (of the fifth and fourth as of the third centuries), the destruction of life and the material and moral loss, must have directly contributed. But that was not all. Every man, even the most secluded scholar, the most individual artist, if he is to work his best, must live in a congenial society; and in that society there must exist links between art and science and their various branches, and between them and other human activities, public life, trade, manufacture, agriculture, pleasure-seeking. The Greeks of the sixth to the fourth century had enjoyed such a society in a greater degree perhaps than any other civilized people; even the great critics, such as Plato, were more at home in their surroundings than other men of similar temperament and equal genius have been. And to a greater degree than others the Greeks were in need of it, of the right political and social background; for they were peculiarly a politically and socially minded people. Their art and literature were exceptionally communal; individual enough in its conception and execution of course, as it must be, but unusually dependent on the community for its production.¹

¹ Science and philosophy were more isolated, their professors more of a separate group. So that *The Clouds* of Aristophanes in which he makes fun of them, is the

(Hence Aristotle could defend democracy—or rather that form of it which was regarded in Greece as limited, as the barest minimum, but would be for us extreme, where the mass of citizens met only to elect magistrates and decide certain questions such as peace and war, and did not form, as at Athens, the supreme executive and deliberative body—he could defend it on the ground that the many, regarded not individually but collectively, may have a greater intelligence than the few, each man having his share of intelligence, and when they meet together they become as one man: ‘hence the many when forming an audience are better judges than a single man of music and poetry; for some understand one part, and some another, and among them, they understand the whole.’)¹ Such a society as best fitted the Greeks disappeared in the course of the third century, and none took its place. In Greece itself, in other circumstances, Greeks and Macedonians might have combined to form a right society; but the traditions of the Greek state were too strong and Macedon was too rude to overcome them.² It might have been better for both peoples had there taken place nothing but a military conquest by Macedon, and an infusion of new blood into Greece. But that was not what happened.

Moreover, both peoples were being continually drained of their active and energetic elements to supply the needs of Asia. There was a weakening of society as a whole, and no recovery of material prosperity. In Asia and Egypt there was plenty of prosperity, and the Greek settlers did their utmost in the new cities to reproduce the old type of society. But the essential

least successful of his pictures of contemporary Athens; he was dealing with that activity with which his audience was least familiar, and for once takes the side of the heavy-handed majority against the few. Sympathy is wanting, as in no other of his plays.

¹ Another simile of Aristotle’s in this passage (*Politics*, iii. 11) illumines the essential equality of the Greeks; ‘just as a feast to which many contribute is better than one provided out of a single purse’. No individual should be wealthy enough to give a good dinner to a number of friends—how different from the Persian, the Hellenistic, and the Roman Age.

² Philip V, in 217 B.C. on the morrow of the Social War, enjoyed such popularity in the greater part of Greece that he nearly became a national leader against Rome; he might have done so in easier conditions, and had he himself been a better man.

element, the congenial soil, was lacking; and the Greeks were too dispersed. Not that there is anything in autocracy in itself inimical to art and science; on the contrary, the concentration of wealth and power can be a valuable aid, and most of the Hellenistic monarchs sought to make it so. But these large states did not suit the Greeks; at least not their intellectual development. For to them

a state is not merely a sharing in a common territory, does not exist only for the prevention of crime and the exchange of commodities. These are conditions without which a state cannot exist, but they do not constitute a state; what constitutes a state is sharing in the good life by families and groups of families, for the sake of a perfect and self-sufficing life.¹ Such a community can only be established among those who live in the same place and intermarry. Hence arise in states family connexions, brotherhoods, common religious rights, amusements which draw men together. They are created by friendship, friendship being the motive that makes men live together. But the object of the state is not mere living together, but the good and perfect life and without the state such life is impossible.²

A well-ordered empire then is not a state; it might theoretically be a combination of states, for the sake of preserving peace between them, 'for the prevention of crime and the exchange of commodities', but is not in itself one. And the Hellenistic monarchies were far from being of this kind, but, necessarily, centralized kingdoms; and though in the new cities the Greeks established 'the family connexions, brotherhoods, religious ceremonies, and amusements which draw men together', they could not, as part of a large kingdom which they themselves were helping to govern, and in the presence of powerful monarchs and their courts, do more and create states each with its individual 'good life' as its purpose. The result was a failure of active thought; science and art were out of harmony with the social and political conditions of the age; and in the conflict the latter won.

¹ The Stoics and the Epicureans both adopted this ideal of self-sufficiency, but for the individual, not the state: a characteristic difference between the philosophical outlooks of the fourth and the third centuries.

² Aristotle, *Politics*, iii. 9.

The general unsettlement of society caused by the many wars and by the shifting of political power and of economic activity from Greece to the East, the fact that at the same time this power and this activity were only made possible and kept in being by a continual emigration of men from Greece, the impossibility of establishing in the new centres the kind of political society which suited the Greek temperament, and above all the great dispersion of the Greeks which would of itself have destroyed the old societies and made it difficult to establish new ones to the Greek pattern—it all had two results of primary importance for the subsequent history of Europe; the spread of the Greek culture and language over the East and the practical cessation of original and creative work.

The effect of the former can be estimated, not that of the latter; for we do not know what the Greeks might have done in other conditions, had Philip's aim, say, been military victory over Greece only, or Alexander's the conquest but not the hellenization of the East. There was no sign in the fourth century of any failure in their vitality, no dimming of their astonishing powers; we cannot tell what would have been the subsequent history of Europe had their creative activity continued. For, though it sounds easy, it is in fact difficult to exaggerate their achievement and its importance to us. Its influence has descended to us in two ways. The first continuous—in two streams: (1) through Rome to the West; for not only was Rome the heir of the Hellenistic monarchies and adopted much from them, in administration and law, not only did the Church derive from the Greek East, but Rome was civilized by Greece;¹ Roman art and literature are the product of her contact with Greece. (2) Through the Byzantine Empire, the heir of the Hellenistic and Roman Empires, to western Europe in the Middle Ages as well as to Russia, Turkey, and the Balkan States in the East. The second way is discontinuous, but direct, and to each generation of men afresh—the influence of the Greek spirit on

¹ It is often said that the Greece that taught Rome was the Hellenistic world, not the old, classical Greece; but this is only partly or superficially true; what influenced Rome (and modern Europe) was Stoicism, and the older art and literature, especially Homer and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.

modern thought; first by the rediscovery of Aristotle in the Middle Ages, later with the reawakening of speculative thought and scientific experiment at the Renaissance which went hand in hand with the return of Greek literature and art to western Europe. For classical Greece, of the fifth and fourth centuries (far more than the Hellenistic Age, which is of greater interest for its influence on Rome and Byzantium), was essentially modern in character, and therefore because of its direct contact of especial value and appeal to us. They were the first people to establish the reign of law and the principle of freedom for the individual under the law; the first to experiment with government by discussion, with the rule of elected magistrates, free institutions. They initiated philosophy and science because, proclaiming that all things are subjects of reasoning, and nothing to be accepted on authority, that the human mind is free, they first asked the right questions: what is the real nature of the world, what laws underlie its working, how did it come to be what it is, and what is the basis and nature of knowledge? They learnt much scientific knowledge from Babylonia and Egypt, but scientific method was their own discovery. In art they owed even more to Egypt; but their debt did not oppress them; they developed along their own lines, so that their sculpture is as great as Egyptian and independent, their architecture more humane, their painting carried far beyond anything the Egyptians had attempted. In literature they began almost everything; and brought it to perfection. But that is not all. It is not only Homer, Sophocles, and Pheidias who live. Above all they were a critical people. In their superb confidence in the power of human reason they criticized everything, including all their own greatest achievements. Hence they developed not only the sciences (which advance by continual questioning of hypotheses), but a theory of knowledge; not only art and literature, but aesthetic theory; not only political institutions, but the whole theory of the state, all beginning with criticism, ending in constructive ideas, which are no sooner formed than tested afresh. The Athenians were in love with their democracy; but no men have criticized it better than, in front of them all, Aristophanes and

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Demosthenes; no man has proved the weakness of democracy in general more thoroughly than Plato (who does not spare Pericles any more than lesser men). Yet Greek thought was the reverse of anarchic. As in their art they searched for an absolute beauty, and, believing they were on the right road, tried to attain it by ever greater refinements on what had already been done rather than by abandoning the past, so in their search for absolute truth they relied on the rigid laws of reason. No one more than the Greeks have insisted so firmly on the laws both of art and of thought. Hence the validity of their critical work, and because it went to the root of things it is alive to-day. In the things men thought most about, in the way their minds worked and how they expressed themselves, in politics, no less than in art and science, the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. in Greece and the beginning of the third are more modern, nearer to our own time (say from the seventeenth century onwards) than any other period of history. In certain things, especially externals, wealth and cosmopolitan cities and economic conditions, the Hellenistic and the Roman periods are doubtless more modern; but not in the things which matter.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

By CHARLES F. JEAN

Chargé de Cours à l'École nationale du Louvre

I. PHÆNICIA FROM THE TWENTIETH TO THE THIRTEENTH
CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST

II. INDIA AND SUMERIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.
IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS

I. PHOENICIA FROM THE TWENTIETH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST

*Excavations in Ras-Shamra and Minet-El-Beida*¹

RAS-SHAMRA is situated on the north coast of Syria, 2 km. from Latakia. Some hundred metres to the west is the creek now known as Minet-El-Beida,² but in the third millennium B.C. the present creek was an extensive and well-sheltered bay, and constituted the port of Ras-Shamra.³

I. HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

The poem known as that of the 'gracious gods',⁴ a kind of commemorative recitation forming part of a religious ceremony, contains in its details very important data relative to the ancient home of the Phoenicians. Study of this text seems to prove that before the third millennium B.C. Negeb (doubtless the Negeb ha-Kereti of the Old Testament)⁵ with Gaza and Ashdod⁶ on the coast, and the region bordering the Red Sea, formed the land of the Phoenicians.⁷ Thence they arrived at Ras-Shamra about 2000 B.C.

This new data explains why the poem of the 'gracious gods',

¹ The results of excavations up to the present date (July 1933) are shown in this summary, in order to give some idea of Phoenician civilization as revealed by the excavations of Ras-Shamra-Minet-El-Beida, instead of following the indications provided by MM. Schaeffer and Chanet, from 1929 onwards. We shall therefore make frequent use of, and quote from, the text of the annual reports published in *Syria*. Many of our conclusions are, of course, provisional as the excavations are not completed, and many doubtful points have not been fully discussed.

² That is 'the White Port' from the colour of the surrounding cliffs.

³ *Syria*, xiv (1933), 94-5.

⁴ Found at Ras-Shamra, this poem has recently been published by M. Virolleaud and discussed by him (l.c. 128-51) and also by M. Dussaud in the *Revue d'histoire des religions*, cviii (1933), 6 et seq.

⁵ The Keretims would appear to be not Cretans, but descendants of the ancient Phoenicians. Dussaud, l.c. 27.

⁶ According to this poem the town, which was apparently here before the arrival of the Philistines, was founded by Sib'ani, 'the Seventh', whom El gave to Terakh for a son (variant Etrakh). It should be remembered that the father of Abraham was also called Terakh (Vulgate Tare).

⁷ The geographical names contained in this ancient Phoenician document all refer to Canaanite localities, especially the southern region.

which relates the most ancient Phoenician legends—most ancient, since they are attached to their original territory—makes no mention of Baal-Hadad whose name appears in the more recent poems; this deity must have been adopted by the Phoenicians when they came to the Lebanon. It is conceivable that coming from the south they modified the Baal of the north, *Baal-Tsaphon* or *Baal* called *Tsaphon*,¹ who was probably identical with *Baal-Lebanon*.

On this hypothesis the Phoenicians must have lost possession of the Negeb when the Philistines established themselves on the coast from Ashdod to Gaza at the beginning of the twelfth century. Thus the Aegeans ousted them from the south in the same way as they supplanted them in the north.²

In any case the facts we are about to relate prove that at the beginning of the second millennium Ras-Shamra was already an important town. Its sanctuary had connexions with Egypt of the Twelfth Dynasty.

In the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries the town and its temple enjoyed a remarkable prosperity, as is revealed by the tombs of its princes at Minet-El-Beida.

In the thirteenth century it suffered a temporary eclipse, doubtless after the Hittite conquest of the country, and its final decay may be placed at the dawn of the new era, the Iron Age, in the twelfth century B.C.³

1. *Ras-Shamra*.

From recently discovered tablets there must have been—probably to the extreme north of the city mound—a temple with its brick walls covered with cedar-wood.⁴ The numerous fragments of fine sphinxes bearing the cartouche of Amen-em-het III (1848–1801), discovered in the southern court of the later temple, may have come from this original temple.⁵

To the north and west of a library, to be described later, are vast buildings⁶ earlier than the third millennium.⁷ At the foot

¹ Tsaphon: north.

² See *R.H.R.* civ. 26.

³ See M. Schaeffer, *Syria*, xiii (1932), 24.

⁴ Cf. Dussaud, *l.c.* cvii (1932), 291.

⁵ *Syria*, xiv (1933), 119–21.

⁶ In the report on the excavations it is on the third level.

⁷ *Syria*, *l.c.* 112.

of the northern slope of the acropolis is a necropolis consisting of collective burials, whose pottery remains date from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Egyptian Dynasties, that is, from the twentieth to the seventeenth centuries; the graves belong rather to the end of this lengthy period, some perhaps being of the Hyksos period or the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹

A veritable charnel-house was discovered; one trench containing more than forty individuals. The pottery belonged to the so-called Canaanite type of the first half of the second millennium, together with some vases imported from Cyprus in the Middle Bronze Age. This establishes the date as the nineteenth to sixteenth centuries.²

The most interesting part of an inscription twice repeated on a mutilated statuette informs us that the image represents the royal princess Khenemt-nefer, 'She who puts on the "beautiful crown"', who became the wife of Senusret II (1903-1887) of the Twelfth Dynasty. This shows the high esteem in which the Egyptian Court held the sanctuary.³

A cartouche on a Hyksos scarab bears the name of 'Anr a (variant, Nr'a), similar to those discovered with the same name in Lower Egypt, Jerusalem, Gizeh, Megiddo, and Jericho, and takes us back to the extreme end of the Hyksos period towards the sixteenth century. The bronze objects found in the graves of the second level show that this metal was used only for the manufacture of arms and ornaments. For agricultural implements primitive materials were still used.

The lower strata were thus contemporary with the Twelfth and Thirteenth Egyptian Dynasties, that is, the twentieth, nineteenth, eighteenth, seventeenth, and sixteenth centuries B.C. The upper burials were of the Hyksos period, and the Eighteenth Dynasty. This level was no longer in use at the period when the sanctuary with its dependencies and library of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries was built on the same site.

In the same place but on a higher level⁴ the necropolis is

¹ *Syria*, l.c. 111.

³ l.c. 20.

² *Syria*, xiii (1932), 17-20.

⁴ Second level.

similar to that containing the large tombs IV and V of Minet-El-Beida, to be mentioned later. The Cypriote and Mycenaean pottery found there should go back to the fourteenth or perhaps the fifteenth century B.C.¹

To the south-west of the library is a large Mycenaean tomb with a rectangular chamber, 3·10 m. × 3·75 m. and 3 m. in height, of which the architecture is particularly fine. The corbelled vault 'forms an elegant lanceolate ogive' approached by a *dromos* of 3·20 m. × 1·40 m. and a stair of 8 steps. In the centre of the cave a walled circular pit, hidden under the flooring, communicates by means of a conduit running under the tiles, with a drain cut in the actual surface of the tiled floor. Thus a libation poured into these channels would flow into the pit and thence to the dead in their graves. The funeral furniture, which was scanty as the tomb had long ago been plundered, is similar to that of tomb VI at Minet-El-Beida; the two tombs therefore go back to the thirteenth century, if not to the end of the fourteenth.²

A little above this level were installations for the cult; basins, bowls, stone tables, possibly connected with the neighbouring temple, of the fourteenth century. In the higher strata are individual burials, or interments of two or three bodies with scanty furniture. The fact that the vault of this tomb is higher than the floor of the library, and certain other data, forces us to the conclusion that it is later in date than the library.³

To the extreme north of the Tell of Ras-Shamra was a large temple surrounded by walls of exceptional thickness. A solid mass, built of large blocks of cut stone in the northern court, might be a platform for the altar, which the priest approached by a stair of which one step has been found. On this platform lay fragments of statues (of Egyptian style) of granite, green-

¹ *Syria*, xiv (1933), 108-9.

² *l.c.* xiii (1933), 16. Cf. *Syria*, xii (1931), 5-6, for the date suggested at that time for this level.

³ It has been asked whether this 'royal tomb thus proudly placed in the centre of the ruins of the temple and library may not stand as a witness of the conquest of the country by the Achaeans assisted by emigrant traders from Cyprus' (*l.c.* xiv. 114-18).

stone, or sandstone; one of these is life size and in the style of the New Empire.¹ A red sandstone stela, restored almost completely from the fragments, represents the Syrian Baal with his usual characteristics. Before the god stood an altar. Outside the temple was found a bas-relief of a goddess reminiscent of Hathor, evidently Baalat-Tsapuna. A stela of a god, doubtless Baal-Tsapuna, showed the features and symbols of the Syrian Baal, the Hittite Teshup, Setekh or Seth of the Egyptians.² Another stela³ represents a deity standing upright, brandishing a mace in his right hand, and holding in his left a spear with the point resting on the ground. The branching extremities of this weapon may be symbolical of the thunderbolt. The god wears a high-pointed helmet and a double-horned frontlet; his hair flows in long tresses down his back and over his right shoulder. He is clad only in a loin-cloth fastened by a broad girdle. On a pedestal in front of him is a figure wearing the long Syrian robe which in spite of its reduced size gives the figure a certain importance. Does it represent a local deity, or a priest? It is impossible to say. The principal figure certainly represents the local Baal, probably the god of rain, thunder, and storm.

Again, outside the temple in a vase which had been buried intentionally, were two silver statuettes, the vase itself being filled with fine earth. The male statuette has a sort of cross between the breasts, and wears a torque round its neck. The figure is clad in a loin-cloth of gold leaf held up by a golden girdle in which is thrust a gold dagger. The female figure seems to wear a dress which is kept in position by a wide girdle of gold leaf. The statuettes are obviously those of a god and goddess.⁴

On the site of the Mycenaean necropolis stood a library, the walls well built with broken joints and with engaged columns to guard against the earthquakes so prevalent in this region. The building was also a school for scribes, as is proved by the copy-books and exercises found there.⁵

¹ *Syria*, xii (1931), 8-9.

³ Discovered in 1932. *Syria*, xiv (1933), 123.

⁴ *l.c.* 124.

² *l.c.* 13-14.

⁵ *Syria*, xii (1931), 7-8.

2. *Minet-El-Beida.*

One necropolis consisted of vaulted and corbelled tombs approached by a *dromos*, and of pits for ritual purposes; some of them rich in pottery, bronze weapons, carnelian beads, fragments of beautiful goblets in pale green faience; bronze statuettes decorated with gold and silver; a bronze hawk wearing the double crown of Egypt; another hawk, encrusted with gold, holding the uracus between its claws; a statuette of a seated god, the eyes overlaid with white enamel and silver, a girdle round the waist and the legs covered with a garment reaching to the feet. Another and much more important statuette, 22 cm. high, represents a god walking, the right hand raised, the left thrust forward; on the head a tall cap resembling the Egyptian *pschent*, or the head-dress of the Hittite kings. The upper part of the body is encased in a silver corselet and the limbs overlaid with silver armlets and leggings, while on the right arm there is in addition a gold bracelet. This god is undoubtedly the local Baal with the characteristics or attributes of Reshef, Teshup, and Setekh like the god of the Ras-Shamra stela.¹ In contact with this statuette was a ring made of a thin plate of gold doubled over, and a pendant, a broad leaf showing in repoussé work a nude woman, standing, in the usual form of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. It is probably Astarte, goddess of love and fecundity, represented in exactly the same manner on the small terra-cotta plaques of Jerusalem and Gizeh and on a gold pendant from Beisan. In addition there should be noted a small terra-cotta plaque representing Hathor, perforated stelae and large stone phalli discovered in a funerary deposit.²

In another part of the necropolis were found beads and rings, of gold, silver, and iron, a haematite cylinder, an oval pyxis in ivory, the lid very beautifully sculptured with a design of a goddess seated on an altar, the upper part of the body nude but with a wide skirt. In her hands she holds ears of corn, and on either side a wild goat stands on its hind-legs with one of its fore-feet placed on a kind of pedestal, and the other raised and

¹ *Syria*, xii (1931), 13.

² *Syria*, x (1929), 289-90 and xii. 2.

pressing against the arm of the goddess.¹ The style is Mycenaean. Similar finds were made in the necropolis on the southern slope.²

There are to be noted also two large buildings³ consisting of halls and passages, each being apparently connected with a corbelled tomb. These funerary monuments recall Egyptian mastabas.⁴

The most ancient burials are previous⁵ to the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries; they may even go back to the fifteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. No trace of painted Mycenaean pottery was found in them. The furniture consists only of large numbers of vases surrounding the skeletons, *bilbils* and flat-bottomed bowls, and, above all, long bottles of red earthenware. These compared with the Cyprian bottles suggested the hypothesis that the graves in which they were found may have been those of Cyprian colonists attracted by trade to Ras-Shamra, the port of which is opposite Salamis.

In a large collective tomb called tomb V, of the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries, the pottery is Mycenaean and resembles that of Cyprus and Rhodes, the bottoms of the pots with red marks painted before baking. All this pottery probably came from the workshops of Rhodes, whence it was exported to Egypt, particularly to el-Amarna.

Tomb VI, measuring 3.50 m. × 6.50 m.—the largest cave-grave discovered at Minet-El-Beida—contained at least twenty-eight skeletons of all ages. A small *cella* communicating with the tomb received the earlier bones when it became necessary to find room for later burials. This cave-grave was plundered in antiquity, though gold rings and beads have been found there. Vases, goblets, plates, and bottles in faience, soft porcelain, or frit and variegated glass were very abundant. Tall goblets ornamented with female masks in two or three colours are especially noteworthy. Judging by the quality of the Mycenaean pottery this tomb should date from the thirteenth century.⁶

¹ *Syria*, x, 292.

³ One of them contains thirteen rooms and passages.

⁴ *Syria*, xii (1931), 1-4.

⁶ *Syria*, xiv (1933), 100-6.

² *Syria*, xiv (1933), 95-6.

⁵ Discovered in 1932.

The whole space comprised between tombs V and VI is occupied by a huge building containing numerous courts adjoining each other and open to the sky. These go back to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, some possibly to the fifteenth. Each consists of two stories made of smooth concrete. In the upper story were found large basins of stone or other receptacles intended for libations which flowed through a system of channels or terra-cotta pipes to the lower story. Although plundered in antiquity articles of value have been found in these courts, such as gold pendants and beads among Mycenaean idols, ornaments, and bronze implements. *The lime deposits coating the interior of the piping prove that the libations were continued for a long time.*

Since the channels do not terminate in the interior of the tombs but in the soil, and as there have been found in many of these courts large stone naturalistic phalli placed beside female figures equally suggestive, it may be inferred that a cult was practised here of which the magical effect was intended to be the fertility of the earth, and possibly also of human beings and cattle.¹

In the upper level was a tomb consisting of two parts, a vestibule and a sepulchral chamber, excavated entirely in the arable layer of soil. The vases found here resemble the Canaanite pottery of the Sidon region² and sherds of the thirteenth to twelfth centuries.³

To the west of this tomb other burials have yielded zoomorphic rhytons (fishes, horses' heads) or trumpet-shaped ones with octopus design, Mycenaean hydrias, &c. Numerous deposits contained bronze weapons and implements, daggers derived from the Cypriote type, and hoes from the Sumerian, Egyptian axes, bundles of sickles, a large fire-shovel, *silver rings with large cartouches engraved with sphinxes or winged genii*, haematite cylinders, &c.

These deposits were in direct connexion with ritual arrangements, and with *cellae* either isolated or adjoining each other, without entrance and covered over with a layer of concrete.

¹ *Syria*, xiv (1933), 106-8.

² *Syria*, x (1929), 16-21.

³ *Ibid.* 286.

Underneath were found jars with arrows, a dagger, some bronze implements, and a superb alabaster vase beside them. Beside the *cellae* were wells or false wells into which stone conduits or terra-cotta pipes discharged.¹

In this necropolis the walls had a shelf which might be empty or covered with pottery offerings; at a short distance from it there was an altar of the horned type. Near it was found a truncated cone of stone, a species of betyl or altar. A huge cistern cased in non-porous clay contained numerous fragments of pottery and the skeletons of several new-born children, naturally suggesting human sacrifice.

A little to the north of this block of buildings lay a group of rooms, altars with steps and wells covered with a single block of stone, laden with offerings of pottery, or else in the form of a channelled libation-altar.

In an enclosure apparently behind this last there were about a thousand vases, *bilbils*, large pear-shaped jars with stirrup handles, and with white decoration on the bodies of Cretan type, alabaster bottles and vases of Egyptian shapes; also two fine oval scaraboids of blue paste. One of these displays a male divinity in sunk relief, the figure standing and wearing a high head-dress with the uraeus, recalling the white crown of Upper Egypt, and with a very long streamer. The left hand of the god holds a shield and the other arm is raised in a threatening gesture. On the left side of the god is the sign of life and below him the *nub* necklace, the symbol of Set. The female divinity on the other scaraboid is doubtless the consort of the god. The uraeus adorns her forehead, and her long robe leaves her breast bare. In her left hand she holds the sign of life, and beneath her feet is the *nub* necklace of Seth.

All these objects were found in a mass of bones belonging to about a hundred sheep.

Right at the foot of the same enclosure were found several gold pendants, with their suspension rings representing the 'Naked Goddess'. On one of them the goddess, wearing the head-dress of Hathor, holds a wild goat in either hand; the

¹ *Syria*, xiii (1932), I et seq.

chthonian character of the goddess is perhaps indicated by two serpents. Round the field are dots, possibly representing the stars. In the Pantheon of Ras-Shamra are the goddesses Asherat, Astarte, 'Anat; it is not possible to say which of these is here represented.

The composite style of this gold-work may be Syrian.

The necropolis of Minet-El-Beida contains only four large tombs which from their wealth should be those of very important personages, princes, or kings of Ras-Shamra.

The other buildings, monuments, &c., reveal a cult centre, possibly a sanctuary for the practice of a ritual for the souls of the exalted dead, the 'Rephaïm' referred to in the tablets of Ras-Shamra.

The large number of deposits unearthed, especially those which open into a pit containing intentionally buried vases, seems to provide a reasonable foundation for the hypothesis of a connexion between the cult of the dead and the cult of fertility.

These finds date from the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. The necropolis was abandoned from the twelfth century. No trace of iron was found.¹

II. RELIGION²

It may be said that the Phoenician religion as witnessed by the finds at Ras-Shamra consists in a cult of entirely anthropomorphic elements.³

I. *Pantheon.*

Human beings have no place in the Pantheon of Ras-Shamra; the representation of animals in it is rare and secondary; one meets only with divine beings in human form representing the forces or spirits of different elements or natural phenomena. As for the goddesses, Asherat, Astarte, Elat, or 'Anat, they are probably not distinct *in their nature*.⁴

Between men and the high gods who bestow benefits upon

¹ *Syria*, xiii (1932), 4-14.

² M. Dussaud has written important articles on this question in the *Revue d'histoire des religions*, of which we have made frequent use.

³ *R.H.R.* cvii (1932), 248.

⁴ *Ibid.* 249.

them there intervene proxies and intermediaries. The high gods do not, strictly speaking, themselves *represent* the forces of vegetation; they *manifest* them.¹

*El.*² El, the Sun-God, is at the head of the Phoenician Pantheon. 'King, Father of the Years';³ without his command nothing is done; the land of the Canaanites is defined as wholly the land of El.⁴ He manifests his full power in favour of his son Latpon; 'El, the wise has granted thee wisdom with eternity'.⁵

He is 'He who maketh the rivers empty themselves into the abyss of the sea'.⁶ It is El who interests himself in the fate of the Phoenician wife of Terakh, the mother of Sib'ani.⁷

From Phoenicia El penetrated to Sindjirli and into all the north of Syria.⁸ He identifies himself little by little with Hadad; in the Roman period he becomes assimilated to the Helio-politan Jupiter.⁹

Shor-El. A name given also at times to El. 'Shor-El,¹⁰ El the Bull', so called possibly to express in a concrete form the idea of the strength and power of the Supreme God. And under the name Shor-El¹¹ he is called the father of the Sun-Goddess Sps¹² and of Môt.

Baal. Son of Asherat-of-the-Sea¹³ and mentioned in the same texts as El and after him.¹⁴ Baal is the god of the thunderbolt, of the storm, and also of the kindly rain; thus having the same functions as Hadad. 'He makes his voice heard in the clouds'¹⁵ . . . he 'utters his holy voice'.¹⁶ . . . He flings the lightning and

¹ *R.H.R.* civ (1931), 376.

² According to Biblical tradition the patriarchs at a very remote period regarded El as their god (Gen. xxxviii. 20; Jacob invokes 'El God of Israel').

³ *Syria*, xii, col. xviii. In our quotations from *Syria* the first figure in Roman numerals refers to volume.

⁴ xviii, col. iv. 21-2, Virolleaud's translation. Unless otherwise stated, our quotations are from Virolleaud.

⁵ xiii, col. iv-v. 41-2; Dussaud in *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 255.

⁶ xiii, col. iv. 21-2.

⁷ *R.H.R.* cviii (1933), 30.

⁸ *R.H.R.* civ (1931), 359.

⁹ l.c. 376, 379.

¹⁰ Cf. *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 252, 253, 272.

¹¹ *Syria*, xii, col. iii-iv. 34.

¹² Sps (?), Sms, in Aramaic Sws; cf. Tallquist, *Neubab. Nam*, 279.

¹³ *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 275.

¹⁴ l.c. civ (1932), 360 et seq.

¹⁵ xiii, col. iv-v. 70.

¹⁶ l.c., l. 29 *ql-h qds*.

dispenses the rain. The texts represent this god as fighting with the strength of a bull.¹

'The strength of Baal, (his) strength will strike Mô't with his horns like the wild bulls:

'The strength of Baal, (his) strength will tear Mô't in pieces like the bulls of Bashan.'²

It is known that the bull was the animal of the god Hadad.

Baal is the consort of Asherat,³ whether we are concerned with Asherat-of-the-Sea or the other Asherat. But it should be noted that this supreme Baal is to be generally distinguished from the Baals of various localities who may differ one from the other very greatly. The most remarkable of these local gods is Baal-Tsaphon, Baal-Tsapuna, or Baal called Tsapuna, since Tsapuna is not always preceded by the word Baal.⁴

Aleyn. Son of Baal-Hadad, Aleyn is the fertilizing spirit dwelling in the waves, the springs, and rivers, and which manifests itself in the grass of the fields and the growth of the various trees of the forest.⁵ Compared with his father his field of influence is very limited.⁶ His function consists in fattening gods and men by the power of the moist element which depends upon him.⁷

His power is specially exercised in the rainy season, and his adversary is Mô't, the spirit of the harvest, but god of the lands dried up by a fiery sun. Thus 'Anat cries to him to drive away this enemy by causing the waters to overflow the earth.⁸ He disappears in the hot season which brings the withering of all verdure.⁹ Then El demands from Asherat one of her sons¹⁰ to take the place of the dead god, and it is Mô't, the divine son,¹¹ who succeeds him.¹²

¹ xii, col. vi. 17-19.

² The text says 'b-sh-n-m. The translation 'bulls of Bashan' (M. Dussaud, *R.H.R.* cv. 258) is based, in spite of the word *nashak*, to bite, generally used of serpents, on Ps. xxii. 13-14 and Deut. xxxii. 14.

³ *R.H.R.* cvii (1932), 256.

⁴ *R.H.R.* civ. 360, 363.

⁵ M. Dussaud's reading, *R.H.R.* civ (1931), 399; cf. 382, 392; *R.H.R.* 259-72.

⁶ l.c. 260.

⁷ xiii, col. vii. 50.

⁸ xii, col. ii. 7.

⁹ Cf. *R.H.R.* civ. 399 and 383-6.

¹⁰ M. Dussaud insists on the fact that recent discoveries are not favourable to theories of a matriarchate, or of the social organization it involves.

¹¹ From *Syria*, xii, col. i. 25-37, Ashtar-'Araf Asherat signifies Ashtar-'araf.

¹² *R.H.R.* civ. 399.

Môt. Spirit of the vegetation of the harvest, this divine son¹ of El is related to the burning heat of the summer sun² (El is the Sun-God). It is he, as we have just seen, who succeeds Aleyn after the death of the latter;³ but when he is killed in his turn by 'Anat⁴ Aleyn returns to life.⁵ It must always be borne in mind that there was no belief in death as annihilation; a slackened survival was admitted.⁶

'*Anat.*⁷ This goddess seems to be identical with Qadesh.⁸ She is sister to Aleyn, son of Baal, and is often spoken of as a virgin⁹ but she has a fighting spirit.

When Môt killed Aleyn, it was she who asked him to restore her brother, and she set hounds against the flocks of Môt, seized him, and slew him.

Môt is the spirit of vegetation, especially of the corn. The goddess seizes a sheaf, cuts the ears, threshes them, bakes the grains and pounds them in a hand-mill; next she scatters in the fields these baked and broken¹⁰ grains.¹¹ Then she can eat leavened bread (which implies that during the preceding days she has had to content herself with unleavened). In fact the goddess restores to the earth the spirit of the vegetation of cereals by means of the sacrifice of a god; thus she has desecrated the harvest in order to render its consumption permissible.¹²

This cult, or mystery, was very popular, as it allowed the taking possession of the present harvest and assured the future ones. Magic rites imagined by men for the regulation of the seasons had always as their object *nourishment* and *procreation*.¹³

Qadesh. 'Q-d-š the holy' is associated with *A-m-r-r*. In actual fact this word 'the holy' is an attribute of 'Anat, already known from the Egyptian texts as a Syrian goddess under this name *Q-d-š*. The Egyptian documents make her the counterpart of Reshef; now the Ras-Shamra texts associate *Q-d-š* with *A-m-r-r*

¹ *R.H.R.* civ. 399.

³ Cf. Aleyn and 'Anat.

⁶ *R.H.R.* civ. 393.

⁹ xiii, col. ii. 14-15; 23-4; *b-t-l-t*.

¹¹ See Dussaud's translation in *R.H.R.* civ (1931), 388.

¹² *Ibid.* 399.

¹³ See Frazer's *Adonis*, French translation, 3.

² *Ibid.* (1931), 383, 388-9; cvii (1932), 272.

⁴ *R.H.R.* cvii. 274-5.

⁷ Cf. l.c. cvi. 278-83.

⁵ xii, col. iii-iv.

⁸ Cf. Astart.

¹⁰ Cf. Lev. ii. 4.

as we have noted; it therefore follows that *A-m-r-r* or Amurru should be either Reshef or assimilated with Reshef.¹

Asherat.² In the Ras-Shamra texts the goddess is clearly distinct from Astarte and is usually joined with Reshef. Possibly the goddess standing on a lion with a wild goat in either hand and flanked by a serpent may represent³ Asherat, as the lion habitually characterizes the consort of Baal-Hadad, and in our texts this consort is Asherat.⁴

Asherat-of-the-Sea. This is not the Mother-Goddess; her name shows too clearly her marine nature. She is nevertheless the mother of the gods and is credited with seventy children.⁵ The god Baal-Hadad is her son.

Astarte.⁶ This may be the nude goddess of Ras-Shamra, erect and holding in her hand a long stalk from which springs a papyrus flower and two lotus leaves.⁷ In course of time she becomes 'Anat under the form of Atar-Até.⁸

The Egyptians adopted Astarte and 'Anat, and their texts often mention a goddess Qadesh whose images recall the two preceding goddesses, and as she is always placed in conjunction with the god Reshef, the equivalent of Hadad, it is very likely, as we have already noted, that Qadesh is only an epithet of 'Anat, who in the texts of Ras-Shamra is placed in conjunction with Baal-Hadad.⁹

Sps.¹⁰ This Sun-Goddess is daughter of El.¹¹

Shukamuna.¹² A Mesopotamian goddess.

In our texts are also given the names of *Yav*,¹³ *Amurru*,¹⁴ *Dagon*,¹⁵ *Milkom*,¹⁶ *Ner*, *Shakar*, *Shalem*, *Elat*.¹⁷ Shalem received sovereignty over the Arabs from El.¹⁸

¹ See *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 283-4. See Astarte.

² Cf. l.c. civ. 368 et seq.

³ This is uncertain, as Qadesh-'Anat is also represented seated on a lion (Dussaud, *R.H.R.* civ (373)).

⁴ See Baal.

⁵ *R.H.R.* cv. 275.

⁶ She is mentioned in a hitherto unpublished text noted in *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 277.

⁷ *Syria*, xi, pl. liv, 2.

⁸ Alternatively Astarte, Altar and 'An(a)t, Até.

⁹ *R.H.R.* civ (1931), 371-4.

¹⁰ Cf. El.

¹¹ Textually, daughter of Shor-El, xii, col. iii-iv. 34.

¹² xii, Nos. 1, 3, 6, 12, 15.

¹³ In a hitherto unpublished text noted in *R.H.R.* cv. 247.

¹⁴ See Qadesh and 'Anat.

¹⁵ *R.H.R.* civ. 363.

¹⁶ Milkom Ner, Shalem, xii, No. 17, see *R.H.R.* in *Syria*, xii. 181 B; and Nos. 1, 8 (Shalem) Shakar and Shalem are created by El (xiii. 151-3).

¹⁷ xii, Nos. 1, 11, and 18.

¹⁸ *Syria*, xiii. 1, 7. See *R.H.R.* cviii. 12.

2. *Ethnical and Religious Legend.*

According to a text shortly to be referred to, *Terakh*¹ is the name of a lunar deity or other personage,² *Sin* (in Mesopotamia *Sin* is the Moon-God) is that of his wife, and *Nikar*,³ of his female friend. At the word of El, *Sin* gives her husband a son⁴ called *Sib'ani*, the founder of Ashdod, whom El afterwards sends into the desert.

Child *Sib'ani*, O wife of *Etrakh*!

He will build Ashdod.

Set thou up the 'd in the midst of the desert of Qadesh.⁵

The still unpublished legend from which we borrow the (following) short text does not appear to agree with the poem of the 'gracious gods'. Here it is the wife and concubine of *Terakh* who have to flee into the desert.

Terakh makes the new moon to rise.

He drove out *Sin* his wife

And *Nikar* his well-beloved, (saying)

Like the crickets ye shall dwell in the plain,

Like the grasshoppers on the borders of the desert.⁶

3. *Cult.*

The principal object of the cult appears to be to ensure the food of the people which is closely allied with the rainfall. To this end endeavours were made to control the personified forces of nature and maintain the regularity of the seasons.

The Temple. There is a poem that has for its principal subject the construction of the temple of Baal-Hadad.⁷ By contrast to

¹ Variant *Etrakh* in the first text quoted. The word *Terakh* is the Canaanite form of *Yerakh*, Moon, as *Teman*, south of *Yamin*. *R.H.R.*, l.c. 33-4.

² Cf. *Dussaud*, *R.H.R.* cviii. 33.

³ Doubtless derived from *Nikkal* *Nin-gal*, who in *Babylonia* is the consort of the Moon-God, *Sin*.

⁴ It should not be forgotten that *Abraham* was the son of *Terakh* (who was polytheist, *Jos.* xxiv. 2) and that when *Hagar* bore him a son because his wife was barren, she fled into the desert, and in the *Genesis* story (*Gen.* xvi) it is *El* whom she believes she sees (v. 13). The second narrative is *Elohist* and her son is given the name of *Ishmael*, 'El has heard'.

⁵ *Syria*, xiv. 164-5.

⁶ *Virolleaud* in *Syria*, xiv (1933), 149, No. 1. The translation is that of *Dussaud* in *R.H.R.* cviii (1933), 34.

⁷ *Virolleaud*, *Syria*, xiii (1932), 113-63.

the Homeric poems, in which the gods control the acts of men, the Phoenician text treats only of divinities; it is the gods themselves who build the temple. Their object is to put an end to their strife, that is to say, to placate the unchained elements and regularize the course of the seasons.¹

To begin with,² preparations for the building are undertaken. A divine workman, provided with bellows and tongs, melts the gold and beats it out.

He makes (figurines) of oxen in silver
(and others) in gold of the master of the temple.

He builds also a throne for the god El, and a golden table, well provided with offerings, all for El.³

Latpon, who has received from El wisdom and immortality, applies himself to the work. Then other personages take part. The end of the poem shows that the building of the temple of Baal has for its object the stabilization of the elements by assigning to Aleyn and Môt each his share in the control. When Môt is in the tomb Aleyn 'fattens gods and men', but on his side Aleyn must no longer oppose Môt.

*Sacrifice.*⁴ *Simple oblation.* This is placed on a table to feed the gods.

See! give them to drink.
Place bread on the tables, bread,
(and pour) wine into the jars,
into the goblets of gold, the blood of the trees.⁵

There were other sacrifices, *srp*, the holocaust: *dbkh*, *dnt*,⁶ the sacrifice to obtain justice (?); *est*, burnt-offering.

In the sacrifice offered on the occasion of the building of the temple, *nblat* corresponds to *est*.

Thou wilt place (?) the burnt (offering) in the sanctuaries, the *nblat* in the temples, to-day and to-morrow.

Thou shalt eat the burnt (offering) in the sanctuaries, the *nblat* in the temples, the third (and) the fourth day.

¹ *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 250.

² l.c. 293.

³ The translation is that of M. Dussaud, *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 294.

⁴ Cf. Dussaud, *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 285-90.

⁵ Translation by Virolleaud, *Syria*, xiii (1932), col. iv-v. 35-8.

⁶ Hebrew, Dinah.

Thou shalt eat the burnt (offering) in the sanctuaries, the *nblat* in the temples, the fifth and the sixth day.

Thou shalt eat the burnt (offering) in the sanctuaries, the *nblat* in the midst (?) of the temples; thus during seven days.

Thou shalt offer as thank-offering the burnt (sacrifice) in the sanctuaries; the *nblat* in the temples.¹

III. LITERATURE

1. *Language and Script.*

It has been stated already that at Ras-Shamra there were found cuneiform tablets of which one group is of very special interest.

The first series consists of Akkadian, or Sumero-Akkadian documents, that is to say Babylonian. These are, to begin with, eleven fragments of vocabularies,² some of Sumerian words only, others giving at the side of the Sumerian word its equivalent in Akkadian; there is one that gives with the Sumerian word its equivalent in a language akin to Mitannite (to be more precise, to the sub-Aryan of the West) and which consequently should be the common language of part at least of the population in the district where the tablet was written.³ Finally, two letters are similar to those of el-Amarna; they seem to show⁴ that not only northern and central Syria but also the coast-line as far as Phoenicia was subject to Mitanni, at the time of the Nineteenth and Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasties.

The other series of tablets comprises texts which have revealed the existence of an alphabet hitherto entirely unknown and *written in cuneiform*.⁵

There were therefore at Ras-Shamra during the Nineteenth Dynasty two different scripts. For international purposes the

¹ M. Virolleaud's translation, l.c. vi. 22-34.

² Edited with notes by Thureau-Dangin in *Syria*, xii. 225-66 and xiii. 233-41.

³ Ibid. xii. 264 and 265-6.

⁴ Discovered beside a pair of twin *bilbils*. This pottery is attributed to the Eighteenth Dynasty at the time of Tuthmosis II and III and of Amenophis II and III, of the fifteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century (Schaeffer, *Syria*, xiv. 113-14).

⁵ The first attempts at decipherment were by Hans Bauer, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, vi (1930), 306-7, and *Entziffer der Keilsch. Taf. von Ras-Shamra* (1931); Dhorme in *Revue biblique* (1931); Virolleaud in *Syria* (1931) and *ibid.* M. Dussaud.

Akkadian script was used, as in all the Near East; for private correspondence a syllabic script and the language of the country.

Although no examples are found before the thirteenth century¹ this alphabetic script is so well established that it must have been in use for a long time.²

About this epoch Ras-Shamra experienced a veritable Golden Age of literature.³ Some ten tablets, with a total of a thousand lines, contain epic poems or fragments of epic poems consisting of dialogues between gods or between gods or goddesses and a hero, of scenes of sacrifice as well as offerings to the 'Rephaim' or the souls of the departed.

The vocabulary of the dialect revealed by these Ras-Shamra texts and those of northern Phoenicia, placed beside or superimposed on the sub-Aryan, is rather different from that of Babylos or Sidon.⁴ On the whole it is the same as that of the books of the Bible. The article, which is much rarer in Phoenician than in Hebrew, is entirely absent at Ras-Shamra. The feminine, in the absolute sense, is marked by the final *t*. The plural in the construct state undergoes no change. The verb is usually introduced by the form *qal*. There is a *shaphel* as well as the causative, as in Akkadian, and Aramaic. The optative is perhaps expressed⁵ as in Akkadian by the prefix *l*.

2. *The Poems.*

(a) *The Strife between Môt, son of the gods, and Aleyn, son of Baal.*⁶ This poem is written on a tablet of six columns, of which only the lower part is preserved.

X is sent into the presence of the supreme god El, and of the goddess Asherat. The country where the god dwells is called 'The Land of El'.⁷ The messenger has to enter the pavilion where dwells the 'Father of the Years'. *X* has first to implore the supreme god, and doubtless ask him to nominate a successor

¹ The texts so far discovered, up to 1932, can be dated to the thirteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier. (M. Dussaud, in *R.H.R.* cv (1932), 246.)

² Virolleaud in *Syria*, x (1929), 304-10.

³ Cf. *Syria*, xii (1931), 21-3 and 193.

⁴ Dussaud, *Syria*, xi (1930), 201.

⁵ Cf. H. Baneth in *O.L.Z.* xxxv (1932), 450.

⁶ So entitled by the translator, M. Virolleaud.

⁷ On this point, cf. H. L. Ginsberg in *O.L.Z.* xxxvi (1933), 594.

to Aleyn son of Baal. Moreover, he is charged to 'cry aloud, so as to rejoice' various personages, foremost of whom is Asherah.

As soon as he has received the homage of the messenger and granted the request implied by this homage, El turns to the goddess, the lady Asherat-of-the-Sea,² to ask her to give a successor to Aleyn, who is dead. The goddess at first refuses, then she brings forward her protégé Ishtar-'rf, who accepts the task.

'Anat, sister of Aleyn, attacks Môt and demands that he should restore to her her brother Aleyn. Môt declares himself ready to repair the wrong done in any way that is possible, as after the death of Aleyn prosperity has departed. He will go to seek a liquid, apparently magical, which will transform the earth into pastoral land (or plain).

'Anat attacks Môt a second time. In this passage it is evident that Môt is identified with the ear that provides the grain from which bread is made. Môt must die, and it is by the hand of a goddess, and a very warlike goddess, that he is made to succumb; she throws herself upon him and fells him with a scimitar-shaped reaping-hook. 'With the fan she winnows, in the fire she burns, in the mill she grinds. All she contrives to do she does in order to nourish herself with the substance of the god of vegetation, and doubtless also to feed gods and men.'

In the following passage, after a lacuna of some 30 lines, we read of the resurrection of Aleyn. In a dream Latpon hears a voice saying, 'Good tidings, O my son whom I have created. The heavens will rain fatness, the valleys will become (fertile).' The news of this resurrection fills him with joy.

Then El charges the virgin 'Anat with a message for the goddess Sps: let her reveal Aleyn's hiding-place, he has not been seen since his resurrection, and grave danger threatens the fields and also the whole land of El.

[*Col. v.*] Baal, son of Asherat and father of Aleyn, challenges various personages of the entourage of Môt, and finally Môt himself.

After seven years Môt announces that he will lay on Aleyn the punishment meted to him by 'Anat. Aleyn hurls defiance

* This differs from Baneth, l.c. 449-50.

² Rabbat Asherat Yam.

against Mô't, but the goddess Sps predicts his downfall. Mô't descends into hell while Baal reinstates Aleyn on his throne.¹

(b) Another poem, the longest, though fragmentary and specially difficult,² has for its chief theme the building of the temple of Baal and other buildings. This seems to imply that originally Baal did not enjoy the same privileges as the other gods.

[*Col. iv. 87-97.*] It is the virgin 'Anat who will bring these good tidings to the gods.

The chief, or god, of jewellers, is charged with the casting of the ornaments or the receptacles of gold and silver. . . . Discussions and arguments relating to the buildings to be raised in the town.

In this poem Mô't does not appear until the end when he receives honours similar to those reserved generally for El, the supreme god.

(c) In another poem it is difficult to state precisely the sequence of ideas.³

¹ Summarized from M. Virolleaud's article in *Syria*, xii. 193, 224.

² It has been interpreted by M. Dussaud in *R.H.R.* cviii (1933), 1-49.

³ *Syria*, xiv (1933), 128-51.

II. INDIA AND SUMERIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C. IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS

THE Archaeological Survey of India has entrusted to Sir John Marshall the direction of the excavations in the Indus Valley, or, to be more exact, in the region of Harappa, a district of Montgomery to the south-west of Lahore in the Punjab, and at Mohendjo-Daro, more than 600 km. from Harappa in the district of Tarkana-Sind. The results, published in three large volumes,¹ are extremely interesting.

A small part of the discoveries has been published in various periodicals, and on some of the seals, which resemble in certain particulars similar Sumerian objects, rather hasty conclusions have been drawn. Not only did some scholars conclude that there were relations between India and Sumeria, but it has been asserted that one was dependent on the other, or more definitely, that India was the cradle of the Sumerians.

It cannot be denied that the similarity of certain seals found in both countries might suggest such impressions; but a study of the illustrations in the third volume edited by Sir John Marshall leaves one with a very different idea. On comparing civilizations of the Indus and Euphrates Valleys the most striking fact that emerges is their contrast.

The swastikas² on the Indian seals resemble those already found in Crete, Cappadocia, Troy, Susa, and Musiân, without furnishing any indication of their place of origin. Now it is a remarkable fact that no example has been found in either Babylonia or Egypt.³

Three circular seals with perforated 'bosses'⁴ resemble, but only in their shape, that discovered by De Sarzec at Telloh.⁵

¹ *Mohendjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, by Sir John Marshall, London, 1931, 3 vols., 4to.

² pp. 500-15, vol. iii, pl. 114; cf. vol. ii. 415.

³ Cf. E. Mackay, l.c., vol. ii. 374.

⁴ Pl. cii, k, l, m; cf. Nos. 309-83, 478.

⁵ *Catalogue Cyl. Orient*, Mus. du Louvre, i, pl. 2, 8a, 8b.

But a number of other seals are appreciably different: rectangular in form, without 'boss' or with inscribed 'boss'.¹

It is a collection of seals representing a bovine animal, possibly a divine symbol, placed before a 'manger of very characteristic shape'² or before an offering placed on a block raised on feet,³ having on the upper field an inscription in pictographic signs⁴ setting forth perhaps the name with the filiation or title of some personage; at any rate, as on several seals, the writing commences with the same sign, and if we are to read from left to right⁵ they often end with the same sign;⁶ the writing may very well be an inscription, dedicatory or otherwise.⁷ Now similar, or nearly similar, seals have been found in Sumeria in the Telloh region.⁸

Sir John Marshall, referring⁹ to the seals,¹⁰ concludes:¹¹ 'The resemblance is too marked to be the result of change or of independent evolution, nor can it be explained on the hypothesis that they were sprung from a common prototype foreign to both countries.' But actually the resemblance does not appear to us to be striking on this point, and the idea of a Hercules might have been born and a legend formed in two different countries without direct or indirect borrowing from one side or the other.

On the subject of the writing of the signs Mr. Langdon at first rejected the interdependence of the two scripts. 'In the

¹ Cf. Marshall, vol. ii. 376 et seq.

² Nos. 306, 308, 317-26.

³ Nos. 1-305, 537, 540-57b.

⁴ They have been classified, conditionally, by Sydney Smith and C. J. Gadd in *Mohendjo-Daro*, vol. ii, ch. xxii.

⁵ Sometimes the reading is from right to left because the animal in the field looks to the right, or because in the inscription the pictographic sign of a man or a bird looks in that direction. See for instance No. 69 of a man, No. 36 of a bird, or perhaps even two birds, No. 338 for two birds. No. 343 is doubtful; see vol. i, pl. xii. No. 18 is interesting.

⁶ Nos. 105, 109, 110, 134, &c.

⁷ Cf. l.c. (Mackay), 381.

⁸ Cf. Schell in *Revue d'assyriologie*, xxii (1925), 56, but he is not certain that this seal really comes from Djokha as Mr. Mackay would seem to suggest.

⁹ p. 67.

¹⁰ vol. iii. 357, and pl. xiii. 17, and also p. 76, No. 16 of pl. xvii.

¹¹ p. 76.

first place, this script is in no way even remotely connected with either the Sumerian or proto-Elamitic signs.¹ But in a post-script² he modifies this opinion: 'The connexion of this script with Sumerian is favoured by the many similar or identical signs noted in the sign list and the new comparison above. There is also the extraordinary fact that both the Sumerian and the Indus Valley scripts freely employ numerical ideographs as syllabics and that the two both read from right to left.'

Mr. Gadd, on the contrary, alluding to the opinion he had previously expressed, writes: 'Being at that time in possession of very little evidence, we once ventured to comment on a few syllabics. This hint was on the one hand taken up with exorbitant and regrettable results, on the other rejected with an emphasis which mistook a suggestion for an affirmation. We shall admit without hesitation that the further experience has not tended to confirm our faith in any direct connection between the writing of Sumer and the Indus.'³

Certain pictographic signs bear decided resemblance to some of the known Sumerian signs, such as *Ha*, *Gal*, &c. (Sumerian for 'fish', 'large'); but as their Indian equivalents are unknown it is impossible to draw even relative conclusions as to what objects they represent.

It may be admitted that Sumerian civilization was more or less known in the Indus Valley, but as Mr. Mackay writes, we have 'no definite evidence that India was equally well known to these two countries, although the painted pottery and other objects demonstrate a connection between them all'.

As to the race and language of these peoples of the Indus, both are matters of pure conjecture.⁴

To sum up. It appears to us difficult to deny that a connexion existed between the peoples of the Euphrates and Indus Valleys. It is not too much to admit that Sumerian civilization influenced that of archaic India. M. Fr. Thureau-Dangin wrote in 1925:⁵ 'We have no authority to speak of a Sumerian

¹ In *Mohendjo-Daro*, ii, ch. xxiii. 423.

² *Ibid.* 453-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 413.

⁵ *Revue d'assyriologie*.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 411.

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civilisation of India; still less should we seek in India the origin of Sumerian civilisation.¹

In our opinion this conclusion has lost nothing of its value.²

¹ M. Contenau agreed with this conclusion in 1927, in his *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, i. 117.

² M. Thureau-Dangin has written recently (*Esquisse d'une histoire du système sexagésimal*, Paris, 1932, pp. 14-15): 'Everything leads to the belief that the Sumerian civilisation was not imported but indigenous. The Sumerian culture in kind and in spirit was impervious to any perceptible foreign influence. It is an indigenous culture.'

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